Frontispiece

Bishop Ridley

Bishop Latimer

Arch Bishop Cranmer

Bishop Hooper

Bishop Farrar

THE BOOK OF MARTYRS:

Containing an ACCOUNT of the

SUFFERINGS and DEATH

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

In the REIGN of

Queen MARY the First.

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES.

Originally Written by Mr. *JOHN FOX*.

And now Revised and Corrected by an Impartial Hand.

LONDON.

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THE

PREFACE.

THIS valuable Book of *Engliſh* Martyrs being grown ſo very ſcarce, as to be rarely found but in the Cloſets of the Learned or Curious, it is hoped that the Method taken to reſtore it to the Publick will meet with general Approbation and Encouragement; as it ſeems to be the moſt proper Way for promoting the univerſal Good intended: For the Purchaſe of ſo voluminous a Work cannot be reach'd by every one's Purſe at once; and therefore this Expedient was reſolv'd on, of publiſhing a certain Number of Sheets weekly, by Subſcription, that the common People might be alſo enabled, by degrees, to procure it.

May God give a Bleſſing to the Undertaking; and grant that theſe dreadful Accounts of Popiſh Tyranny, may not only prove a Means of preſerving our Church from ever falling into ſuch groſs Errors and Enormities; but alſo teach us, and all Chriſtians, to ſet a greater Value upon that Religion, which, by the Bleſſing of God, is eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, whoſe Doctrine and Conſtitution is ſo exactly agreeable to that of the Primitive Chriſtians, and firſt Propagaters of the Goſpel, and alſo incline us more ſtedfaſtly to adhere to the Faith and Profeſſion of it.

It would be needleſs to tire the Reader with an Account of the Particulars contain'd in the following Hiſtory, ſince every Matter therein is too fully expreſs'd

preſs'd to need any Comment; and it was for this Reaſon that Mr. *Fox*'s Original Preface is omitted, it being thought too long, giving an Account only of the Riſe, Progreſs, Gatherings and Abſurdity of the Maſs, with the Canon and all its Appurtenance; which, he ſays, like *Æſop*'s Crow plum'd with the Feathers of various Birds, was longer in patching together, than the Temple of *Solomon* was building. Whence he proves, that none of the Apoſtles founded it; and yet this Popiſh Maſs was one of the principal Cauſes for which ſuch an Army of godly Men became Martyrs, ſuffering Death in ſo many cruel Shapes; ſome conſumed by Fire, ſome pined away with Hunger, ſome hanged, ſome ſlain, ſome racked, ſome tormented one way, ſome another, as will hereafter at large appear.

May the Bleſſed Spirit of God bring into the Way of Truth all ſuch as have erred and are deceived: May it pleaſe him to ſtrengthen ſuch as do ſtand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raiſe up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our Feet.

AN

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SUFFERINGS and DEATH

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

In the REIGN of

Queen *MARY* the First.

BOOK I.

Of Queen Mary's *Acceſſion to the Throne; and the ſeveral Troubles and Alterations that happened in her Reign both in Church and State.*

Anno 1553.

DURING the Time that King *Edward* the ſixth was afflicted by a long Illneſs, there was a Marriage provided, concluded, and ſolemnized, in the Month of *May*, between the Lord *Guilford*, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughter; whoſe Mother being then alive, was Daughter to *Mary*, King *Henry*'s ſecond Siſter, who was firſt married to the *French* King, and afterwards to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Marriage being conſummated, and the King every Day growing worſe, and there being no hopes of his Recovery, it was brought to paſs by the conſent both of the Nobility and chief Lawyers of the Realm, that the King by his laſt Will and Teſtament did ſet aſide his two Siſters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and left the Crown to the aforeſaid Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughter.

Marriage between the Lord *Guilford* and the Lady *Jane*.

To this Order ſubſcribed all the King's Council, and chief of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, and almoſt all the Judges and principal Lawyers of the Realm, except Juſtice *Hales* of *Kent*, who was remarkable for his being as true a Proteſtant, and as upright a Judge as any in the Realm, and who firſt giving his Conſent to the Lady *Mary*'s being Queen, would upon no Account therefore ſubſcribe to the Lady *Jane*. But of this Man more hereafter. The Objections againſt the Lady *Mary*'s Reigning were becauſe it was fear'd ſhe would Marry with a Stranger, and ſo entangle the Crown, and likewiſe that ſhe would bring in the Pope, and quite alter the Religion uſed both in her Father King *Henry*, and her Brother King *Edward*'s Days.

Sir *James Hales* ſtandeth up for Lady *Mary*.

Two Things feared in Lady *Mary*'s being Queen.

What moſtly occaſioned this Conjecture of theirs, was the great Stubbornneſs ſhe ſhewed and declar'd in her Brother's Days, as appears from Letters that paſſed between her and King *Edward*, and the Council. The Matter however being thus concluded and confirmed by the ſubſcribing of every Man's Hand, not long after through the Violence of his Illneſs, that moſt hopeful Prince King *Edward* departed this Life, when he was ſixteen Years of Age, and with whom decayed, in a great Meaſure, the flouriſhing Eſtate and Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Lady *Jane*, proclaim'd Queen.

After King *Edward* was dead, the Lady *Jane* was by the Nobles Conſent proclaimed Queen in *London* and other populous Cities, and as ſuch was there ſo taken and called. There was but little difference in Age between this young Lady and King *Edward*, but as to Learning and Knowledge of the Languages ſhe was not only equal, but ſuperior to him, as having had the Advantage of a Man of moſt excellent Learning for her Tutor and Inſtructor; and had her Fortune been equal to her Education and Fineneſs of Wit, no doubt but ſhe would have been comparable not only to the Houſe of *Veſpaſians*, *Sempronians*, and Mother of the *Gracchi*'s, yea to any other Woman beſides, but even to Men of the Univerſity that had taken ſeveral Degrees there in the Schools.

Comparison between King *Edward* and Lady *Jane*.

This Inſtructor was Maſter *Elmar*.

But while theſe Things were working, and upon the Anvil at *London*, the Lady *Mary* knowing her Brother's Death, wrote to the Lords of the Council in the following Manner.

The Lady Mary's *Letter to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown upon her Brother's Deceaſe.*

The Lady *Mary*'s Letter to the Lords of the Council, wherein ſhe claimeth the Crown.

'MY Lords, we greet you well, and have receiv'd ſure Advertiſement, that our deareſt Brother the King, our late Sovereign Lord, is departed to God's Mercy, which News how woful they be unto our Heart, he only knoweth, to whoſe Will and Pleaſure we muſt and do humbly ſubmit us and our Wills. But in this ſo lamentable a Caſe, that is to wit, now after his Majeſty's Departure and Death, concerning the Crown and Governance of this Realm of *England*, with the Title of *France*, and all Things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by Act of Parliament, and the Teſtament and laſt Will of our deareſt Father, beſides other Circumſtances advancing our Right, you know, the Realm, and the whole World knoweth, the Rolls and Records appear by the Authority of the King our ſaid Father, and the King our ſaid Brother, and the Subjects of this Realm; ſo that we verily Truſt, that there is no good true Subject that is, can, or would pretend to be Ignorant thereof: And of our Part we have of ourſelves cauſed, and, as God ſhall aid and ſtrengthen us, ſhall cauſe our Right and Title in this Behalf to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weighty a Matter ſeemeth ſtrange, that our ſaid Brother dying upon *Thurſday* at Night laſt paſt, we hitherto had no Knowledge from you thereof, yet we conſider your Wiſdoms and Prudence to be ſuch, that having * eftſoons amongſt you debated, pondered, and well weighed this preſent Caſe with our Eſtate, with your own Eſtate, the Commonwealth and all our Honours, we ſhall and may conceive great Hopes and Truſt, with much Aſſurance in your Loyalty and Service, and therefore for the Time interpret and take Things not the worſt; and that ye will, like Noblemen, work the beſt. Nevertheleſs, we are not Ignorant of your Conſultations, to undo the Proviſions made for our Preferment, nor of the great Bands and Proviſions forcible, wherewith ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what End, God and you know, and Nature cannot but fear ſome Evil. But be it that ſome Conſideration Politick, or whatſoever thing elſe hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my Lords, but we can take all theſe your doings in gracious Part, being alſo right ready to remit and fully pardon the ſame, and that freely to eſchew Bloodſhed and Vengeance, againſt all thoſe that can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this Grace and Virtue in good Part as appertaineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to uſe the Service of other our true Subjects and Friends, which in this our juſt and right Cauſe, God, in whom our whole Affiance is, ſhall ſend us. Wherefore, my Lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your Allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our Honour and the Surety of our Perſon only imploy yourſelves, and forthwith upon Receipt hereof, cauſe our Right and Title to the Crown and Government of this Realm to be proclaimed in our City of *London*, and other Places, as to your Wiſdom ſhall ſeem Good, and as to this Caſe appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very Truſt is in you. And this our Letter, ſign'd with our Hand, ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant in this Behalf. Anno 1553.

* quickly.

Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Kening-hall, *the ninth of* July 1553.

To this Letter of the Lady *Mary*, the Lords of the Council returned the following Anſwer:

The Lords Anſwer to the Lady Mary's *Letter.*

A Letter of the Council, anſwering again to the Lady *Mary*.

'MAdam, we have received your Letters, the ninth of this Inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed Title, which you judge yourſelf to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For Anſwer whereof, this is to Adverſiſe you, that foraſmuch as our ſovereign Lady Queen *Jane* is, after the Death of our ſovereign Lord King *Edward*, the Sixth, a Prince of moſt noble Memory, inveſted and poſſeſſed with the juſt and right Title in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, not only by good Order of antient Laws of this Realm, but alſo by our late ſovereign Lord's Letter Patents ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed with the Great Seal of *England*, in preſence of the moſt Part of the Nobles, Counſellors, Judges, with divers other grave and ſage Perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: We muſt therefore, as of moſt bound Duty and Allegiance, aſſent unto her ſaid Grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithful Subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unſpeakable Enormities. Wherefore we can no leſs do, but for the Quiet both of the Realm and you alſo, to adverſiſe you, that foraſmuch as the Divorce made between the King of famous Memory, King *Henry* VIII. and the Lady *Katherine* your Mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the everlaſting Laws of

Lady *Jane* inveſted in Poſſeſſion of the Crown by King *Edward*'s Will, and Aſſent of the whole Council.

Anno 1553.

'God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and by the moſt Part of the Nobility and learned Univerſities of *Chriſtendom*, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry Acts of Parliaments remaining yet in their Force, and thereby you juſtly made illegitimate and unheritable to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and the Rules, and Dominions, and Poſſeſſions of the ſame, you will upon juſt Conſideration hereof, and of divers other Cauſes lawful to be alledged for the ſame, and for the juſt Inheritance of the right Line and godly Order taken by the late King our ſovereign Lord King *Edward* VI. and agreed upon by the Nobles and great Perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe by any Pretence to vex and moleſt any of our ſovereign Lady Queen *Jane* her Subjects, from their true Faith and Allegiance due unto her Grace: Aſſuring you, that if you will for Reſpect ſhew yourſelf Quiet and Obedient (as you ought) you ſhall find us all and ſeveral ready to do you any Service that we with Duty may, and glad with your Quietneſs to preſerve the common State of this Realm, wherein you may be otherwiſe grievous unto us, to yourſelf, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt heartily well to fare.

Lady *Mary* accounted illegitimate.

From the Tower of London, *in this ninth of* July 1553.

Your Ladyſhip's Friends, ſhewing your ſelf an Obedient Subject,

Thomas Canterbury.	*R. Rich.*
The Marquis of *Winchester.*	*Huntington.*
John Bedford.	*Darcy.*
William Northampton.	*Cheyney.*
Tho. Ely, Chancellor.	*R. Cotton.*
Northumberland.	*John Gates.*
Henry Suffolk.	*W. Peter.*
Henry Arundel.	*W. Cecill.*
Shrewſbury.	*John Cheek.*
Pembrook.	*John Maſon.*
Cobham.	*Edward North.*
	R. Bowes.

All theſe Perſons aforeſaid, except the Duke of *Northumberland* and Sir *John Gates*, were afterwards by ſpecial Favour, or ſpecial or general Pardon diſcharged.

Lady *Mary* keepeth herſelf from the City of *London*.

Upon receiving this Anſwer, and thereby perceiving the Lords Minds, the Lady *Mary* makes haſte away privately far out of *London*, relying chiefly upon the Good-will of the Commons; but yet not altogether deſtitute of the ſecret Advertiſements of ſome of the Nobles. When the Council heard of her ſudden Departure, and perceived her Stoutneſs, and that Things went not as they expected, they ſpeedily gathered a Body of Men together, and pitched on the Duke of *Suffolk* for their Leader or General. But afterwards, changing their Minds, they thought it beſt to let the Duke of *Suffolk* keep the *Tower* where the Lord *Guilford* and the Lady *Jane* then lodged, and to ſend the Duke of *Northumberland*, with ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen: In which Expedition, notwithſtanding the Guards were very unwilling to march at firſt, yet through the Perſuaſion and Importunity of the Lord Treaſurer, Maſter *Chomley*, and others, they were at length induced and prevailed on to aſſiſt the Duke, and to ſet forward with him.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſent againſt Lady *Mary*.

Theſe Things thus agreed on, and the Duke being now ſet forward out of *London* after the beſt Manner, both with his Times and Journey preſcribed him by the Council, that he might not do any thing but upon Warrant; the Lady *Mary* in the mean while fatigued with travelling up and down, and conſidering where to fix moſt for her Advantage, withdrew herſelf at length into the Quarters of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where, for ſubduing the Rebels in her Brother King *Edward*'s Days, ſhe underſtood the Duke's Name was very much hated; and procuring to her Aid and Aſſiſtance as many of the Commons as ſhe could, ſhe kept herſelf cloſe in *Fremingham Caſtle*. And here reſorted firſt to her the *Suffolk* Men, who being always very forward in promoting the Proceedings of the Goſpel, promiſed her their Aid and Help, in caſe ſhe would not attempt the Alteration of the Religion, which by Laws and Orders publickly enacted, was before eſtabliſhed in her Brother King *Edward*'s Days, and which was generally received by the Conſent of the whole Realm.

Suffolk Men ſide with the Lady *Mary*.

In ſhort, with this Condition ſhe readily complied, promiſing them faithfully that no Innovation ſhould be made in Religion, ſo that no Man at that Time miſtruſted her: Which Promiſe, if ſhe had as conſtantly kept as they did willingly preſerve her with their Bodies and Weapons, ſhe had acted worthy her Blood, and made her Reign more ſtable to herſelf through future Tranquillity; for let a Man be never ſo powerful, yet Breach of Promiſe is an ill Supporter of Quietneſs; Fear, worſe; but Cruelty worſt of all.

Lady *Mary* promiſeth faithfully that ſhe would not alter Religion.

Queen *Mary*'s Breach of Promiſe.

But however, the Lady *Mary* being guarded and aſſiſted with the Power of the Proteſtants, vanquiſhed the Duke, and all thoſe that came along with him: In Conſideration whereof, upon the *Suffolk* Mens afterwards ſupplicating her Grace, and reminding her of performing her Promiſe, methinks the following Anſwer ſhe returned was very ſevere and ungrateful: *Foraſmuch*, ſaith ſhe, *as you being but Members, deſire to rule your Head, you ſhall one Day well perceive that Members muſt obey their Head, and not look to bear Rule over the ſame.* And not only ſo, but to ſtrike a greater Terror into others, a certain Gentleman near *Windham Side*, namely, one Mr. *Dobbe*, for the ſame Cauſe, that is, by advertizing her by humble Requeſt of her Promiſe, was puniſhed with ſtanding three Times in the Pillory, to be a common Gazing-ſtock to all Men. Divers others likewiſe delivered her Books and Supplications collected out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true Religion then eſtabliſhed, and for their Goodwill were impriſoned. But ſuch is the State and Condition of Human Nature, (as may here be plainly ſeen) that generally ſpeaking, we are always more ready to ſeek Friendſhip when we ſtand in need of Help, than to requite a Benefit that is once paſt and received. However, this may be Matter of great Comfort to all miſerable Creatures, that Equity and Fidelity are ever perfect with the Lord above, though the ſame be ſhut out of Doors in this World, and not to be found among Men.

Queen *Mary*'s Anſwer to the *Suffolk* Men.

Mr. *Dobbe* pilloried.

But my Deſign being to write a Hiſtory, I ſhall chuſe to paſs by the *Suffolk* Men for a while, and proceed to conſider the contrary Side, the Duke of *Northumberland*; who, having his Warrant under the Broad Seal, with all his Furniture in Readineſs, proceeded on his March againſt the Lady *Mary*; but what made moſt for her Advantage, were the ſhort Journies aſſigned the Duke by his Commiſſion, which I took

took Notice of before; for the longer the Duke lingred in his Journey, the Lady *Mary*'s Army increaſed, the Hearts of the People being much inclined to her. Which, when the Council at *London* perceived, and underſtood how the common People began to withdraw from them to her, and likewiſe that certain Noblemen began ſo to do, they forthwith changed their Note,

Lady *Mary* proclaimed Queen.

and proclaimed for Queen the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Henry* VIII. and appointed by Parliament to ſucceed King *Edward*, dying without Iſſue.

The Duke of *Northumberland* brought to the *Tower* as a Traitor.

And ſo the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſent againſt her by Advice of the Council, was left deſtitute and forſaken at *Cambridge*, with only ſome of his Sons, and a few others, as the Earl of *Huntingdon* for one; who were all arreſted, and brought to the *Tower* of *London*, as Traitors to the Crown.

Thus have ye the Lady *Mary* made Queen, and the Sword of Authority put into her Hand; which how ſhe afterwards uſed, may be plainly ſeen in the Sequel of this Book: For when ſhe had been thus advanced by means of the Proteſtants, and by conquering her Enemies, and ſending the Duke captive to the *Tower*, *July* 25, ſaw all Things quiet, ſhe followed not long after, being brought up to *London* the third of *Auguſt*, with the Rejoicing of ſome, the Fear of many, but probably with the Flattery of a far greater Number.

When ſhe came to *London*, ſhe firſt lodged at the *Tower*; where, a little before her coming,

The Lady *Jane* and the Lord *Guilford* Priſoners in the *Tower*.

the Lady *Jane*, and her Huſband the Lord *Guilford* were impriſoned, where they remained almoſt five Months waiting her Pleaſure. But the Duke, within a Month after his coming to the *Tower*, was adjudged to Death, and brought forth to the Scaffold, and beheaded, notwithſtanding the Promiſe made him of his Life, (yea, tho' his Head were upon the Block) if he would but renounce his Religion and hear Maſs, which he accordingly did, and denied in Words that true Religion, which in the Days of *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. he had frequently declared himſelf willing both to favour and further; alſo exhorting the People to return to the Catholick Faith, as he termed it: Whoſe Recantation the Papiſts forthwith publiſhed and ſpread abroad; rejoicing not a little at his Converſion, or rather Subverſion.

The Duke of *Northumberland* revokes his Religion in hopes of a Pardon.

The Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* beheaded.

Thus the Duke of *Northumberland*, with Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were put to Death, which laſt confeſſed his Faith that he had learned in the Goſpel, and lamented that he had not lived more conformable thereunto. In the mean Time, Queen *Mary* beginning her Reign with the Blood of theſe Men, and with hearing Maſs herſelf in the *Tower*, but more eſpecially with releaſing from thence *Stephen Gardiner*, gave plain Indication that ſhe would not perform what ſhe promiſed the *Suffolk* Men, concerning the not ſubverting or altering the State of Religion.

Beſides the Premiſes, there were other Things that followed, which every Day more and more diſcomforted the People, and which declared the Queen to bear no Good-will to the preſent State of Religion; as not only the releaſing of *Gardiner*, and making him Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, turning out Dr. *Poynet*; the making *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and diſplacing Dr. *Ridley*; alſo the promoting Dr. *Day* to the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, putting out *J. Scory*; Dr. *Tonſtal* to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; Dr. *Heath* to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and committing *J. Hooper* to the *Fleet*; Dr. *Veſie* made Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Miles Coverdale* put out. All which Things cauſed great Trouble and Diſcontent to the Proteſtants; but on the contrary, as great Rejoicing to the Papiſts: In which Diverſity of Minds there was now to be ſeen a miſerable State of Things throughout the whole Realm; for they that could diſſemble cared not how Matters went; but ſuch as were Men of Conſcience perceived Coals to be already kindled, and which ſhould afterwards be the Deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian, as indeed it came to paſs. In the mean while Queen *Mary*, after theſe Beginnings, removed to *Hampton-Court*, and againſt the tenth of *October* next enſuing, cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned, of which more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter.

Anno 1553.

Proteſtant Biſhops diſplaced.

A Parliament ſummoned.

Thus have ye heard how divers Biſhops were removed, and others placed in their Room; amongſt whom was Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, a worthy Man, pious and learned, who in the Time of Queen *Jane*, by order of the Council, preached a Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs*, declaring therein his Opinion concerning the Lady *Mary*, and diſſwading them by alledging the Inconveniencies that might ariſe by admitting her to the Crown, propheſying, as it were, before, that which afterwards came to paſs, namely, that ſhe would bring in a foreign Power to Reign over them, and ſubvert the Chriſtian Religion then happily eſtabliſh'd; ſhewing moreover, that the Lady *Mary*, being in his Dioceſe, he, according to his Duty, as being then her Ordinary, had done his Endeavour to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithſtanding in all other Points of Civility ſhe ſhewed herſelf gentle and tractable, yet in Matters that concern'd true Faith and Doctrine, ſhe appeared perverſe and obſtinate; that he could conceive no other Hopes of her, but that ſhe would diſturb and overturn all that had been planted and confirm'd with ſo much Induſtry in the Reign of her Brother King *Edward*. Soon after this Sermon was preached, the Lady *Mary* was proclaimed Queen, whereupon Dr. *Ridley* forthwith repaired to ſalute her at *Fremingham Caſtle*, where he met with cold Entertainment, and being deprived of all his Dignity, was ſent back to the Tower.

Biſhop *Ridley* preacheth.

The *Sunday* following Mr. *Rogers* preached, diſcourſing very learnedly on the Goſpel for the Day: Whereupon Queen *Mary* perceiving Things not to go forward according to her Mind, ſhe forthwith conſulted with her Council how to bring about by other Means what by open Law ſhe could not well accompliſh; and accordingly directed forth an Inhibition by Proclamation, that no Man ſhould preach or read openly the Word of God in Churches, and ſeveral other Things inhibited in the ſame Proclamation, the Copy whereof here followeth.

Mr. *Rogers* preacheth.

An Inhibition of the Queen for preaching, printing, &c.

'THE Queen's Highneſs well Remembering what great Inconveniencies and Dangers have grown to this her Highneſs's Realm in Times paſt, through the Diverſity of Opinions in Queſtion of Religion, and hearing alſo that now of late, ſince the beginning of her moſt gracious Reign, the ſame Contentions be again much revived, through certain falſe and untrue Reports and Rumours ſpread by ſome light and evil diſpoſed Perſons, hath thought *Auguſt* 18.

Anno 1553. Queen *Mary* beginneth to ſet forth her Popiſh Religion. Religion here grounded upon the Queen's good Will.

'thought good to do to underſtand, to all her 'Highneſs's moſt loving Subjects, her moſt 'gracious Pleaſure in Manner following.

'Firſt, her Majeſty, being preſently by the 'only Goodneſs of God ſettled in her juſt Poſ-'ſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, 'and other Dominions thereunto belonging, 'cannot now hide that Religion which God and 'the World knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſſed 'from her Infancy hitherto. Which as her 'Majeſty is minded to obſerve and maintain for 'herſelf by God's Grace, during her Time, ſo 'doth her Highneſs much deſire, and would 'be glad the ſame were of all her Subjects 'quietly and charitably embraced.

'And yet ſhe doth ſignify unto all her Ma-'jeſty's loving Subjects, that of her moſt gracious Diſpoſition and Clemency, her Highneſs 'mindeth not to compel any her ſaid Subjects 'thereunto, until ſuch Time as further Order 'by common Aſſent may be taken therein: 'Forbidding nevertheleſs all her Subjects of all 'Degrees, at their Perils, to move Seditions, or 'ſtir Unquietneſs in her People, by interpreting 'the Laws of this Realm after their Brains and 'Fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the Time 'till (as before is ſaid) further Order may be 'taken, and therefore willeth and ſtraitly 'chargeth and commandeth all her ſaid good 'loving Subjects, to live together in quiet Sort, 'and Chriſtian Charity, leaving thoſe new 'found deviliſh Terms of Papiſt or Heretick, 'and ſuch like, and applying their whole Care, 'Study and Travel, to live in the Fear of God, 'exerciſing their Converſations in ſuch charita-'ble and godly Doing, as their Lives may in-'deed expreſs that great Hunger and Thirſt of 'God's Glory and Holy Word, which by raſh 'Talk and Words many have pretended: And 'in ſo doing they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and 'live without Danger of the Laws, and main-'tain the Tranquillity of the Realm. Whereof 'as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any 'Man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any Aſſem-'blies of People, or at any publick Aſſemblies, 'or otherwiſe, ſhall go about to ſtir the Peo-'ple to Diſorder or Diſquiet, ſhe mindeth ac-'cording to her Duty, to ſee the ſame moſt ſe-'verely reformed and puniſhed according to her 'Highneſs's Laws.

Terms of Papiſt and Heretick forbidden.

False ſurmiſes againſt true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

'And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is alſo 'well known, that Sedition and falſe Rumours 'have been nouriſhed and maintained in this 'Realm, by the Subtilty and Malice of ſome 'Evil diſpoſed Perſons, which take upon them 'without ſufficient Authority to preach and to 'interpret the Word of God after their own 'Brain in Churches and other Places both pub-'lick and private, and alſo by playing of Inter-'ludes, and Printing of falſe found Books, 'Ballads, Rhimes, and other lewd Treaties in 'the *Engliſh* Tongue, concerning Doctrine in 'Matters now in Queſtion and Controverſy, 'touching the high Points and Myſteries of the 'Chriſtian Religion; which Books, Ballads, 'Rhimes, and Treatiſes, are chiefly by the 'Printers and Stationers ſet out to Sale to her 'Grace's Subjects, of an evil Zeal, for Lucre 'and Covetouſneſs of vile Gain: Her Highneſs 'therefore ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all 'and every of her ſaid Subjects, of whatſoever 'State, Condition, or Degree they be, that none 'of them preſume from henceforth to preach, 'or by way of reading in Churches, or other 'publick or private Places, except in Schools 'of the Univerſity, to interpret or teach any

Here was the Head of *Winchester*.

Preaching printing, reading, and playing of Interludes, reſtrained.

'Scriptures, or any Manner of Points of Do-'ctrine concerning Religion, neither alſo to 'print any Books, Matter, Ballad, Rhime, In-'terlude, Proceſs or Treatiſe, nor to play any 'Interlude, except they have her Grace's ſpecial 'Licence in Writing for the ſame, upon Pain 'to incur her Highneſs's Indignation and Diſ-'pleaſure.

'And her Highneſs alſo further chargeth and 'commandeth all and every her ſaid Subjects, 'that none of them of their own Authority do 'preſume to puniſh, and to riſe againſt any 'Offender in the Cauſes aboveſaid, or any other 'Offender in Words or Deeds, in the late Re-'bellion committed or done by the Duke of '*Northumberland*, or his Complices, or to ſeize 'any of their Goods, or violently to uſe any 'ſuch Offender by ſtriking, or impriſoning, or 'threatning the ſame, but wholly to refer the 'Puniſhment of all ſuch Offenders unto her 'Highneſs and Publick Authority, whereof her 'Majeſty mindeth to ſee due Puniſhment ac-'cording to the Order of her Highneſs's Laws.

'Nevertheleſs, as her Highneſs mindeth not 'hereby to reſtrain and diſcourage any of her 'loving Subjects, to give from Time to Time 'true Information againſt any ſuch Offenders in 'the Cauſes aboveſaid, unto her Grace or Coun-'cil, for the Puniſhment of every ſuch Offen-'der, according to the Effect of her Highneſs's 'Laws provided in that Part: So her ſaid 'Highneſs exhorteth and ſtraitly chargeth her 'ſaid Subjects to obſerve her Commandment 'and Pleaſure in every Part aforeſaid, as they 'will avoid her Highneſs's ſaid Indignation and 'moſt grievous Diſpleaſure. The Severity and 'Rigour whereof as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt 'ſorry to have Cauſe to put in Execution: So 'doth ſhe utterly determine not to permit ſuch 'unlawful and rebellious Doings of her Subjects, 'whereof may enſue the Danger of her Royal 'Eſtate, to remain unpuniſhed, but to ſee her 'ſaid Laws touching theſe Points to be through-'ly executed: Which Extremities ſhe truſteth 'all her ſaid Subjects will foreſee, dread, and 'avoid accordingly: Her ſaid Highneſs ſtraitly 'charging and commanding all Mayors, She-'riffs, Juſtices of Peace, Bailiffs, Conſtables, 'and all other publick Officers and Miniſters, 'diligently to ſee to the obſerving and executing 'of her ſaid Commandments and Pleaſure, and 'to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offend 'in this Part, committing the ſame to the next 'Jail, there to remain without Bail or Main-'prize, till upon Certificate made to her High-'neſs, or her Privy Council, of their Names 'and Doings; and upon Examination had of 'ther Offences, ſome further Order ſhall be ta-'ken for their Puniſhment to the Example of 'others, according to the Effect and Tenor of 'the Laws aforeſaid.

Given at our Manor of Richmond, *the* 18*th Day of* Auguſt, *in the firſt Year of our moſt proſperous Reign.*

M. *Bourn's* Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs*, *Auguſt* 13.

About this Time, one Mr. *Bourn*, a Canon of *Paul's*, who was afterwards made Biſhop of *Bath*, was appointed by *Bonner*, then Biſhop of *London*, to preach at *Paul's* Croſs; and he taking Occaſion from the Goſpel of the Day, largely to juſtify *Bonner* then preſent; by ſaying, that Day four Years *Bonner* had preach'd upon the ſame Text, and in the ſame Place, and was thereupon moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile Dungeon of the Marſhalſea, and

there kept during King *Edward*'s Reign; his Words had ſuch an ill Effect upon his Auditors, that they could not keep Silence, but began to murmur and ſtir in ſuch Sort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other Eſtates then preſent, were much afraid of an Uproar: Nay, one hurled a Dagger at the Preacher, but who it was could not be proved then, although it was afterwards known.

In ſhort the Tumult was ſo great, that the Preacher pluck'd in his Head, and durſt no more appear in that Place; for the Matter of his Sermon tended much to the Diſpraiſe of King *Edward*, which the People could in no wiſe endure.

Mr. *John Bradford* appeaſeth the People.

Then Mr. *Bradford*, at the Requeſt of the Preacher's Brother, and others, then being in the Pulpit, ſtood forth, and ſpoke ſo mildly and effectually, that with a few Words he pacified and appeaſed all. And afterwards he and Mr. *Rogers* conducted the Preacher from the Pulpit to the Grammar-School Door, where they left him ſafe. But not long after they were both rewarded with long Impriſonment, and at laſt with Fire in *Smithfield*.

Bradford and *Rogers* guarded the preacher.

By reaſon of this Tumult at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, there was an Order forthwith diſpatched from the Lords of the Council to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they ſhould call a common Council the next Day, and thereby charge every Houſholder, to cauſe their Children, Apprentices, and other Servants, to keep their own Pariſh-Churches upon Holy-Days, and not to ſuffer their attempting in the leaſt to violate or diſturb the common Peace; willing them likewiſe to ſignify to the ſaid Aſſembly the Queen's Determination uttered unto them *Auguſt* 12. by her Highneſs in the Tower; which was this, that notwithſtanding her Majeſty's Conſcience was ſatisfied as to Matters of Religion, yet ſhe graciouſly meant not to compel or force the Conſciences of others, only hoping God, through opening his Word to them by godly, virtuous, and learned Preachers, would ſo guide and direct them, as to bring them to be of the like Religion with herſelf.

Alſo it was then ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward ſhould forthwith ſend for the Curates of every Pariſh within their Liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themſelves, but likewiſe not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any open or ſolemn Reading of Scripture in their Churches, unleſs the ſaid Preachers were ſeverally licenſed by the Queen.

Moreover, after the Sermon at *Paul*'s *Croſs* aforeſaid, the next Day after it was ſo ordered, that the Queen's Guard came to the *Croſs* to attend the Preacher. And when Men withdrew themſelves from the Sermon, Order was taken by the Mayor, that the Antients of all Companies ſhould be preſent, leſt the Preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmall Auditory.

August, 1553.

Auguſt 5. 1553. one *William Rutler* was committed to the Marſhalſea by the Council, for ſpeaking certain Words againſt Mr. *Bourn*, for his Sermon at *Paul's Croſs* the Sunday before.

Aug. 16. *Humphry Palden* was committed to the Compter, for Words againſt the ſaid *Bourn*'s Sermon at *Paul*'s *Croſs*.

A Letter was ſent to the Sheriffs of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, for apprehending one *Fiſher*, Parſon of *Amerſham*.

Fiſher.

Another Letter to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not to ſuffer any Preacher or other, to preach or expound the Scripture publickly, without ſpecial Licenſe from the Queen. Anno 1553.

The ſame Day Mr. *Bradford*, *Vernon* and *Beacon*, Preachers, were committed to the Charge of the Lieutenant of the Tower. *Bradford*, *Vernon* and *Beacon*.

The ſame Day likewiſe Mr. *John Rogers* was commanded to keep himſelf Priſoner in his own Houſe, without converſing with any other but thoſe of his own Houſhold. *John Rogers.*

Aug. 22. Two Letters were directed to Mr. *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, for them to repair forthwith to the Court, and there to attend the Council's Pleaſure. *Coverdale* and *Hooper.*

The ſame Day Parſon *Fiſher* of *Amerſham* appeared before the Council, according to their Letter of *Auguſt* 16, and was ordered to bring a Copy of his Sermon the next Day.

Aug. 24, one *John Melvin* a Preacher, and a *Scotchman*, was ſent to *Newgate* in *London* by the Council. *John Melvin.*

Aug. 28, there was a Letter ſent to the Mayor of *Coventry* and his Brethren, for the apprehending of one *Symonds*, Vicar of St. *Michael*'s in *Coventry*, and for ſending him up to the Council, with his Examinations, and other Matters they could charge him with, with Commiſſion likewiſe to puniſh all ſuch, as by means of his preaching had at that Time talked againſt the Queen's Proceedings. *Symonds.*

Aug. 26. Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Worceſter* appeared before the Council.

Aug. 31. Mr. *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter* appeared before the Council, according to their Letters of the 22d.

September, 1553.

September 1. Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Coverdale* appeared again before the Council, from whence Mr. *Hooper* was committed to the *Fleet*, and Mr. *Coverdale* ordered to attend the Lords Pleaſure.

Sept. 2. Mr. *Hugh Symonds* Vicar of St. *Michael*'s in *Coventry*, was before the Council for a Sermon, and commanded to appear again the *Monday* following.

Sept. 4. A Letter was directed from the Council to Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, for his appearing before them.

The ſame Year, about the 5th Day of *September*, *Peter Martyr* came to *London* from *Oxford*, where for a Time he had been commanded to keep his Houſe, and found there the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who offered to defend the Book of *Common Prayer*, both by the Scriptures and the Fathers, aſſiſted by *Peter Martyr* and others, as will hereafter appear. But whilſt they were in Hopes of coming to a Diſputation, the Archbiſhop and the others were impriſon'd, and *Peter Martyr* permitted to return from whence he came.

The ſame Day a Letter was ſent to the Mayor of *Coventry* with orders to ſet *Hugh Symonds* at Liberty, if he would recant his Sermon, otherwiſe to detain him, and give Notice thereof to the Council.

September 13, Mr. *Hugh Latimer* appeared before the Council, according to their Letter of the 4th, and was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, attended by his Servant *Auſtin*.

The ſame Day the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* appeared before the Council, and was ordered to attend them the next Day in the Afternoon in the Star-Chamber.

September 14, The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* accordingly made his Appearance before the Lords in

Anno 1553. in the Star-Chamber; where, being charged with Treaſon, and with diſtributing ſeditious Bills, to the Diſturbance of the State, he was immediately committed to the *Tower* of *London*, there to remain till further Juſtice and Order, at the Queen's Pleaſure.

September 15, A Letter was ſent to Mr. *Horn*, Dean of *Durham*, commanding him to appear before them; and *October* 7, another was ſent to haſten his Appearance.

September 16, Letters were ſent to the Mayors of *Dover* and *Rye*, to permit all *French* Proteſtants to paſs out of this Realm, except thoſe whoſe Names ſhall be ſignified to them by the *French* Ambaſſador.

OCTOBER, 1553.

October 1. Q. *Mary* crowned. *October* 1, Queen *Mary* was crowned at *Weſtminſter*, and the 10th Day of the ſame Month the Parliament began with a ſolemn Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Popiſh Manner, celebrated with great Pomp in the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, where, according to Cuſtom, the Lords the Biſhops that remained yet undepoſed, were to be preſent among the other Lords; which were the Arch-biſhop of *York*, Dr. *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John Harley*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; but when the Biſhops, Dr. *Taylor* and Mr. *Harley* preſented themſelves according to their Duty, and had taken their Places amongſt the Lords, upon ſeeing Maſs begin they immediately withdrew from the Company, as not enduring the Sight thereof; for which Cauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* being examined, and proteſting his Faith, was commanded to attend; not long after which he died at *Ankerwike*; and Mr. *Harley*, for being married, was excluded both from the Parliament and his Biſhoprick.

October 10. The Parliament beginneth with a Maſs.

Two Biſhops withdrew themſelves from the Sight of the Maſs.

Mr. *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford* put out of his Biſhoprick.

Maſs being ended, the Queen, accompanied with the Eſtates of the Realm, was brought into the Parliament Houſe, there, according to Cuſtom, to enter upon, and begin a Conſultation; at which Conſultation all Statutes were repealed that were made in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. for Reformation; and Statutes made in *Edward* VI. Time, for adminiſtring the Common Prayer and Sacrament in the *Engliſh* Tongue: And further, the Attainder of the Duke of *Northumberland* was by this Parliament confirmed.

Statutes of Premunire repealed.

Altars and Maſſes erected.

In the mean while ſeveral were very forward in erecting Altars and Maſſes in Churches; and ſuch as were for adhering to the Laws made in the Time of King *Edward*, till others ſhould be eſtabliſhed, were either mark'd, or preſently apprehended, among whom was Sir *James Hales*, Knt. of *Kent*, and Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; one, that notwithſtanding he had ventured his Life in Queen *Mary*'s Cauſe, by not ſubſcribing to the diſinheriting her by the King's Will, yet, becauſe at a Quarter-Seſſions he gave a Charge upon the Statutes made in the Reigns of King *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. for the Supremacy and Religion, he was therefore impriſoned in the *Marſhalſea*, *Compter*, and *Fleet*, and ſo cruelly handled and terrified by the Talk that the Warden of the *Fleet* uſed to have in his hearing, of the Torments as were preparing for Hereticks (or for what other Cauſe God only knows) that he intended to diſpatch himſelf with a Knife; and afterwards was willing to ſay what they deſired him, whereupon he was diſcharged; but never afterwards reſted till he drowned himſelf in a River, about Half a Mile from his own Houſe in *Kent*; of whom more will be ſaid hereafter.

The Troubles of Judge *Hales*.

During the Time of this Parliament, the Clergy likewiſe, after their uſual manner, had a Convocation, with a Diſputation alſo, appointed by the Queen's Command, to be held at *Paul*'s Church in *London*, about the 18th of *October*. In this Convocation Mr. *John Harpſfield*, Batchelor of Divinity, made a Sermon AD CLERUM. After Sermon, it was aſſigned by the Biſhops, that they of the Clergy Houſe, for avoiding Confuſion of Words, ſhould chuſe them a Prolocutor. To which Office Dr. *Weſton*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, was choſe by common Aſſent, and preſented to the Biſhops with an Oration of Mr. *Pie*, Dean of *Chicheſter*; and alſo of Mr. *Wimbiſley*, Arch-deacon of *London*. Dr. *Weſton* being choſe, and brought to the Biſhops, made his Gratulatory Oration to the Houſe, and was anſwered with another by Biſhop *Bonner*.

The Convocation begun.

Oration of Mr. *Pie* and Mr. *Wimbiſley*, of Dr. *Weſton* and of Biſhop *Bonner*, in the Convocation Houſe.

They proceeded next to the Diſputation, appointed as is aboveſaid by the Queen's Commandment, about the Matter of the Sacrament; which Diſputation continued ſix Days, wherein Dr. *Weſton* was chief on the Pope's Part, who behaved himſelf outragiouſly in taunting and checking. In fine, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary Part, were driven ſome to flee, ſome to deny, ſome to die, though to moſt Mens Judgments that heard the Diſputation, they had the upper hand, as may here appear by the Report of the ſaid Diſputation, the Copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth.

The true Report of the Diſputation had and begun in the Convocation Houſe at London, Oct. 18, 1553.

WHereas divers and uncertain Rumours be ſpread abroad of the Diſputation had in the Convocation Houſe, to the Intent that all Men may know the Certainty of all Things therein done and ſaid, as much as the Memory of him that was preſent thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at requeſt, throughly to deſcribe what was ſaid therein on both Parties, of the Matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the Entrance thereof.

The FIRST Day's Act.

October 18. Dr. *Weſton*, Prolocutor, againſt the Book of *Catechiſm* ſet forth in King *Edward*'s Time.

Upon *Wedneſday*, *October* 18, in the Afternoon, Dr. *Weſton*, the Prolocutor, firſt certified the Houſe, that it was the Queen's Pleaſure that the Company of the ſame Houſe being learned Men aſſembled, ſhould debate Matters of Religion, and for that End conſtitute Laws, which her Grace and the Parliament would ratify. And becauſe (ſaid he) there was a Book lately publiſhed, called the *Catechiſm*, which he ſhewed forth, bearing the Name of this honourable Synod, and yet put forth without your Conſents, as I have learned, being a Book very peſtiferous, and full of Hereſies; and likewiſe an abominable Book of *Common Prayer* (as he pleaſed to call it) I thought it beſt therefore firſt to begin with the Articles of the *Catechiſm*, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, for confirming the natural Preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo Tranſubſtantiation. Wherefore (ſaid he) it ſhall be lawful on *Friday* next enſuing, for all Men freely to ſpeak their Conſcience in theſe Matters, that all Doubts may be removed, and they fully ſatisfied therein.

Two Bills exhibited in the Convocation Houſe by the Prolocutor.

The SECOND Day's Act.

The *Friday* coming, being *October* 20, when it was expected they ſhould have entred into Diſpu-

Diſputation of the Queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibiting two Bills to the Houſe, the one for the natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, and the other concerning the *Catechiſm*, that it was not publiſhed by the Conſent of that Houſe, and that they did not agree thereunto, requiring all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame as he himſelf had done. Whereunto the whole Houſe accordingly aſſented, except ſix, *viz.* the Dean of *Rocheſter*, the Dean of *Exeter*, the Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, Archdeacon of *Hereford*, Arch-deacon of *Stow*, and one more. And while the reſt were about ſubſcribing to theſe two Articles, *John Philpot* ſtood up and ſpoke firſt concerning the Articles of the *Catechiſm*, that he thought they were deceived in the Title of the *Catechiſm*, for that it bore the Title of the Synod before this, altho' as to publiſhing thereof ſeveral of them then preſent were not made privy thereunto; and that becauſe this Houſe had granted Authority to certain Perſons appointed by the King's Majeſty to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Laws were thereupon publiſhed by the Authority of them, or the major Part of them, according to a Statute in that Behalf made and provided, it might well be ſaid to be done by the Conſent of the Synod of *London*, notwithſtanding ſuch as were Members of this Houſe now had no Notice thereof before the Promulgation. And therefore in this Point he thought the Publiſher thereof had not in the leaſt ſlandered the Houſe, as they by their Subſcriptions were endeavouring to perſuade the World, ſince they had one ſynodal Authority for impowering them to make ſuch ſpiritual Laws, as they thought convenient and neceſſary.

Philips, Haddon, Philpot, Cheyney, Elmar, and one other, refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Bills.

The *Catechiſm* vindicated by *Philpot*,

And moreover he ſaid, that as to the Article of the natural Preſence in the Sacrament, it was both contrary to Reaſon and Learning, and likewiſe very prejudicial to Truth, for Men to be moved to Subſcribe before the Matter was thoroughly examined and diſcuſſed. But when he ſaw his Allegations were to no purpoſe, being like a Man aſtoniſhed at ſo many antient learned Men being purpoſely aſſembled to maintain old Traditions preferable to the Truth of God's Holy Word, he made it his Requeſt to the Prolocutor, that whereas on that Side there were preſent ſo many learned Men, as the like were not to be found again in the whole Realm, and that on the other Side, of thoſe that had not ſubſcribed there were not above five or ſix, and they far inferior to them both in Age and Learning: In order therefore that there might be an Equality of Perſons concerned in this Diſputation, he deſired that the Prolocutor would intercede with the Lords, that ſome of thoſe Men that were learned, and occaſioned the publiſhing of the Catechiſm aforeſaid, might be admitted into the Houſe to ſhew their Learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Rogers*, with two or three more, might have the Liberty of being preſent at this Diſputation, and Aſſociating with them.

againſt the Article of Natural Preſence.

Philpot's Requeſt to the Prolocutor.

This Requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was therefore propoſed to the Biſhops, who returned this Anſwer; That it was out of their Power to call ſuch Perſons to the Houſe, ſince ſome of them were Priſoners; but they ſaid, they would petition the Council in this Behalf, and in Caſe any of them were abſent that ought to be of the Houſe, they were for their being admitted as they deſired. After this, they minding to have entered into Diſputation, there came a Gentleman with a Meſſage from the Lord great Maſter, ſignifying unto the Prolocutor, that the Lord great Maſter and the Earl of *Devonſhire* would be preſent at the Diſputations, and therefore he deferred the ſame till *Monday*, at one of the Clock in the Afternoon. Anno 1553.

The Third Day's Act.

Upon *Monday*, *Octob.* 23. at the Time appointed, in Preſence of many Earls, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and ſeveral others both of the Court and City, the Prolocutor made a Proteſtation, that the Members of that Houſe had appointed this Diſputation, not to call in Queſtion the Truth, whereunto they had all ſubſcribed already except five or ſix, but that thoſe Gainſayers might be reſolved of their Arguments in which they ſtood, not doubting but they will alſo come over to us. The third Seſſion.

Then he demanded of Mr. *Haddon*, whether he would reaſon againſt the Queſtions propoſed, or not; to whom he anſwered, that he had certified him before in Writing that he would not, ſince they could not have ſuch Men for their Aſſiſtants as they deſired. Mr. *Elmar*, likewiſe was aſked the ſame Queſtion, who returned the ſame Anſwer to the Prolocutor; adding moreover, that they had done too much Prejudice already to the Truth, to ſubſcribe before the Matter was diſcuſſed; and it would ſignify little or nothing to reaſon for the Truth, ſince they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demanded of Mr. *Cheyney*, who, the Prolocutor ſaid, allowed the Preſence with them, (but upon certain Authorities whereon he ſtandeth, and in which he deſires to be reſolved, as you ſhall hear, denied Tranſubſtantiation) whether he would propoſe his Doubts concerning Tranſubſtantiation. To which he replied, yea, I ſhould be glad my Doubts were reſolved, that move me to diſbelieve Tranſubſtantiation. *Haddon* and *Elmar* refuſed to Anſwer unleſs their Requeſt were granted.

Mr *Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hereford*.

The Firſt is out of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, who ſpeaking of the Sacrament of *Chriſt*'s Body and Blood, frequently calls it Bread after Conſecration. *Cheyney*'s Doubts concerning Tranſubſtantiation.

The Second is out of *Origen*, who ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſaith, that the material Part thereof goeth down to the Excrements.

The Third is out of *Theodoretus*, who ſpeaking of the ſacramental Bread and Wine after Conſecration, ſaith, that they go not out of their former Subſtance, Form and Shape. Theſe among ſeveral others, are the Doubts I require to be anſwered.

Then the Prolocutor aſſigned Dr. *Moreman* to anſwer him, who, to St. *Paul*, anſwered him thus: That the Sacrament is called by him Bread indeed; but it is thus to be underſtood, that it is the Sacrament of Bread, that is, the Form of Bread. *Moreman*'s Anſwer.

Then Mr. *Cheyney* inferred and alledged, that *Heſychius* called the Sacrament both Bread and Fleſh. *Cheyney*'s Reply.

Yea, reply'd *Moreman*, *Heſychius* calleth it Bread, becauſe it was Bread, not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſing over *Origen*, he came to *Theodoretus*, and ſaid, that Men miſtook his Authority, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as *Peter Martyr* hath done in the place of *Theodoret*, taking the *Greek* Word that ſignifies Subſtance in its ſpecial Signification, whereas in the general it may be apply'd to Accidents as well as Subſtance; and therefore I anſwer *Theodoret* thus, That the ſacramental Bread and Wine do not *Moreman*'s Anſwer.

Anno 1553.

not go out of their former Subſtance, Form and Shape, that is, not out of their accidental Subſtance and Shape.

Mr. *Elmar* argueth againſt Dr. *Moreman*'s Anſwer.

After this Mr. *Cheyney* ſat down, and Mr. *Elmar* (a Man that could not endure to hear ſo weak and childiſh an Anſwer to ſo grave an Authority) ſtood up and diſputed upon the Authority before alledged by Mr. *Cheyney*, and declared that *Moreman*'s Anſwer to *Theodoret* was no juſt or ſufficient Anſwer, but an Illuſion and ſubtle Evaſion, contrary to *Theodoret*'s Meaning. For if the *Greek* Word that ſignifies Subſtance, ſaid he, ſhould, in the Place alledged, be taken for Accident, as it is anſwered by *Moreman*, then were it a Word ſuperfluous in *Theodoret* there, where there are two other *Greek* Words, which ſufficiently expound the Accidents of the Bread, and in *Engliſh* ſignify Shape and Form; and ſo he proved out of the ſame Author, by divers Allegations, that the *Greek* Word that ſignify'd Subſtance in *Theodoret*, could not be ſo generally taken in that Place, as *Moreman*, for a Shift, would have it. But *Moreman*, as a Man having no other Salve for that Sore, affirmeth ſtill, that the *Greek* Word which ſignify'd Subſtance, muſt needs ſignify Accidental Subſtance properly. To whoſe Importunity, ſince he could have no better Anſwer, *Elmar*, wearied with his Obſtinacy, gave Place.

Philpot's Replication to *Moreman*.

Then *John Philpot* ſtood up, and ſaid, that he could prove from the Matter *Theodoret* handled in the Place before alledged, and the Similitude which he makes uſe of for proving his Purpoſe, *Moreman*'s Interpretation of the *Greek* Word that there ſignify'd Subſtance, was by no means to be taken for an accidental Subſtance, as for a Shift he would interpret it to be. For the Matter *Theodoret* diſcourſeth of in that Place, is againſt the Heretick *Eutiches*, who denied two Natures of Subſtance to remain in Chriſt, being but one Perſon; and that his Humanity, after the Accompliſhment of the Myſtery of our Salvation, aſcending into Heaven, and being joined to the Divinity, was abſorpt or ſwallowed up of the ſame; ſo that, according to his Opinion, Chriſt was no more but of one Divine Subſtance only; againſt which Opinion *Theodoret* writeth, and by the Similitude of the Sacrament proveth the contrary againſt this Heretick: That like as in the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt after the Conſecration, there is the Subſtance of Chriſt's Humanity, with the Subſtance of Bread remaining as it was before, not being abſorpt by the Humanity of Chriſt, but by Divine Operation joined thereunto; even ſo in the Perſon of Chriſt, being now in Heaven, of whom this Sacrament is a Repreſentation; there be two ſeveral Subſtances, that is, his Humanity and Divinity united in one Hypoſtaſy or Perſon, which is Chriſt, the Humanity not being abſorp'd by the Conjunction of the Divinity, but remaining in its former Subſtance.

The Place of *Theodoret* falſly taken by the Papiſts.

And this Similitude, ſaith *Philpot*, brought by *Theodoret* to confound *Eutiches*, would prove nothing at all, if the very Subſtance of the ſacramental Bread remained not as it did before. But if Dr. *Moreman*'s Interpretation might take Place for Tranſubſtantiation, then by *Theodoret*'s Authority ſo taken, would the Heretick have a ſtrong Argument to maintain his Hereſy, and to prove himſelf an Orthodox Chriſtian, and might well ſay to *Theodoret* thus; Like as thou *Theodoret*, if thou wert of Dr. *Moreman*'s Mind, doth ſay, that after the Conſecration in the Sacrament, the Subſtance of the Bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiated into the human Body of Chriſt coming thereunto, ſo that in the Sacrament there is but one Subſtance of the Humanity alone, and not the Subſtance of Bread as it was before; even ſo likewiſe may I affirm, and conclude by thine own Similitude, that the Humanity aſcending up by the Power of God into Heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the Might thereof abſorpt and turned into one Subſtance with the Deity; ſo that now there remaineth but one divine Subſtance in Chriſt, no more than in the ſacramental Signs of the Lord's Supper, after the Conſecration, doth remain any more than one Subſtance, according to your Belief and Conſtruction.

In anſwering to this Dr. *Moreman* ſtaggered, which *Philpot* well perceiving, ſpake on this wiſe; Well, Maſter *Moreman*, if you have no Anſwer at this preſent ready, I pray you conſider of one, if you can conveniently, againſt our next Meeting here again.

Dr. *Weſton* offended.

With that his Saying the Prolocutor was grievouſly offended, telling him that he ſhould not brag there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſaid *Philpot*, it is the Thing that I only deſire, to be anſwered directly in this Behalf; and I deſire of you, and of all the Houſe here preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, taking *Theodoret*'s Authority and Similitude as he ought to be taken. Whereupon, without any further Anſwer to *Philpot*'s Reaſoning, he was commanded to be ſilent.

Philpot's Reply anſwer'd by commanding him to be ſilent.

Then the Dean of *Rocheſter* ſtood up, offering himſelf to diſpute againſt the natural Preſence, wiſhing that the Scripture, and the antient Doctors, might be weighed, believed, and followed in this Point. And againſt this natural Preſence, he thought that Saying of Chriſt in St. *Matthew* was a ſufficient Argument, if Men would credit and follow Scripture; where ſpeaking of himſelf, he ſays, That the Poor we ſhould have always with us, but him we ſhould not have always: Which, quoth he, was ſpoken concerning the natural Preſence of Chriſt's Body, and therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught us, That Chriſt is not naturally preſent on Earth in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Weſton's Anſwer to the Dean of *Rocheſter*.

To this he was anſwered by the Prolocutor, That we ſhould not have Chriſt preſent always to exerciſe Alms Deeds upon him, but upon the Poor.

The Dean's Reply. St. *Auguſtine* on the real Preſence.

But the Dean proſecuted his Argument, and ſhewed it out of St. *Auguſtin* further, that the ſame Interpretation of the Scripture alledged was no ſufficient Anſwer, who in the 50th Treatiſe of St. *John* ſpeaketh thus on the ſame Sentence: ‘When as he ſaid (ſaith St. *Auguſtin*) Me ye ‘ſhall not have always with you, he ſpake of ‘the Preſence of his Body. For by his Majeſty, ‘by his Providence, by his unſpeakable and in‘viſible Grace, that is fulfilled which is ſaid of ‘him, Behold I am with you until the Conſum‘mation of the World. But in the Fleſh which ‘the Word took upon him, in that which was ‘born of the Virgin, in that which was appre‘hended by the *Jews*, which was crucified on ‘the Croſs, which was let down from the Croſs, ‘which was wrapped in Clouts, which was hid ‘in the Sepulchre, which was manifeſted in the ‘Reſurrection, you ſhall not have me always ‘with you. And why? For after a bodily ‘Preſence he was converſant with his Diſciples ‘forty Days, and they accompanying him, ſee‘ing and not following him, he aſcended and ‘is not here; for there he ſitteth at the Right

'Hand of the Father; and yet here he is, be-
'cauſe he is not departed in the Preſence of his
'Majeſty. After another Manner we have Chriſt
'always by the Preſence of his Majeſty, but af-
'ter the Preſence of his Fleſh it is rightly ſaid,
'You ſhall not verily have me always with you.
'For the Church had him in the Preſence of his
'Fleſh a few Days, and now by Faith it appre-
'hendeth him, and ſeeth him not with Eyes.'

Watſon's Anſwer to St. Auguſtine. To this Authority Dr. *Watſon* anſwer'd, and ſaid, he would anſwer St. *Auguſtin* by St. *Auguſtin*, and having a certain Book in his Hand of Notes, he alledged out of the 70th Treatiſe upon St. *John*, that after that mortal Condition and Manner we have not now Chriſt on Earth, as he was heretofore before his Paſſion.

Philpot's Reply to Watſon. To this Anſwer *John Philpot* replied, and ſaid, That Mr. *Watſon* had not fully anſwered St. *Auguſtin* by St. *Auguſtin*, as he promiſed to do, for that in the Place abovementioned by the Dean of *Rocheſter*, he doth not only teach the mortal State of Chriſt's Body before his Paſſion, but alſo the immortal Condition of the ſame after his Reſurrection: In which mortal Body St. *Auguſtin* ſeemeth plainly to affirm, That Chriſt is not preſent upon the Earth, neither in Form viſibly, neither in corporal Subſtance inviſibly, as in a few Lines after the Place above alledged, St. *Auguſtin* doth more plainly declare by theſe Words, ſaying, 'Now theſe two Manners of
'Chriſt's Preſence declared, which is by his
'Majeſty, Providence and Grace now preſent
'in the World, which before his Aſcenſion was
'preſent in the Fleſh; and which being now
'placed at the Right Hand of the Father, is
'abſent from the World, I think there remains
'no further Diſpute about the Matter.

Now, ſaid *Philpot*, if St. *Auguſtin* allowed no other Preſence of Chriſt here on Earth but only his divine Preſence, and touching his Humanity to be in Heaven, we ought to confeſs and believe the ſame. But if we put a third Preſence of Chriſt, that is corporally to be preſent always in the Sacrament of the Altar inviſibly according to your Suppoſitions, whereof St. *Auguſtin* maketh no Mention in all his Works, you ſeem to judge that which St. *Auguſtin* did never comprehend.

Why, ſaid *Watſon*, does not St. *Auguſtin* in the Place I alledged, make Mention how St. *Stephen* being in this World, ſaw Chriſt after his Aſcenſion?

It is true, ſaid *Philpot*, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the Scripture ſaith, in the Heavens, being open, ſtanding at the Right Hand of God the Father: at which *Watſon* was ſilent.

Then the Prolocutor went about to anſwer St. *Auguſtin*, ſaying, That he is not now in the World after the Manner of bodily Preſence, but yet preſent for all that in his Body.

To whom *Philpot* anſwered, that the Prolocutor dwelt much upon the Word * in St. *Auguſtin* that ſignified after a Manner, or in Form; but that he made no Anſwer to † that which ſignified that Thing or Subſtance of Chriſt in which Chriſt ſuffered, aroſe, and aſcended into Heaven, in which Thing or Subſtance he is in Heaven, and not on Earth, as St. *Auguſtin* in the Place before ſpecified does moſt clearly make appear.

* Secundum.

† Id quod.

Nothing further being anſwered to this, the Dean of *Rocheſter* proceeded in the Maintenance of his Argument, and read out of a Book of Annotations ſundry Authorities for the Confirmation thereof. To which *Moreman*, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct Anſwer, but bade him frame an Argument, ſaying, that the Dean had recited many Doctors Words, but had not made one Argument. Anno 1553.

Then ſaid the Dean, the Authorities of the Doctors I have quoted, are Arguments ſufficient to prove my Intent, and to which I deſire you will anſwer. But *Moreman* ſtill cried, make an Argument, to ſhift off the Authority which he could not anſwer to. Whereupon the Dean made the following Argument from the Inſtitution of the Sacrament; Do this in Remembrance of me; and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's Death until he come.

Weſton's anſwering the Argument Donec, Until, in Scripture. The Sacrament is the Remembrance of Chriſt: therefore, the Sacrament is not very Chriſt; for as yet he is not come. For theſe Words, Until he come, do plainly ſignify the Abſence of Chriſt's Body. Then the Prolocutor went about to ſhew, that theſe Words, Until he come, did not import any Abſence of Chriſt on the Earth, by other Places of Scripture, where the Word, Until, was made Uſe of; but directly to the Purpoſe he anſwered nothing. In fine, the Dean fell to aſking *Moreman*, whether Chriſt did eat the paſchal Lamb with his Diſciples, or not? He anſwered, Yea. He further demanded, whether upon inſtituting the Sacrament, he did likewiſe eat the Sacrament with them? *Moreman* anſwered, Yea. Then he aſked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural Body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when *Moreman* had affirmed, then ſaid the Dean, it is a great Abſurdity by you granted; and ſo ſate down.

Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eat his own Body. Againſt this Abſurdity *Philpot* ſtood up and argued, ſaying, He could prove it by good Reaſon deduced out of Scripture, that Chriſt eat not his own natural Body at the Inſtitution of the Sacrament; and gave the following Reaſon:

Receiving of Chriſt's Body hath a Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins with it annexed.
Chriſt eating the Sacrament, had no Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sin.
Therefore, Chriſt in the Sacrament did not eat his own Body.

Moreman's denying the Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins annexed to the Sacrament. *Moreman* anſwered this Reaſon, by denying the former Part of the Argument, that the Sacrament had a Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins annexed unto it.

Then *Philpot* ſhewed this to be the Promiſe in the Sacrament; Which is given for you, which is ſhed for you, for the Remiſſion of Sins. But *Moreman* would not allow that to be any Promiſe, and ſo forced *Philpot* to the Sixth of St. *John*, to make good his Saying with theſe Words; The Bread which I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World.

Harpſfield aſſerting what his Fellow Mr. Moreman denied. *Moreman* anſwering nothing directly to this Argument, *Harpſfield* ſtarted up to ſupply what was wanting in *Moreman*; and thinking to have anſwered *Philpot*, confirmed more ſtrongly his Argument, by ſaying, Ye miſtake the Promiſe which is annexed to the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament; for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to his Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſaid, This is my Body which is given for you; and not for Chriſt himſelf.

You have well ſaid, quoth *Philpot*, for that is my Argument; the Promiſe of the Body of Chriſt took no Effect in Chriſt: therefore Chriſt eat not his own Body.

Then the Prolocutor, to ſhoulder out the Matter, ſaid, the Argument was nought. For by the like Argument he might go about to

Anno 1553. prove, that Chriſt was not baptized, becauſe the Remiſſion of Sins, which is annexed unto Baptiſm, had no Effect in Chriſt. To which *Philpot* replied, that like as Chriſt was baptized, ſo he eat the Sacrament; but he took on him Baptiſm, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any Effect in him, but as our Maſter, to give the Church an Example to follow him in the Miniſtration of the Sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himſelf, and not to give himſelf to himſelf.

Philpot's Argument not ſolved.

No more was ſaid on this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of *Philpot*, whether he would argue againſt the natural Preſence, or not? To whom he anſwer'd, Yea, if he would hear his Argument without Interruption, and aſſign one to anſwer him, and not many, which is a Confuſion to the Opponent, and eſpecially for him that had but an ill Memory. By this Time the Night was come on; wherefore the Prolocutor brake up the Diſputation for that Time, and appointed *Philpot* to be the firſt that ſhould begin the Diſputation the next Day, concerning the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The Fourth Day's Act.

Mr. *Philpot* not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his Declaration.

On *Wedneſday*, *October* 25. *John Philpot*, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the Diſputation, minding firſt to have made an Oration and Declaration in *Latin* of the Matter of Chriſt's Preſence which was then in Queſtion. Which the Prolocutor perceiving, forbad *Philpot* to make any Declaration or Oration of any Matter, commanding him alſo that he ſhould make no Argument in *Latin*, but to conclude his Argument in *Engliſh*.

Then, ſaid *Philpot*, this is contrary to your Order at the beginning of this Diſputation; for then you appointed that all the Arguments ſhould be made in *Latin*, and thereupon I have drawn and deviſed all mine Arguments in *Latin*: And becauſe you, Mr. Prolocutor, have ſaid heretofore openly in this Houſe that I had no Learning, I intended to ſhew ſuch Learning as I have, in a brief Oration, and ſhort Declaration of the Queſtions now in Controverſy, thinking it ſo moſt convenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe in my Declaration than ſhould ſtand with Learning, or than I were able to warrant, and juſtify by God's Word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the Houſe, ſo that the unlearned being preſent, might take the leſs Offence thereat. But this prevailed nothing with the Prolocutor, who ſtill inſiſted upon his forming an Argument in *Engliſh*, or elſe to hold his Peace.

Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament diſtinguiſhed.

Then, ſaid *Philpot*, you have ſore diſappointed me, thus ſuddenly to go from your former Order: But I will accompliſh your Commandment, leaving mine Oration apart, and I will come to my Arguments, which, as well as ſo ſudden a Warning will ſerve, I will make in *Engliſh*. But before I bring forth any Argument, I will in one Word declare what manner of Preſence I diſallow in the Sacrament, to the intent the Hearers may the better underſtand to what End and Effect mine Arguments ſhall tend; not to deny utterly the Preſence of Chriſt in his Sacrament, truly miniſtred according to his Inſtitution, but only to deny that groſs and carnal Preſence, which you of this Houſe have already ſubſcribed unto, to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, contrary to the true and manifeſt meaning of the Scriptures: That by Tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramental Bread and Wine, Chriſt's natural Body ſhould, by virtue of the Words pronounced by the Prieſt, be contained and included under the Forms or Accidents of Bread and Wine. This kind of Preſence imagined by Men, I do deny, quoth *Philpot*, and againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an End of what he was about, he was interrupted by the Prolocutor, and commanded to deſcend to his Argument: At whoſe unjuſt Importunity *Philpot* being offended, and hoping to find Remedy, fell down upon his Knees before the Earls and Lords which were there preſent, being a great Number, whereof ſome were of the Queen's Council, beſeeching them that he might have Liberty to proſecute his Arguments, without Interruption, which was readily granted by the Lords. But the Prolocutor would not condeſcend to it, but ſtill cry'd, Hold your Peace, or elſe make a ſhort Argument. I am about it, ſaid *Philpot*, if you will let me alone: But firſt I muſt ask a Queſtion of my Reſpondent (who was Dr. *Chedſey*) concerning a Word or two of your Suppoſition, that is, of the Sacrament of the Altar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it, as ſome of the antient Writers do, terming the Lord's Supper the Sacrament of the Altar; partly becauſe it is a Sacrament of that lively Sacrifice which Chriſt offered for our Sins upon the Altar of the Croſs, and partly becauſe that Chriſt's Body, crucified for us, was that bloody Sacrifice, which the Blood-ſhedding of all the Beaſts offered upon the Altar in the old Law, did prefigurate and ſignify unto us; in Signification whereof the old Writers ſometime do call the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, among other Names which they aſcribe thereunto, the Sacrament of the Altar; or whether you take it otherwiſe; as for the Sacrament of the Altar, which is made of Lime and Stone, over which the Sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the Sacrament of the Maſs, as it is at preſent in many Places. This done, I will direct my Arguments according as your Anſwer ſhall give me Occaſion.

Philpot's Requeſt to the Lords for proſecuting his Arguments without Interruption.

Philpot again interrupted by the Prolocutor.

Altar diverſly taken.

Then Dr. *Chedſey* made this Anſwer, That in their Suppoſition they took the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Sacrament of the Maſs, to be all one.

Chedſey.

Then, ſaid *Philpot*, by Mr. Prolocutor's Leave, I will ſpeak plain *Engliſh*, and make a ſhort Reſolution thereof; that the Sacrament of the Altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the Maſs, once juſtly aboliſhed, and now put in full Uſe again, is no Sacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it; and this he offered to prove before the whole Houſe, if they required it: He would likewiſe vouch the ſame before the Queen and her honourable Council, before the Face of ſix of the moſt learned Men of the Houſe of the contrary Opinion, and refuſed none: And if I ſhall not be able by God's Word to maintain what I have ſaid, and confound thoſe ſix which ſhall take upon them to withſtand me in this Point, let me be burdened with as many Faggots as can be found in *London*, before the Court Gates. This he ſpake with the utmoſt Zeal and Courage.

Philpot's Offer in the Convocation Houſe.

At this the Prolocutor with many others were very much offended, demanding of him whether he knew what he ſaid; Yea, quoth *Philpot*, I know very well what I ſay, and I deſire that no Man may be offended at it, for I ſpeak no more than by the Word of God I am able to prove; and praiſed be God that the Queen's Grace hath granted to us of this Houſe (as our Prolocutor hath informed us) the free Liberty of uttering

uttering our Conſciences in theſe Matters of Controverſy in Religion; and therefore I will here freely ſpeak my Conſcience, grounded upon God's Holy Word, for the Truth, although ſome of you here preſent do not like it.

The Prolocutor threatneth *Philpot* with Impriſonment.

Then the Prolocutor, with ſeveral others of the Houſe, taunted and reproved him for ſpeaking ſo indecently againſt the Sacrament of the Maſs. The Prolocutor told him he was Mad, and threatned to ſend him to Priſon, if he would not ceaſe ſpeaking.

Philpot ſeeing himſelf thus abuſed, and not permitted the free Liberty of declaring his Mind, fell into an Exclamation, caſting his Eyes towards Heaven, and ſaid, *O Lord, what a World is this, that the Truth of thy holy Word cannot be ſpoken and endured!* And for great Sorrow and Trouble the Tears were ſeen to trickle down his Eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a ſhort Argument.

The Prolocutor being moved by ſome that were about him, conſented that he ſhould make an Argument, provided it were a ſhort one. I will be as brief, ſaid *Philpot*, as I can conveniently in uttering all that I have to ſay. And, firſt, I will begin to ground my Arguments upon the Authority of Scripture, whereon all the building of our Faith ought to be grounded; and then I ſhall confirm the ſame by the ancient Fathers of the Church. I take the Occaſion of the firſt Argument out of the 28*th* Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, of what was ſaid by the Angel to the three *Mary*'s, ſeeking Chriſt at the Sepulchre, ſaying, *He is Riſen, he is not here*; and in St. *Luke*, Chap. xxiii. the Angel aſketh them, *Why they ſought him that Liveth among the Dead.* The Scripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt is Riſen, aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the Right-hand of the Father: All which is ſpoken of his natural Body: *Ergo*, It is not on Earth included in the Sacrament.

I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the Saying of Chriſt in the 16*th* of St. *John*; *I came* (ſaith Chriſt) *from my Father into the World, and now I leave the World and go away to my Father.* Which coming and going he meant of his natural Body; therefore we may conſequently affirm, that it is not found in the World.

The Papiſts blind Diſtinction of viſibly and inviſibly.

But (ſaith he) I expect here to be anſwered with a blind Diſtinction of viſibly and inviſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his Humanity, but remaineth inviſibly in the Sacrament. But that I may with more Expedition paſs on to the Pith of my Arguments, (whereof I have a dozen to propoſe) I will prevent that Anſwer, and that no ſuch Diſtinction ought to take away the Force of that Argument, will prove from the Anſwer which Chriſt's Diſciples gave unto him, ſaying, *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, and uttereſt forth no Proverb.* Which Words St. *Cyril* interpreting, ſaith, *That Chriſt ſpake without any manner of Ambiguity or obſcure Speech.* And therefore I do from thence conclude, that if Chriſt ſpake plainly, and without Parable, ſaying, *I leave the World now, and go away to my Father*; then that obſcure, dark and imperceptible Preſence of Chriſt's natural Body remaining in the Sacrament inviſibly upon Earth, contrary to the plain Words of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed; for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and abſurd, than ſo to ſay. I will now give Attention to your Anſwer, and then deſcend to confirm what I have ſaid by ancient Writers.

Chedſey's Anſwer to *Philpot*.

Then Dr. *Chedſey* reciting his Argument in ſuch Sort as it was made, took upon him to anſwer every Part thereof ſeverally on this wiſe. Anno 1553.
Firſt, To the ſaying of the Angel, *That Chriſt is not here*: and, *Why ſeek ye the Living among the Dead?* He anſwered, that theſe Sayings pertained nothing to the Preſence of Chriſt's natural Body in the Sacrament, but that they were ſpoke of Chriſt's Body being in the Sepulchre, when the three *Mary*'s thought him to have been in the Grave ſtill. And therefore the Angel ſaid, *Why do ye ſeek him that Liveth among the Dead?* And to the Authority of St. *John*, where Chriſt ſaith, *Now I leave the World and go to my Father*; he meant that of his Aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did *Cyril*, interpreting the Saying of the Diſciples, that knew plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into Heaven, but that doth not exclude the inviſible Preſence of his natural Body in the Sacrament. For St. *Chryſoſtom* writing to the People of *Antioch*, doth affirm the ſame, comparing *Elias* and Chriſt together, and *Elias*'s Cloak and Chriſt's Fleſh. *When* Elias (ſaith he) *was taken up in the fiery Chariot, he left his Cloak behind him unto his Diſciple* Eliſæus. *But Chriſt aſcending into Heaven took his Fleſh with him, and left alſo his Fleſh behind him.* From whence we may juſtly conclude, that Chriſt's Fleſh is viſibly aſcended into Heaven, and abideth ſtill inviſibly in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Philpot's Anſwer to *Chedſey*.

To this *Philpot* reply'd, and ſaid, You have not directly anſwered to the Saying of the Angel, *Chriſt is Riſen, and is not here*, becauſe you have omitted that which was the chief Point of all. For, ſaid he, I proceed further, as thus; He is Riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the Right-hand of God the Father; therefore, he is not remaining on the Earth. Neither is your Anſwer to *Cyril*, by me alledged ſufficient. But I will preſently return to your Interpretation of *Cyril*, and plainly declare it, after I have refelled the Authority of *Chryſoſtom*, which is one of the chief Principles that you alledged to make for your groſs carnal Preſence in the Sacrament; which being well weighed and underſtood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

Philpot again interrupted by the Prolocutor.

At that the Prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chief Pillars in this Point ſhould be overthrown; and therefore he recited the ſaid Authority firſt in *Latin*, and afterwards he turned it into *Engliſh*, and deſired all that were preſent to remark that Saying of *Chryſoſtom*, which he thought invincible on their own Side. But I will make it appear (ſaid *Philpot*) by and by, that it doth make little for your Purpoſe. And as he was declaring his Mind in that behalf, the Prolocutor interrupted him, as he frequently did. With which *Philpot* being diſpleaſed, ſaid, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a Sophiſtry-School, where he well knoweth the Manner is, that when the Reſpondent perceiveth, that he is like to be inforced with an Argument, which he is not able to anſwer, thus he doth what he can by Cavillation and Interruption to drive him from the ſame. This Saying of *Philpot* was ill taken by the Prolocutor and his Adherents; and the Prolocutor ſaid, that *Philpot* could bring nothing to avoid that Authority but his own vain Imagination. Hear, quoth *Philpot*, and afterwards judge; for I will do in this, as in all other Authorities, wherewith you ſhall take upon you to refel any of my Arguments that I have to proſecute, anſwering the ſame either by ſufficient Authorities of Scripture, or elſe by ſome other Teſtimony of like Authority with yours, and not of my own Imagination; which if I do I deſire it to be of no

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no Credit. And as to the Saying of *Chryſoſtom*, I have two Ways to beat him from your Purpoſe, one out of Scripture, and the other out of the very Place of *Chryſoſtom* himſelf here by you alledged.

The Place of *Chryſoſtom*, of Chriſt taking up his Fleſh, and leaving his Fleſh, anſwered to by *Philpot*.

Firſt, where he ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his Fleſh with him, and left alſo his Fleſh behind him; it is Truth; for we all do confeſs and believe, that Chriſt took on him our human Nature in the Virgin *Mary*'s Womb, and through his Paſſion in the ſame hath united us to his Fleſh, and thereby are we become one Fleſh with him; ſo that *Chryſoſtom* might therefore well ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his Fleſh which he received of the Virgin *Mary* away with him; and alſo left his Fleſh behind him, which are we that be his Elect in this World, which are the Members of Chriſt, and Fleſh of his Fleſh; as St. *Paul* doth aptly teſtify, *Eph.* v. ſaying, *We are Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bones.* And if any Man will reply, that he there treateth of the Sacrament, and that this Interpretation cannot ſo aptly be applied unto him in that Place, then will I yet interpret *Chryſoſtom* another Way by himſelf. For in that Place, a few Lines before thoſe Words which were here now read, are theſe Words; That Chriſt, after he aſcended into Heaven, left unto us, indued with his Sacraments, his Fleſh in Myſteries, that is, Sacramentally: and that myſtical Fleſh Chriſt leaveth as well to his Church in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, as in the ſacramental Bread and Wine. And this St. *Paul* doth juſtly witneſs, *Gal.* iii. ſaying, *As many of us as are baptized in Chriſt have put upon us Chriſt.* And thus you may perceive that St. *Chryſoſtom* maketh nothing for your groſs and carnal Preſence in the Sacrament, as you wrongly take him.

Chryſoſtom expounded by *Chryſoſtom*.

Now in the mean while the Prolocutor was moved by Mr. *Pie*, whiſpering him in the Ear, to put *Philpot* to Silence, and to appoint ſome other, fearing if he held on long, he would at length ſhake their carnal Preſence, ſeeing he had already gave one of their chief Foundations ſuch a pluck. Then the Prolocutor ſaid to *Philpot*, that he had reaſoned enough, and that ſome other ſhould ſupply his Room. At which *Philpot* was diſpleaſed, ſaying: Why, Sir, I have a dozen Arguments to propoſe concerning this Matter, and I have as yet ſcarce gone over the firſt; for being hitherto hindered through your frequent interrupting me, I have not for confirmation thereof quoted any ancient Writer, as I could a great many.

A good Solution for all his Argument.

Well, ſaid the Prolocutor, you ſhall ſpeak no more now, and I command you to hold your Peace. You perceive, ſaid *Philpot*, that I have Stuff enough for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe Suppoſition, and therefore you command me to be ſilent. If you will not give place, ſaid the Prolocutor, I will ſend you to Priſon. This is not, ſaith *Philpot*, according to your Promiſe made in this Houſe, nor yet to your Brags made at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, that Men ſhould be anſwered in this Diſputation to whatſoever they can ſay, ſince of a dozen Arguments you will not ſuffer me to proſecute one.

Then Mr. *Pie* took upon him to promiſe that he ſhould be anſwered another Day. But *Philpot* ſeeing he could not proceed as he deſigned, was juſtly offended thereat, and made an End, by ſaying thus: A Sort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in Corners, and diſſembled with God and the World, are now gathered together to ſuppreſs the ſincere Truth of God's holy Word, and to ſet forth every falſe Device, which by the Catholick Doctrine of the Scripture ye are not able to maintain.

Mr. *Elmar* again ſteps forth.

Then ſtepped forth Mr. *Elmar*, Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom Mr. *Moreman* took upon him to anſwer: Againſt whom, for confirming the Argument he took in Hand the Day before, Mr. *Elmar* objected ſeveral Authorities, to prove that the *Greek* Word in *Theodoret*, which Mr. *Cheyney* ſaid ſignify'd Subſtance, muſt needs ſignify Subſtance, and not Accidents. But his Reaſons and Proofs being all grounded upon and deduced from the *Greek*, I ſhall paſs them over, as knowing they want their Grace in *Engliſh*, and likewiſe their proper Underſtanding. But his Allegations ſo incumbred *Moreman*, that he deſired a Day to overlook them, for at that Inſtant he was without a convenient Anſwer.

Moreman deſires Time to anſwer *Elmar*.

Then the Prolocutor call'd Mr. *Haddon*, Dean of *Exeter*, and Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, who proſecuted *Theodoret*'s Authority in confirming Mr. *Elmar*'s Argument. Dr. *Watſon* took upon him to anſwer him, who, after long Talk, was ſo confounded, that he was not able to anſwer to the Word MYSTERIUM *. But foraſmuch as he ſeemed to doubt therein, Mr. *Haddock* took out of his Boſom a Latin Author to confirm his Saying, and ſhewed the ſame to Dr. *Watſon*, aſking him, whether he thought that Tranſlation to be true, or that the Printer were in any Fault: To which *Watſon* replied, there may be a Fault in the Printer, for I am not remembred of this Word. Then Mr. *Haddon* took out of his Boſom a Greek Book, wherein he ſhewed with his Finger the ſame Word, which Mr. *Watſon* could not deny. What further Arguments were made uſe of, I ſhall chuſe to omit declaring at large, becauſe they were moſtly in Greek.

Dr. *Watſon* confounded by Mr. *Haddon*.

* Myſtery.

Then Mr. *Perne* ſtood up, and argued againſt Tranſubſtantiation, confirming the Authorities alledged by Mr. *Elmar* and Mr. *Haddon*. To whom the Prolocutor ſaid, I wonder, Mr. *Perne*, at your ſpeaking thus, for no longer than laſt *Friday* you ſubſcribed to the contrary: Which Saying Mr. *Elmar* diſapproved, and blamed the Prolocutor, telling him, that he ought not to reprehend any Man, becauſe, ſaid he, this Houſe is a Houſe of free Liberty for every Man to ſpeak his Conſcience, and that Yeſterday he promis'd, that any Man, notwithſtanding he had ſubſcribed, ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak his Mind. And for that the Night did approach, and the Time being ſpent, the Prolocutor praiſing them for their Learning, did ſtill notwithſtanding conclude, that all Reaſoning ſet apart, the Order of the Holy Church muſt be received, and all Things muſt be ordered thereby.

Mr. *Perne* againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

The FIFTH Day's Act.

Oct. 27.

On *Friday* the 27*th* of *October*, the Prolocutor firſt propounded the Matter, ſhewing that the Convocation had ſpent two Days already in diſputing about one Father, which was *Theodoret*, and about one Greek Word, which was ἐσχάτη; and now they were come the third Day to anſwer all Things that could be objected, ſo that they would ſhortly put their Arguments. Mr. *Haddon*, Dean of *Exeter*, deſired leave to oppoſe Mr. *Watſon*, which, with two more, that is, *Morgan* and *Harpsfield*, were appointed to anſwer: Mr. *Haddon* demanded of him, whether any Subſtance of Bread or Wine remained after Conſecration; then Mr. *Watſon* aſked him, whether he thought there to be a Real Preſence of Chriſt's Body, or not: Mr. *Haddon* ſaid, it was

Mr. *Haddon*, Dean of *Exeter* diſputeth againſt *Watſon*, *Morgan* and *Harpsfield*.

not right according to Order, that one who was appointed to be Reſpondent ſhould be Opponent, nor he whoſe Buſineſs it was to Object, to Anſwer. Mr. *Watſon* a long Time would not agree to anſwer; but that Thing firſt being granted him, at laſt an Order was ſet, and Mr. *Haddon* was permitted to go on with his Argument.

Then he proved by the Words of *Theodoret*, that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remained: For theſe are his Words, *The ſame they were before the Sanctification, which they are after.* Mr. *Watſon* ſaid, that *Theodoret* meant not *the ſame Subſtance*, but *the ſame Eſſence.* Whereupon they were driven again to the diſcuſſing of the *Greek* Word abovementioned; and Mr. *Haddon* prov'd it to mean a Subſtance, both by the Etymology of the Word, and by the Words of *Theodoret.* For, ſaid he, οὐσία cometh to the particle ὢν, which deſcendeth to the Verb εἰμὶ, and ſo cometh the Noun οὐσία, which ſignifieth Subſtance.

Theodoret's Words alledged.

Then ſaid Mr. *Watſon*, It hath not that Signification only: But Mr. *Haddon* proved that in that Place it could not ſignify otherwiſe. Then he aſked *Watſon*, when the Bread and Wine became Symbols; to whom *Watſon* anſwered, After Conſecration, and not before. Then Mr. *Haddon* gathered the following Reaſon out of his Author.

Mr. *Haddon*'s Argument.

> The ſame Thing, ſaid *Theodoret*, that the Bread and Wine were before they were Symbols, the ſame they remain ſtill in Nature and Subſtance, after they are Symbols.
> Bread and Wine they were before.
> Therefore, Bread and Wine they are after.

Watſon is driven to a ſhameful Shift, to deny the Author when he cannot anſwer.

Then Mr. *Watſon* denied the Author, and ſaid he was a *Neſtorian*; deſiring to anſwer Mr. *Cheyney*, who ſtood by, that he was more fit to diſpute in the Matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed to the Real Preſence. Mr. *Cheyney* deſired Patience of the honourable Men to hear him, hoping ſo to open the Matter, that the Truth ſhould appear; proteſting, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubborn Man, but would be conformable to all Reaſon; and if they by their Learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could anſwer his Reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſaid; for he would be no Author of Schiſm, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy Mother the Church, which is the Spouſe of Chriſt. Dr. *Weſton* liked this very well, and commended him highly, telling him that he was a very learned and ſober Man, and well experienced in all good Learning, and in the Doctors; and finally, a Man, for his Knowledge, fit to diſpute in that Place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. *Cheyney* deſired thoſe that were preſent to pray to God with him in two Words, and to ſay, *Vincat Veritas*, Let the Truth take Place and have the Victory; and all that were preſent cried with a loud Voice, *Vincat Veritas, Vincat Veritas.*

Cheyney.

Cheyney's Prayer.

Dr. *Weſton* told him that it was Hypocritical, and that they had better ſay *Vicit Veritas*, Truth hath gotten the Victory. Mr. *Cheyney* ſaid again, If you will give me leave, I will bring it to that Point, that you may truly ſay ſo.

Cheyney and *Watſon* diſpute.

He then began with Mr. *Watſon* after this Manner: You ſay that Mr. *Haddon* was not fit to diſpute, becauſe he had not granted the Natural and Real Preſence; but I ſay you are much leſs fit to anſwer, becauſe you take away the Subſtance of the Sacrament.

Cheyney challeng'd for ſubſcribing to the real Preſence.

Watſon told him, that he had ſubſcribed to the Real Preſence, and ſhould not go away from that: So ſaid the Prolocutor and the other Prieſts; ſo that for a long Time he could not have leave to proceed, till the Lords deſired that he ſhould he heard. Anno 1553.

He then told them what he meant by ſubſcribing to the Real Preſence, far otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed. He then went on, and proſecuted *Haddon*'s Argument, proving that the *Greek* Word before diſcuſſed was a Subſtance, uſing the ſame Reaſon that *Haddon* did, and when he had received the ſame Anſwer that was made to *Haddon*, he told them it was but a lewd Refuge, when they could not anſwer, to deny the Author, and proved the Author to be a Catholick Doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was ſaid of the Nature and Subſtance. The Similitude of *Theodoret* is this, ſaid he, as the Tokens of Chriſt's Body and Blood, after the Invocation of the Prieſt, do change their Names, and yet continue the ſame Subſtance; ſo the Body of Chriſt after his Aſcenſion, changed his Name, and was called immortal, yet it had his former Faſhion, Figure, and Circumſcription, and to ſpeak in one Word, the ſame Subſtance of his Body. Therefore, ſaid *Cheyney*, if in the former Part of the Similitude you deny the ſame Subſtance to continue, then in the latter Part of the Similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the Body of Chriſt, after his Aſcenſion, to have the former Nature and Subſtance! But that were a great Hereſy; therefore it is alſo a great Hereſy to take away the Subſtance of Bread and Wine after Conſecration.

The Argument of *Theodoret* renew'd by *Cheyney*.

Watſon was then obliged to ſay, that the Subſtance of the Body, in the former part of the Similitude brought in by him, did ſignify Quantity, and other Accidents of the ſacramental Tokens which be ſeen, and not the very Subſtance of the ſame; and therefore *Theodoret* ſaith, Thoſe things which be ſeen. For according to Philoſophy, the Accidents of Things be ſeen, and not the Subſtances.

Cheyney then appealed to the Nobility, and deſired that they would give no Credit to them in ſo ſaying: For if they think as they teach, after your Lordſhips have ridden forty Miles on Horſe-back (as your Buſineſs ſometimes may require) you ſhall not be able to ſay at Night, that you ſaw your Horſes all the Day, but only the Colour of them: And by this Reaſon Chriſt muſt go to School, and learn of *Ariſtotle* how to ſpeak. For when he ſaw *Nathaniel* under the Fig-tree, if *Ariſtotle* had ſtood by, he would have ſaid, No, Chriſt, thou didſt not ſee him, but the Colour of him. Then ſaid *Watſon*, Suppoſe it were granted that *Theodoret* was on the other Side, whereas where there were one of that Opinion, there were an Hundred on the other.

Cheyney appealed to the Lords.

Then the Prolocutor called *Morgan* to help him out, who ſaid, that *Theodoret* did no more than what he might lawfully do. For firſt he granted the Truth, and then for fear of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the Faith, he ſpake Myſtically, and that was lawful for him to do; For firſt he granted the Truth, and called them the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Then afterwards he ſeems to give ſomewhat to the Senſes and to Reaſon: But that *Theodoret* is of the ſame Mind that they were of, the Words following, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a Cauſe of that which went before; and therefore he ſaith, The Immortality, *&c.* whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine Nature, and not the Human. *Morgan* was then

Morgan is called to help at a Pinch.

detected

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detected in miſalledging the Text: For the Book had not this Word [for], for the *Greek* Word did rather ſignify [truly] and not [for], ſo that it might manifeſtly appear, that it was the beginning of a new Matter, and not a Sentence rendering a Cauſe of that he ſaid before.

Morgan taxed with miſalledging the Text.

Watſon again ſaid, Suppoſe *Theodoret* be with you, which is one we never heard of printed, but two or three Years ago; yet he is but one, and what is one againſt the Conſent of the whole Church? *Cheyney* then inferred, that not only *Theodoret* was of that Mind, that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine do remain, but many others alſo, eſpecially *Irenæus*, who making mention of this Sacrament, ſaith thus, *When the Cup which is mingled with Wine, and the Bread that is broken, do receive the Word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by the which the Subſtance of our Fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt.* If the Thankſgiving do nouriſh our Body, then there is ſome Subſtance beſides Chriſt's Body.

Watſon. Both *Watſon* and *Morgan* anſwered, that [By the which] in the Sentence of *Irenæus*, was referred to the next Antecedent, that is, to the Body and Blood of Chriſt; and not to the Wine which is in the Cup, and the Bread which is broken.

Cheyney. Mr. *Cheyney* replied, that it was not the Body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our Bodies. And let it be that Chriſt's Fleſh nouriſheth to Immortality, yet it doth not anſwer to that Argument, although it be true; no more than that Anſwer which was made to my Allegation out of St. *Paul*, The Bread which we break, *&c.* with divers others; whereunto you anſwered, that Bread was not taken there in its proper Signification, that is, not for that it was Bread, but for that it had been ſo; any more than the Rod of *Aaron* was taken for a Serpent, becauſe it had been a Serpent. After this Mr. *Cheyney* quoted *Heſychius*, and uſed the ſame Reaſon that he did concerning the burning of Symbols; and ask'd them, what was burnt? Mr. *Watſon* ſaid, We muſt not inquire nor ask, but if there was any Fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid Mr. *Cheyney*, whence came thoſe Aſhes? Not from Subſtance; or can any Subſtance ariſe from Accidents.

Harpsfield called to help *Watſon.* Then was Mr. *Harpsfield* called in to ſee what he could ſay in the Matter. Who told a fair Tale about the Omnipotency of God, and the Imbecillity and Weakneſs of Man's Reaſon as to the Attainment of godly Things. And likewiſe ſaid, that whatſoever we ſaw, felt, or taſted, it was not convenient to truſt our Senſes. And he told alſo a Tale out of St. *Cyprian*, how a Woman ſaw the Sacrament burning in her Coffer, and that which burned thus, ſaid *Harpſfield*, burneth here, and becometh Aſhes, but what that was that burnt he could not tell. But Mr. *Cheyney* continued ſtill, and forced them with this Queſtion, What was it that was burnt? it was either, ſaid he, the Subſtance of Bread, or elſe the Subſtance of the Body of Chriſt; which was too great an Abſurdity to grant. And therefore at length they anſwer'd it was a Miracle; at which Mr. *Cheyney* ſmil'd, and ſaid, that he could then ſay no more.

Weſton aſking whether they were ſufficiently anſwered, when he and his Adherents had anſwer'd no argument.

Then Dr. *Weſton* aſked the Company, whether theſe Men were ſufficiently anſwer'd, or not? At which certain Prieſts ſaid, yea; but for the great Multitude that cried, no, no, they were not heard; the Cry was ſo great, as it was heard and noiſed almoſt to the End of *Paul*'s. Whereat Dr. *Weſton* being much moved, anſwer'd bitterly, that he aſked not the Judgment of the rude Multitude, and unlearned People, but of ſuch as were Members of the Houſe. Then he aſked Mr. *Haddon* and his Fellows, whether they would anſwer them other three Days? Mr. *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, and *Elmar* anſwered, no. But the Archdeacon of *Winchester* ſtood up and ſaid, *That they ſhould not ſay but they ſhould be anſwered; and though all others refuſed to anſwer, yet he would not, but offered to anſwer them all one after another:* with whoſe Offer the Prolocutor being diſſatisfied, railed at him, and ſaid, *that he ſhould go to* Bedlam; to whom the Archdeacon ſoberly returned this Anſwer, *That he was more worthy to be ſent thither, who behaved himſelf ſo furiouſly in the Diſputation, without any indifferent Equality.*

Mr. *Philpot* again.

Then Dr. *Weſton* roſe up, and ſaid, All the Company have ſubſcribed to our Article, except only theſe Men which you ſee. What their Reaſons are you have heard. We have anſwered them three Days, upon Promiſe (as it pleaſed him falſly to deſcant, for no ſuch Promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer us again as long as the Order of Diſputation doth require, and if they be able to defend their Doctrine, let them do ſo.

A ſtrong Argument of *Weſton*, where he is not able to anſwer, he would outface.

Then ſtood up Mr. *Elmar*, and proved how vain a Man *Weſton* was; for he affirmed that they never promiſed a Diſpute, but only to declare and teſtify to the World their Conſciences. For when they were required to ſubſcribe they refuſed, and ſaid, that they would ſhew good Reaſons which moved them, that they could not with their Conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly done already, and were able to do more ſufficiently: Therefore, *ſaid he*, it hath been ill called a Diſputation, and they are much to blame that called it ſo. For we meant not to Diſpute, nor now intend to Anſwer, before our Arguments, *ſaid he*, which we have to propound be ſolved, according as it was appointed. For by anſwering we ſhould but incumber ourſelves and profit nothing, ſince the Matter is already decreed on and determined, whatſoever we ſhall prove or diſpute to the contrary.

Mr. *Elmar*'s Reaſon why he would not anſwer

The Sixth Day's Act.

The ſixth Act or Seſſion.

On *Monday* following, *October* 30. the Prolocutor demanded of *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of *Winchester*, whether in the Queſtions before propounded, he would anſwer their Objections or not? To whom he made this Anſwer, that he would willingly do ſo, if according to their former Determination and Promiſe, they would firſt Anſwer ſufficiently ſome of his Arguments, of which he had a Dozen, not half of the Firſt being decided. And if they would firſt anſwer fully and ſufficiently but one of his Arguments, he promiſed he would anſwer all the Objections they ſhould bring.

Philpot's argument.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propound his Argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſwered by one of them; whereunto *Morgan* was appointed. On *Wedneſday* laſt, ſaid *Philpot*, I was forced to ſilence before I had proſecuted half my Argument, the Sum of which (as was gathered by the juſt Context of the Scripture) was this, That the human Body of Chriſt was aſcended into Heaven, and placed at the Right Hand of God the Father: Wherefore after the Imagination of Man, it could not be ſituate upon Earth inviſibly in the Sacrament of the Altar. The Argument was denied by *Morgan*; but for Proof hereof, *Philpot* ſaid, that this was what he had

to

to confirm his firſt Argument with, if they would have ſuffered him the other Day, as he hoped they would.

One ſelf and ſame Nature, *ſaid he*, receiveth not in it ſelf any Thing that is contrary to it ſelf.

But the Body of Chriſt is an human Nature, diſtinct from the Deity, and is a proper Nature of itſelf.

Ergo, It cannot receive any Thing that is contrary to that Nature, and that varieth from it ſelf.

But bodily to be preſent, and bodily to be abſent, to be on Earth, and to be in Heaven, and all at one preſent Time, be Things contrary to the Nature of an human Body. Ergo, It cannot be ſaid of the human Body of Chriſt, that the ſelf ſame Body is both in Heaven, and alſo in Earth at one Inſtant, either viſibly or inviſibly.

Here is a new Evaſion invented by *Morgan*.

Morgan denied the firſt Part of the Argument. Which *Philpot* vouched out of an ancient Writer, *Vigilius*. But *Morgan* cavilled thereat, and ſaid, that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the ſame from Scripture.

Philpot replied, that he could likewiſe do, and very well deduce the ſame from St. *Paul*, who ſaith, *that Chriſt is like unto us in all Points, except Sin:* and therefore, like as one of our Bodies cannot receive in itſelf any thing contrary to the Nature of a Body, as to be in *Paul*'s Church and at *Weſtminſter* in one Inſtant, or to be at *London* viſibly, and at *Lincoln* inviſibly at one Time; for that is contrary to the Nature of a Body, and of all Creatures (as *Didymus* and *Baſilius* affirm) that an inviſible Creature, as an Angel, cannot be at one Time in different Places. Wherefore he concluded, that the Body of Chriſt could not be in more Places than one, which is in Heaven, and ſo conſequently was not included or contained in the Sacrament of the Altar.

One Body cannot be at once in divers Places.

The Prolocutor took upon him to anſwer to this, ſaying, That it was not true *that Chriſt was like unto us in all Points, except Sin.* For that Chriſt was not conceived by the Seed of Man as we be.

Chriſt, after his Incarnation, like unto us all Points, Sin only accepted.

Whereunto *Philpot* again replied, That Chriſt's Conception was propheſied before by the Angel to be ſupernatural, but after he had received our Nature by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the Virgin's Womb, he became in all Points like unto us, except Sin.

Then *Morgan* inferred that this Saying of *Paul* did not plainly prove his Purpoſe. Well, ſaid *Philpot*, I perceive that you Anſwer but by cavilling, yet am I not deſtitute of other Scriptures to confirm my firſt Argument, though you refuſe the Probation of ſo Ancient and Catholick a Doctor as *Vigilius* is. For St. *Peter* making mention of Chriſt in the Sermon that he made in the Third of the Acts, ſaith thus, *Whom Heaven muſt receive, until the Conſummation of all Things*, &c. which Words are ſpoken of his Humanity. And if Heaven muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on Earth, in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Harpsfield puts in.

Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct Anſwer at all, *Harpsfield* ſtood up, being one of the Biſhop of *London*'s Chaplains, and took upon him to anſwer to the Saying of St. *Peter*, and demanded of *Philpot*, Whether he would of Neceſſity force Chriſt to any Place, or not?

Philpot's Anſwer.

Philpot ſaid, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of Neceſſity to any Place, than he is taught by the Words of the Holy Ghoſt, that ſound thus; That Chriſt's human Body muſt abide in Heaven until the Day of Judgment, as I rehearſed out of the Chapter abovementioned. Anno 1553.

Harpsfield replied, do ye not know that God is a God omnipotent? Yes, ſaid *Philpot*, I know that right well, neither do I queſtion his Omnipotency at all. But as to Chriſt's Omnipotency, *what he may do* is not our Queſtion, but rather *what he doth.* I know he may make a Stone in the Wall a Man, if he pleaſe, and alſo that he may make more Worlds, but doth he therefore ſo? It were no good Conſequent ſo to conclude, he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Only ſo much is to be believed of God's Omnipotency, as is in the Word expreſſed.

That Chriſt's Body is both in Heaven, and here alſo really in the Sacrament, is not expreſſed in the Word.

Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the Body of Chriſt, being in Heaven, is here alſo really in the Sacrament.

If *Weſton* charge them for impriſoning Chriſt in Heaven, how may they chage the Papiſts for impriſoning Chriſt in a Box.

Why, ſaid the Prolocutor, then you will put Chriſt in Priſon in Heaven. To which *Philpot* anſwered, Do you reckon Heaven to be a Priſon? God grant us all to come to that Priſon.

After this, *Harpsfield* inferred, that this Word *Oportet* in St. *Peter*, which in *Engliſh* ſignifieth *muſt*, did not import ſo much as I would infer, of Neceſſity, as by other Places of Scripture it may appear, as in the Firſt to *Timothy*, where St. *Paul* ſaith, *A Biſhop muſt be the Huſband of one Wife.* Here, quoth he, the aforeſaid *Latin* Word *Oportet*, that ſignifies *muſt*, doth not import ſuch a Neceſſity, but that he that never was married, may be a Biſhop.

Mr. *Philpot*.

To which *Philpot* again reply'd, that the Places which he went about to compare were not alike, and that in comparing the Scriptures we muſt not conſider the bare Words, but rather the Meaning of the Scriptures; and becauſe in the Place by him alledged, St. *Paul* declares of what Quality a Biſhop ought to be: But as to the other Place, St. *Peter* teaches us the Place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be until the End of the World; which we ought to believe to be true. And this Compariſon of the *Latin* Word *Oportet*, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies *muſt*, is no more an Anſwer to my Argument, than if I was to ſay of you now being here, You muſt needs be here, which importeth ſuch a Neceſſity for the Time, that you can no otherwiſe be but here, and yet you would go about in Words to avoid this Neceſſity with another *Oportet* in another Senſe, as for Inſtance, you *muſt* be a good Man, where *muſt* doth not verily conclude any ſuch Neceſſity, but that you may be an evil Man. Thus you may ſee that your Anſwer is not ſufficient, and, as it were, no Anſwer to my Argument.

Oportet in *Latin*, but in *Engliſh*, *muſt*, differently taken in Scripture.

Then the Prolocutor, to help the Matter out, if poſſible, brought in another *Oportet*, ſaying, What ſay you to this, *Oportet hæreſes eſſe*; muſt Hereſies needs be therefore becauſe of this Word *Oportet?*

Yea, truly, quoth *Philpot*, it cannot otherwiſe be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon theſe Words of *Paul*, that is, *Ut qui electi ſunt manifeſtentur*; that is, *That ſuch as be the Elect of God may be manifeſted and known.*

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the Time hath been that no Hereſies were. I know no ſuch Time, ſaid *Philpot:* For ſince the Time of *Abel* and *Cain* Hereſies have been, and then began they. Then ſaid the Prolocutor, will you now anſwer *Morgan* to an Argument or two? I

Anno 1553. will, said *Philpot*, if I may have my Arguments first answered any thing according to Truth and Learning. What, quoth the Prolocutor, you will never be answered. How I am answered, said *Philpot*, let all Men that are here present judge, and especially such as are learned, and with what cavilling you have dallied with me.

First, to the antient Authority of *Vigilius* you have answered nothing at all, but only denying what he saith to be Scripture. Secondly, To the Saying of St. *Peter* in the *Acts*, ye have answered thus, demanding of me, whether I would keep Christ in Prison, or not? Let Men now judge if this be a sufficient Answer or not?

Then *Morgan* stood up again, and asked *Philpot*, whether he would be ruled by the universal Church, or not?

Yes, said *Philpot*, if it be the true Catholick Church. And since you speak so much of the Church, I would fain have you declare what the Church is.

The Church, said *Morgan*, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole World. That is a diffuse Definition, said *Philpot*, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the Church: But I acknowledge no Church but that which is grounded and founded on God's Word, as St. *Paul* saith, *Upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, and upon the Scriptures of God.

Moreman. Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What, quoth *Moreman*, was the Scripture before the Church? Yea, said *Philpot*. But I will prove nay, said *Moreman*, and I will begin at Christ's Time. The Church of Christ was before any Scripture written. For *Matthew* was the first that wrote the Gospel, about a dozen Years after Christ. *Ergo*, the Church was before the Scripture.

To whom *Philpot* answering, denied his Argument. Which when *Moreman* could not prove, *Philpot* shewed his Argument to be a Fallacy, or a deceivable Argument: For he took the Scripture to be only that which was written by Men in Letters, whereas in Truth, all Prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in Paper and Ink, for that it was written in the Hearts, and graven in the Minds, yea, and inspired in the Mouths of good Men, and of Christ's Apostles by the Spirit of Christ: As the Salutation of the Angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the Word of God, before it was written. At that *Moreman* cried, Fie, fie, wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written, and affirmed, that he had no Knowledge that said so.

Scripture consists not only in letters, but is that which is inspired in the Hearts of good Men by the Holy Ghost.

To whom *Philpot* replied, That as to Knowledge in this Matter, for the Trial of the Truth about the Questions in Controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with *Moreman*.

At which Saying the Prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, to compare himself with such a worshipful learned Man as *Moreman* was, being himself a Man unlearned, yea, a Madman, fitter to be sent to *Bedlam*, than to be among such a Sort of learned and grave Men as were there, and a Man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole House; and therefore he commanded him to come no more into the House, and thereupon demanded of the House, whether they would agree thereunto, or not. To whom a great Company answered, yea. Upon which *Philpot* replied again, that he might think himself happy that was out of their Company.

Weston calleth *Philpot* Madman.

Then *Morgan* rose up and whispered the Prolocutor in the Ear; and the Prolocutor spoke to *Philpot* again, and said, Lest thou shouldst slander the House, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your Mind, we are content you shall come into the House as you have done before, so that you be apparelled with a long Gown and a Tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak but when I command you. Then, said *Philpot*, I had rather be absent altogether.

Philpot commanded to come in a long Gown and a Tippet, or else to come no more to the Convocation.

Thus they reasoned to and fro, till at length about the 13th of *December*, Queen *Mary*, to take up the Matter, sendeth to *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, commanding him to dissolve and break up the Convocation. The Copy of which Command here followeth.

The Queen's Precept to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, for dissolving the aforesaid Convocation.

Decem. 13. Qu. *Mary* dissolves the Convocation.

MARY, &c. *To the Reverend Father in God* Edmund *Lord Bishop of* London, *sendeth greeting. Whereas there is now held at* Paul's, London, *the Convocation of the Clergy belonging to the Province of* Canterbury; *We, by and with the Advice and Consent of Our Council, and for divers other Causes and Considerations particularly moving Us thereunto, have hereby thought fit the said Convocation should be dissolved. And therefore we strictly charge and command you, forthwith to dissolve or cause to be dissolved the said Convocation, as shall seem to you most fit and convenient: Signifying withal on Our Part to all and several the Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and all other spiritual Persons, that they and every of them do obey and comply with this Our Command as becometh them so to do.*

Witness Ourself at *Westminster*, the 13th Day of *December*, in the First Year of Our Reign.

During the Time of this Disputation, *November* 20. the Mayor of *Coventry* sent up unto the Lords of the Council *Baldwin Clarke*, *J. Careless*, *Thomas Wilcocks*, and *Richard Estelin*, for their Behaviour upon *Allhallows*-day before. Whereupon *Careless* and *Wilcocks* were committed to the Gatehouse, and the other two to the Marshalsea.

The same Day there was a Letter directed to Sir *Christopher Heydon*, and Sir *William Farmer*, Knights, for the apprehending of *John Huntington*, Preacher, for making a Rhime against Dr. *Stokes* and the Sacrament; who appearing before the Council the 3d of *December* then following, was, upon his humble Submission and Promise to amend as well in Doctrine as in Living, again suffered to depart.

In the Days of King *Henry* and King *Edward* his Successor, divers Noblemen and others were committed to the Tower, some charged with Treason, as Lord *Courtney*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* (whose Son Lord *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, a worthy and ingenious Gentleman, had been at the same Time beheaded, but for what Cause, I shall not stand here inquiring: This is certain, that not many Years after, followed the beheading of both the Lord *Seymours*, and likewise of the Duke of *Northumberland*) some for

This Lord *Courtney* was Son to the Marquis of *Exeter*.

the Pope's Supremacy, and suspicious Letters tending to Sedition, as *Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, and others for other Things, who were all continued Prisoners there till Queen *Mary*'s coming in: Unto whom the said Queen forthwith granted their Pardon, and restored them to their former Dignities. Amongst whom was *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who she not only freed out out of Captivity, but also advanced to be High Chancellor of *England*. Moreover, to the Lord *Courtney* she shewed such Favour that she made him Earl of *Devonshire*, insomuch that there was a Suspicion amongst many that she would marry him, but that proved otherwise.

Steph. Gardiner, Bishop of *Winchester*, made Lord Chancellor.

The Lord *Courtney* made Earl of *Devonshire*.

At the same Time likewise the Queen released *Bonner* from his Confinement in the Marshalsea, and restored him to the Bishoprick of *London*, displacing Dr. *Ridley*, with divers other good Bishops, as is mentioned before; as *Cranmer* from *Canterbury*, the Archbishop of *York* likewise, *Poynet* from *Winchester*, *John Hooper* from *Worcester*, *Barlow* from *Bath*, *Harley* from *Hereford*, *Taylor* from *Lincoln*, *Ferrar* from St. *David*'s, *Coverdale* from *Exeter*, *Scory* from *Chichester*, &c. with a great Number of Archdeacons, Deans, and briefly all such beneficed Men, who were either married, or would constantly adhere to their Profession, were removed from their Livings, and others of the contrary Sect put in the same, as Cardinal *Pool* (who was then sent for) *Gardiner*, *Heath*, *White*, *Day*, *Troublefield*, &c.

Good Bishops displaced.

Popish Prelates intruded by Q. *Mary*.

And as touching *Cranmer*, of whom mention was made before, forasmuch as at the same Time there was a Rumour spread Abroad of him in *London* that he had recanted, and caused Mass to be said at *Canterbury*, in order therefore to clear himself, he published Abroad a Declaration of his Truth and Constancy in that Behalf, protesting that he neither had done so, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if the Queen pleased, he, with *Peter Martyr*, and certain others whom he would chuse, would in open Disputation vindicate the Doctrine taught and set forth in the Time of King *Edward*, against all Persons whomsoever. But while he was in Expectation to have this Disputation obtained, he, with other Bishops, were laid fast in the Tower, but *Peter Martyr* was permitted to depart the Realm, and so he went to *Argentine*.

Cranmer, with *Peter Martyr*, and others, offered to defend the Cause of their Doctrine against all Men.

In the Month of *November*, Archbishop *Cranmer*, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the King's Will in disinheriting his Sister *Mary*, alledging many grave and pithy Reasons for her Legitimation, was in *Guildhall* of *London* arraigned and attainted of Treason, with the Lady *Jane*, and three of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, who were remanded back to the Tower, at the Intreaty of certain Persons, and there kept for a Time. But *Cranmer* being acquitted of Treason, stood only in the Action and Case of Doctrine which they called Heresy, of which he was very glad and joyful.

Dr. *Cranmer*, with Lady *Jane* arraigned of Treason in *Guildhall*.

Cranmer acquitted of Treason.

This being done in *November*, the People, and especially the Churchmen, perceiving the Queen so eagerly set on her old Religion, they likewise for their Parts, to shew themselves no less forward to comply with the Queen's Humour, (as the Custom is of the Multitude commonly to frame themselves after the Humour of the Prince and Time present) begin in their Quires to set up the Pageant of St. *Catherine*, and of St. *Nicholas*, and of their Processions in Latin, after their old Solemnity with their gay Gar-deviance, and gray Amices or Vestments.

And when the Month of *December* was come the Parliament broke up, repealing first all such Statutes as were made either of Premunire, or concerned any Alteration of Religion and Administration of Sacraments in the Days of King *Edward*. In which Parliament also Communication was moved of the Queen's Marriage with King *Philip* the Emperor's Son. Anno 1553.

In the Mean while Cardinal *Pool* being sent for by Queen *Mary*, was by the Emperor requested to stay with him, to the Intent (as some think) that his Presence in *England* should be no Hindrance to the Marriage between his Son *Philip* and Queen *Mary*. For the accomplishing of which he sent a most ample Embassy, with full Power to make up the Marriage between them; which had such good Success, as that after a few Days communing about Matters, they knit up the Knot.

Cardinal *Pool* sent for.

Marriage between *Philip* and *Mary* concluded.

January 13. 1554. Dr. *Crome* was committed to the Fleet, for preaching on *Christmas-day* without License. Anno 1554.

Jan. 21. *Thomas Wooton*, Esq; was committed close Prisoner to the Fleet for Matters of Religion.

The mention of this Marriage was about the Beginning of *Jauuary*, and was ill taken both of the common People, and several of the Nobility, who for this, and for Religion, conspiring among themselves, raised a Rebellion, whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat*, Knight, was one of the chief Beginners: who being in *Kent*, said, *That the Queen and Council would by her Marriage with a Foreigner, bring upon this Realm most miserable Servitude, and establish the Popish Religion.* About the 25th of *January*, News came to *London* of this Rising in *Kent*, and shortly after of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was fled into *Warwickshire* and *Leicestershire*, there to gather to him a Power. The Queen therefore caused them both, with the *Carews* of *Devonshire*, to be proclaimed Traitors; and sent into *Kent* against *Wyat*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who being about *Rochester* Bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned safe to *London* without any further harm, and without bloodshed on either Party.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* rebels.

The Duke of *Norfolk* sent 'gainst *Wyat*.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of *Suffolk*, being fled into *Warwickshire*, the Earl of *Huntingdon* was sent Post, who entering the City of *Coventry* before the Duke, disappointed him of his Purpose. Wherefore the Duke in great Distress committed himself to the keeping of a Servant of his named *Underwood*, in *Astley* Park, who like a Traitor, betrayed him: and so he was brought up to the Tower of *London*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* apprehended.

In the mean while Sir *Peter Carew* hearing of what was done, fled into *France*, but the others were taken, and *Wyat* came towards *London* in the Beginning of *February*. The Queen hearing of *Wyat*'s coming, came into the City to the *Guildhall*, where she made a vehement Oration against *Wyat*; the Contents whereof here followeth, as near as could be penn'd.

Q. *Mary* cometh to *Guildhall*.

Queen *Mary*'s Oration in *Guildhall*.

Q. *Mary*'s Oration to the *Londoners*.

I Am come unto you in mine own Person, to tell you that which already you see and know, that is, how traiterously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen *have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their Pretence (as they said at the first) was for a Marriage determined for us: To which, and to all the Articles thereof ye have been made privy. But since we have caused certain of our Privy-Council to go again unto them, and to demand the Cause of this their Rebellion, and it*

appeared

Anno 1554.

Demands pretended to be sent from *Wyat* and his Company to Queen *Mary*.

appeared then unto our ſaid Council, that the Matter of the Marriage ſeemed to be but a Spaniſh *Cloak to cover their pretended Purpoſe againſt our Religion, for that they arrogantly and traiterouſly demanded to have the Governance of our Perſon, the keeping of the* Tower, *and the placing of our Councellors.*

Now, loving Subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your Queen, to whom at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the Realm, and Laws of the ſame (the ſpouſal Ring whereof I have on my Finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your Allegiance and Obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true Inheritor of the Crown of this Realm of England, *I take all* Chriſtendom *to Witneſs. My Father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regal State, which now rightly is deſcended unto me: And to him always ye ſhewed yourſelves moſt faithful and loving Subjects, and therefore I doubt not but ye will ſhew yourſelves likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile Traitor to have the Order and Governance of our Perſon, and to occupy our Eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a Traitor as* Wyat *is: Who moſt certainly, as he hath abuſed mine ignorant Subjects which be on his Side, ſo doth he intend and propoſe the Deſtruction of you, and Spoil of your Goods. And I ſay to you in the Word of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the Mother loveth the Child, for I was never the Mother of any, but certainly, if a Prince and Governor may as naturally and earneſtly love her Subjects, as the Mother doth love the Child, then aſſure yourſelves, that I, being your Lady and Miſtreſs, do as earneſtly and tenderly Love and Favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not but we ſhall give theſe Rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy Overthrow.*

How he intended the Spoil of their Goods, it appeareth, in that he coming to *Southwark*, did hurt neither Man, Woman nor Child, neither in Body, nor in a Penny of their Goods.

As concerning the Marriage, ye ſhall underſtand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without Advice, and that by the Advice of all our Privy-Council, who ſo conſidered and weighed the great Commodities that might enſue thereof, that that they not only thought it very honourable, but alſo expedient, both for the Wealth of the Realm, and alſo of you our Subjects. And as touching myſelf, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my Will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for mine own Pleaſure I would chuſe where I liſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the Praiſe therefore, I have hitherto lived a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's Grace, I am able ſo to live ſtill. But if, as my Progenitors have done before, it may pleaſe God that I might leave ſome Fruit of my Body behind me, to be your Governor, I truſt, you would not only rejoice thereat, but alſo, I know, it would be to your great Comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this Marriage were to the Hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the Impeachment of any Part or Parcel of the royal State of this Realm of England, *I would never conſent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the Word of a Queen, I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appear to all the Nobility and Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that this Marriage ſhall be for the high Benefit and Commodity of the whole Realm, then will I abſtain from Marriage while I live.*

Q. *Mary* excuſeth her Marriage.

The promiſe of Q. *Mary* touching her Marriage.

And now good Subjects, pluck up your Hearts, and like true Men, ſtand faſt againſt theſe Rebels, both our Enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I aſſure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, *and my Lord Treaſurer, who ſhall be Aſſiſtants with the Mayor for your Defence.*

Here it is to be obſerved, that at the coming of Queen *Mary* to *Guildhall*, it being before reported, that ſhe was coming with harneſſed Men, ſo affrighted the *Londoners*, leſt they ſhould be there entrapped and put to Death, that great Numbers of them made out at the Gate before ſhe entered in. It is likewiſe to be noted, that when ſhe had ended her Oration, *Winchester* ſtanding by her when the Oration was done, with great Admiration cried to the People; *O how happy are we, to whom God hath given ſuch a wiſe and learned Prince*, &c.

Two Days after, the third of *February*, the Lord *Cobham* was committed to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Wyat* entered into *Southwark*: Who, finding that he could not enter that way into *London*, returned with his Army by *Kingſton*, and came up through the Streets to *Ludgate*, and returning thence, he was reſiſted at *Temple-Bar*, and there ſurrender'd himſelf to Sir *Clement Parſon*, who brought him to the Court; and with him the reſt of his Army (for Sir *George Harper* and almoſt half of his Men had ran away from him at *Kingſton-bridge*) were alſo taken, and about an hundred killed, and they that were taken were ſent to Priſon, and a great many of them hanged, and he himſelf afterwards was executed on *Tower-hill*, and then quartered.

Mr. *Wyat* in *Southwark*.

Mr. *Wyat* came to *Ludgate*.

He is apprehended at *Temple-Bar*.

Mr. *Wyat* executed.

The 12th Day of *February* the Lady *Jane* was beheaded; two Days before her Death Mr. *Fecknam*, alias *Howman*, was ſent to her from the Queen to converſe with her, and endeavour to reduce her from the Doctrine of Chriſt to Queen *Mary*'s Religion. The Effect of which Communication here followeth.

A Conference between the Lady *Jane* and *Fecknam*.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy Caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this Sorrow of yours with a conſtant and patient Mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Chriſtian Exhortation. And as for my heavy Caſe, (I thank God) I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt Declaration of God's Favour towards me, than ever he ſhewed me at any Time before. And therefore there is no Cauſe why either you, or others which bear me good Will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my Caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my Soul's Health.

Lady *Jane* comfortably taketh her Trouble.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent ſent from the Queen and her Council, to inſtruct you in the true Doctrine of the right Faith: Although I have ſo great a Confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forſooth I heartily thank the Queen's Highneſs, which is not unmindful of her humble Subject: And I hope likewiſe that you no leſs will do your Duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a Chriſtian Man?

Jane. That he ſhould believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God.

Feck. What, is there nothing elſe to be required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Mind, and our Neighbour as ourſelf.

Feck. Why? then Faith juſtifieth not, nor ſaveth not.

Jane. Yes verily, Faith (as *Paul* ſaith) only juſtifieth.

Feck. Why, St. *Paul* ſaith, If I have all Faith without Love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? Or how can I truſt him whom I love not? Faith and Love go both together, and yet Love is comprehended in Faith.

Feck. How ſhall we love our Neighbour?

Jane. To love our Neighbour is to feed the Hungry, to cloath the Naked, and give Drink to the Thirſty, and to do to him as we would do to ourſelves.

Feck. Why, then it is neceſſary unto Salvation to do good Works alſo, and it is not ſufficient only to believe.

Good Works neceſſary in a Chriſtian, yet do they not profit to Salvation.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that Faith only ſaveth: But it is meet for a Chriſtian, in Token that he followeth his Maſter Chriſt, to do good Works, yet may we not ſay that they profit to our Salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable Servants, and Faith only in Chriſt's Blood ſaveth us.

Two Sacraments.

Feck. How many Sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Feck. No, there are Seven.

Jane. By what Scripture find you that?

Feck. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two Sacraments?

The Sacrament of Baptiſm what it ſignifieth. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, what it ſignifieth.

Jane. By the Sacrament of Baptiſm I am waſhed with Water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that waſhing is a Token to me that I am the Child of God. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper offered unto me, is a ſure Seal and Teſtimony that I am, by the Blood of Chriſt which he ſhed for me on the Croſs, made Partaker of the everlaſting Kingdom.

Feck. Why, what do you receive in that Sacrament? Do you not receive the very Body and Blood of Chriſt?

What we receive with the Sacrament.

Jane. No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I think that at the Supper I neither receive Fleſh nor Blood, but Bread and Wine: Which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, putteth me in Remembrance how that for my Sins the Body of Chriſt was broken, and his Blood ſhed on the Croſs, and with that Bread and Wine I receive the Benefits that come by the Breaking of his Body, and ſhedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Croſs.

Feck. Why, doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe Words, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Require you any plainer Words? Doth he not ſay it is his Body?

Jane. I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, *I am the Vine, I am the Door*, but he is never the more the Door nor the Vine. Doth not St. *Paul* ſay, *He calleth Things that are not as though they were?* God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt: For then either I ſhould pluck away my Redemption, or elſe there were two Bodies, or two Chriſts. One Body was tormented on the Croſs, and if they did eat another Body, then had he two Bodies: Or if his Body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the Croſs, or if it were broken upon the Croſs, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

Rom. iv.

Feck. Why? Is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his Power could make his Body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a Woman without Seed of Man, and to walk upon the Sea, having a Body, and other ſuch like Miracles as he wrought by his Power only? Anno 1554.

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his Supper any Miracle, he might have done ſo: But I ſay, that then he minded no Work nor Miracle, but only to break his Body, and ſhed his Blood on the Croſs for our Sins. But I pray you to anſwer me to this one Queſtion: Where was Chriſt, when he ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Was he not at the Table when he ſaid ſo? He was at that Time alive, and ſuffered not till the next Day. What took he, but Bread? what brake he, but Bread? And what gave he, but Bread? Look what he took, he brake: And look, what he brake, he gave: And look, what he gave, they did eat: And yet all this while he himſelf was alive, and at Supper before his Diſciples, or elſe they were deceived. Chriſt had Power to turn Bread into his Body, but that is no Argument that he did ſo.

Feck. You ground your Faith upon ſuch Authors as ſay and unſay both in a Breath, and not upon the Church, to whom ye ought to give Credit. *Fecknam* goeth from the Word to the Church.

Jane. No, I ground my Faith on God's Word, and not upon the Church, for if the Church be a good Church, the Faith of the Church muſt be try'd by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church, nor yet my Faith. Shall I believe the Church becauſe of Antiquity? or ſhall I give Credit to the Church that taketh away from me the half Part of the Lord's Supper, and will not let any Man receive it in both Kinds? Which Things if they deny to us, then deny they to us Part of our Salvation. And I ſay, that it is an evil Church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Devil, that altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (ſay I) God will add Plagues, and from that Church will he take their Part out of the Book of Life: Do they learn that of St. *Paul* when he miniſtred to the *Corinthians* in both Kinds? ſhall I believe this Church? God forbid. Faith to be grounded upon the Word, and not upon the Church. A Note of the falſe Church.

Feck. That was done for a good Intent of the Church, to avoid an Hereſy that ſprang on it.

Jane. Why? ſhall the Church alter God's Will and Ordinance for good Intent? how did King *Saul?* The Lord God defend. God's Word not to be altered for good Intent.

With theſe and ſuch like Perſuaſions he endeavoured, but to no Purpoſe, to turn her to the Popiſh Religion. They reaſoned about many other Things, but theſe were the Chief.

Then *Fecknam* took his Leave, ſaying, that he was ſorry for her: For I am aſſure, quoth he, that we two ſhall never meet.

Jane. True it is, *ſaid ſhe*, that we ſhall never meet, except God turn your Heart. For I am aſſured, unleſs you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil Caſe: and I pray God, in the Bowels of his Mercy, to ſend you his Holy Spirit: For he hath given you his great Gift of Utterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open the Eyes of your Heart. Theſe Words were ſpoken openly.

The Lady Jane's *Letter to her Father.*

Lady *Jane*'s Letter to her Father.

FATHER, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my Death by you, by whom my Life ſhould rather have been lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty Thanks for ſhortening my woful Days, than

Anno 1554. than if all the World had been given unto my Poſſeſſions with Life lengthened at my own Will. And albeit I am aſſured of your impatient Dolors, redoubled manifold Ways, both in bewailing your own Woe, and eſpecially (as I hear) my unfortunate State, yet, my dear Father (if I may without Offence rejoice in my own Miſhaps) me ſeems in this I may account myſelf Bleſſed, that waſhing my Hands with the Innocency of my Fact, my guiltleſs Blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the Innocent. And yet, tho' I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and as you wot well enough, continually aſſayed, in taking upon me I ſeemed to conſent, and therein grievouſly offended the Queen and her Laws: yet do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my Offence toward God is ſo much the leſs, in that being in ſo royal Eſtate as I was, mine inforced Honour, blended never with mine innocent Heart: And thus, good Father, I have opened unto you the State wherein I at preſent ſtand. Whoſe Death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this Vale of Miſery to aſpire to that heavenly Throne of all Joy and Pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt Faith (if it may be lawful for the Daughther ſo to write to the Father) the Lord that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at the leaſt we may meet in Heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

This Parentheſis concludeth with a Prayer and private Admonition to her Father, that he fall not from his Religion.

When her Father, in King *Edward*'s Time, flouriſhed in Freedom and Proſperity, he had belonging to him a learned Man, a Student of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who then being his Chaplain, and appearing to be a ſincere Preacher of the Goſpel according to the Doctrine of that Time ſet forth and received, but ſhortly after, when the State of Religion began to be altered by Queen *Mary*, he altered his Profeſſion according to the Time, and of a Proteſtant, became a Friend and Defender of the Pope's Proceedings. This pious and chriſtian Lady ſeeing ſuch a Change in a Perſon whom ſhe thought ſo ſincere, was much grieved, and moſt of all lamented the dangerous State of his Soul, in ſo cowardly ſliding away from the Truth, and writeth her Mind to him in a ſharp and vehement Letter: Which (as it appeared to proceed from an earneſt and zealous Heart, ſo) ſhe pray'd that God might make it effectual in reducing him to Repentance, and engage him to take better Hold on that whereon depended the eternal Welfare of his own Soul. The Copy of the Letter is as follows.

Another Letter of the Lady Jane, *to Mr.* Harding, *late Chaplain to her Father, the Duke of* Suffolk.

Luke 9. A ſharp Letter from Lady *Jane* to Mr. *Harding*.

SO often as I call to Mind the dreadful and fearful Saying of God, *That he which layeth hold upon the Plough and looketh back, is not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven:* And, on the other Side, the comfortable Words of our Saviour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſaking themſelves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy Caſe, which ſeemed ſometime to be the lively Member of Chriſt, but now the deformed Imp of the Devil; ſometime the beautiful Temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy Kennel of Satan; ſometime the unſpotted Spouſe of Chriſt, but now the unſhamefac'd Paramour of Antichriſt; ſometime my faithful Brother, but now a Stranger and Apoſtate; ſometime a ſtout Chriſtian Soldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I conſider theſe Things, I cannot but ſpeak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou Seed of Satan, and not of *Judah*, whom the Devil hath deceived, the World hath beguiled, and the Deſire of Life ſubverted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidel. Wherefore haſt thou taken the Teſtament of the Lord in thy Mouth? Wherefore haſt thou preached the Law and the Will of God to others? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed others to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thyſelf doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrink, and ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and Law of the Lord? When thou thyſelf preacheſt not to ſteal, yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from Men, but from God, and committing moſt heinous Sacrilege, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right Members, thy Body and Soul, and chuſeſt rather to live miſerably with Shame in the World, than to die, and glorioufly with Honour reign with Chriſt, in whom, even in Death is Life? Why doſt thou now ſhew thyſelf moſt weak, when indeed thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The Strength of a Fort is unknown before the Aſſault, but thou yieldeſt thy Hold before any Battery be made. O wretched and unhappy Man, what art thou but Duſt and Aſhes? And wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the Cuſtom gathering among the *Romiſh* Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſador and Meſſenger of his eternal Word? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt Creation and Birth preſerved thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea, and inſpired thee with the Spirit of Knowledge, (I cannot ſay of Grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſs thee? Dareſt thou deliver up thyſelf to another, being not thine own, but his? How canſt thou, having Knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and follow the vain Traditions of Men: And whereas thou haſt been a publick Profeſſor of his Name, become now a Defacer of his Glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the Invention of Man, the Golden Calf, the Whore of *Babylon*, the *Romiſh* Religion, that abominable Idol, the moſt wicked Maſs? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the moſt precious Body of our Saviour Chriſt, with thy bodily and fleſhly Teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any Sacrifice unto God for our Sins, conſidering that Chriſt offered up himſelf (as *Paul* ſaith) upon the Croſs a lively Sacrifice once for all? Can neither the Puniſhment of the *Iſraelites*, (which for their Idolatry they ſo oft received) nor the terrible Threatnings of the Prophets, nor the Curſes of God's own Mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Doſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his dear and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, utterly extinguiſhing his Glory, that thou wilt attribute the Praiſe and Honour due unto him to the Idols, which have Mouths and ſpeak not, Eyes and ſee not, Ears and hear not; which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

This *Harding* a little before the Death of King *Edward*, was openly heard in his Sermons in *London*, to exhort the People great Vehemency, that if Trouble came, they ſhould never ſhrink from the true Doctrine of the Goſpel which they had received, but ſhould rather take it from God as a Trial of their Faith, and to prove them, whether they would ſtand by it or not.

What ſaith the Prophet *Baruch*, where he recited the Epiſtle of *Jeremy* written to the captive *Jews?* Did he not forewarn them, that in *Babylon* they ſhould ſee Gods of Gold, Silver, Wood and Stone born upon Men's Shoulders, to caſt a Fear before the Heathen? *But be not ye afraid of them* (ſaith *Jeremy*) *nor do as others do. But when you ſee others worſhip them, ſay you in* *Baruch* 6.

yeur Hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughteſt only to be worſhipped: For as for thoſe Gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with Silver and vain Things, and cannot ſpeak. He ſheweth moreover the Abuſe of their Dealings, how the Prieſts took off their Ornaments, and apparelled their Women withal: How one holdeth a Scepter, another a Sword in his Hand, and yet can they judge in no Matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either Battle or Murder, nor yet from gnawing of Worms, nor any other evil Thing. Theſe and ſuch like Words ſpeaketh *Jeremy* unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain Things, and no Gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus, *Confounded be all they that worſhip them.* They were warned by *Jeremy*, and thou as *Jeremy* haſt warned others, and art warned thyſelf by many Scriptures in many Places. God ſaith, he is a jealous God, which will have all Honour, Glory and Worſhip given to him only. And Chriſt ſaith in the Fourth of *Matthew*, to Satan which tempted him, even to the ſame Belzebub, the ſame Devil which hath prevailed againſt thee: *It is written*, ſaith he, *thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* Matth. 4.

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God than which was before all Worlds, and laid the Foundations both of Heaven and Earth: And wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, invented by *Romiſh* Popes, and the abominable College of crafty Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelf up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy Pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good Intent. Oh Sink of Sin! Oh Child of Perdition! Doſt thou dream therein of a good Intent, where thy Conſcience beareth thee Witneſs of God's threatned Wrath againſt thee? How did *Saul?* who for that he diſobeyed the Word of the Lord for a good Intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal Kingdom. Shalt thou then that doſt deface God's Honour, and rob him of his Right, inherit the eternal and heavenly Kingdom? Wilt thou for a good Intent diſhonour God, offend thy Brother, and danger thy Soul, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood? Wilt thou for a good Intent pluck Chriſt out of Heaven, and make his Death void, and deface the Triumph of his Croſs by offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for Fear of Death or Hope of Life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy Poverty, healed thy Infirmity, and yielded to thee his Victory, if thou couldeſt have kept it? Doſt thou not conſider that the Thread of thy Life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his Will is) either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? Doſt thou not then remember the Saying of *David*, a notable King, to teach thee a miſerable Wretch, in his 104 Pſalm, where he ſaith thus: *When thou takeſt away thy Spirit (O Lord) from Men, they die and are turned again to their Duſt, but when thou letteſt thy Breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the Face of the Earth.* Pſal. 104. Remember the Saying of Chriſt in the Goſpel: *Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his Life, ſhall loſe it: But whoſoever will loſe his Life for my Sake ſhall find it.* And in the ſame Place, *Whoſoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forſake himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.* What Croſs? the Croſs of Infamy and Shame, of Miſery and Poverty, of Affliction and Perſecution Matt. 10.

for his Name's Sake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heavenly Showers pierce thy ſtony Heart. Let the two-edged Sword of God's holy Word ſheer aſunder the Sinews of worldly Reſpects, even to the very Marrow of thy carnal Heart, that thou mayeſt once again forſake thyſelf and embrace Chriſt. And like as good Subjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the Defence of their earthly and temporal Governour, ſo fly not like a white-livered Milkſop from the ſtanding wherein thy chief Captain Chriſt hath ſet thee in Array of this Life. Fight manfully, come Life, come Death: The Quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the Victory is ours. Anno 1554.

But thou wilt ſay, I will not break Unity. What, not the Unity of Satan and his Members? Not the Unity of Darkneſs, the Agreement of Antichriſt and his Adherents. Nay, thou deceiveſt thyſelf with a fond Imagination of ſuch an Unity as is among the Enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe Prophets in an Unity? Were not *Joſeph*'s Brethren and *Jacob*'s Sons in an Unity? Were not the Heathen, as the *Amalekites*, the *Perizites* and *Jebuſites* in an Unity? Were not the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in an Unity? Doth not King *David* teſtify, *They have caſt their Heads together, and are confederate againſt the Lord?* Yea, Thieves, Murderers, Conſpirators have their Unity. But what Unity? *Tully* ſaith of Amity, There is no Amity but with the Good. But mark my Friend, yea, Friend, if thou be not God's Enemy: There is no Unity but where Chriſt knitteth the Knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his Truth is not reſident, there it is verified that he himſelf ſaith: *I came not to ſend Peace on Earth, but a Sword*, &c. but to ſet one againſt another, the Son againſt the Father, and the Daughter againſt the Mother-in-Law. Deceive not thyſelf therefore with the glittering and glorious Name of Unity; for Antichriſt hath his Unity, yet not in Deed but in Name. The Agreement of ill Men is not an Unity, but a Conſpiracy. Thou haſt heard ſome Threatnings, ſome Curſings, and ſome Admonitions out of the Scripture to thoſe that love themſelves above Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharp and biting Words to thoſe that deny him for Love of Life: Saith he not, *Matt.* 10. *He that denieth me before Men, I will deny him before my Father in Heaven?* And to the ſame Effect writeth *Paul*, Heb. 6. *It is impoſſible*, ſaith he, *that they which were once lightened, and have taſted of the heavenly Gift, and were Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted of the good Word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifying to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and making of him a Mocking-ſtock, ſhould be renewed again by Repentance.* And again, ſaith he, Heb. 10. *If we ſhall willingly ſin after we have received the Knowledge of his Truth, there is no Oblation left for Sin, but the terrible Expectation of Judgment, and Fire which ſhall devour the Adverſaries.* Thus St. *Paul* writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble?

Antichriſt alſo hath his Unity, which is not to be kept.

Pſal. 83. 4.

Matth. 10. 34.

The Agreement of evil Men is no Unity, but a Conſpiracy.

Well, if theſe terrible and thundering Threatnings cannot ſtir thee to cleave unto Chriſt, and forſake the World; yet let the ſweet Conſolations and Promiſes of the Scriptures, let the Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Confeſſors, encourage thee to take faſter Hold of Chriſt. Hearken what he ſaith, Matth. 5. *Bleſſed are you when Men revile you, and perſecute you for my Sake: Rejoice and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven; for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets that were before you.*

Anno 1554. Hear what the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, chap. 51. *Fear not the Curse of Men, be not afraid of their Blasphemies, for Worms and Moth shall eat them up like Cloth and Wool, but my Righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving Health from Generation to Generation. What art thou then,* said he, *that feareſt a mortal Man, the Child of Man, which fadeth away like the Flower, and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that spread out the Heavens, and laid the Foundation of the Earth? I am the Lord thy God, that makes the Sea to rage and be still, whose Name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my Word in thy Mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an Hand.* And our Saviour Christ saith to his Disciples, *Luke* 12. *Matt.* 13. *They shall accuse you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my Name's Sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill; but fear you not,* saith he, *nor care you what you shall say: For it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very Hairs of your Head are all numbered. Lay up Treasure for yourselves* (saith he, Matt. 10.) *where no Thief cometh, nor Moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but fear him that hath Power to kill both Soul and Body. If ye were of the World, the World would love his own: But because ye are not of the World, but I have chosen you out of the World, therefore the World hateth you,* John 15.

Let these and such like Consolations taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: Let not the Examples of holy Men and Women go out of your Mind, as *Daniel* and the rest of the Prophets, of the three Children, of *Eleazarus* that constant Father, of the seven *Maccabees* Children, of *Peter*, *Paul*, *Steven*, and other Apostles and holy Martyrs in the Beginning of the Church. As of good *Simeon*, Archbishop of *Soloma*, and *Zetrophone*, with infinite others under *Sapores* the King of the *Persians* and *Indians*, who contemned all Torments devised by the Tyrants for their Saviour's Sake. Return, return again unto Christ's War, and as becometh a faithful Warrior, put on that Armour that St. *Paul* teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian Man, *Eph.* 16. And above all Things take to you the Shield of Faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own Example to withstand the Devil, to forsake the World, and to become a true and faithful Member of his mystical Body, who spared not his own Body for our Sins.

Throw down yourself with the Fear of his threatned Vengeance for this so great and heinous an Offence of Apostacy; and comfort your self on the other Part with the Mercy, Blood, and Promise of him that is ready to turn unto you whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost Son, seeing you have so wandred with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the Swill of Strangers, to the Delicates of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against Heaven and Earth: Against Heaven, by staining the glorious Name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure Word to be evil spoken of through you. Against Earth, by offending so many of your weak Brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling Block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with *Mary*, and weep bitterly with *Peter*, not only with shedding the Tears of your bodily Eyes, but also pouring out the Streams of your Heart, to wash away out of the Sight of God the Filth and Mire of your offensive Fall. Be not abashed to say with the Publican, Lord be merciful unto me a Sinner, *Luke* 18. Remember the horrible History of *Julian* of old, and the lamentable Case of *Spira* of late, whose Case, methinks, should be yet so green in your Remembrance, that being a Thing of our Time, you should fear the like Inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like Offence.

Last of all, let the lively Remembrance of the last Day be always before your Eyes, remembring the Terror that such shall be in at that Time, with the Runagates and Fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the World than by Heaven, more by their Life, than by him that gave them Life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away from him that forsook not them: And contrarywise, the inestimable Joys prepared for them, that fearing no Peril, nor dreading Death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all Power of Darkness, over Hell, Death, and Damnation, through their most redoubted Captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his Arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your Neck and kiss you, and last of all to feast you with the Dainties and Delicates of his own precious Blood: Which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate Purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour, Praise, and Glory everlasting. *Amen.*

Be constant, be constant, fear not for any Pain.
Christ hath redeemed thee, and Heaven is thy Gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane *at the End of the New Testament in* Greek, *which she sent to her Sister the Lady* Katharine, *the Night before she suffered.*

An Exhortation of the Lady *Jane* to her Sister the Lady *Katharine*, to read God's Word.

I Have here sent you (good Sister *Katharine*) a Book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious Stones. It is the Book (dear Sister) of the Law of the Lord. It is his Testament and last Will which he bequeathed unto us Wretches: Which shall lead you to the Path of eternal Joy, and if you with a good Mind read it, and with an earnest Mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting Life. It shall teach you to live, and learn to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the Possession of your woful Father's Lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his Lands, so if you apply diligently this Book, seeking to direct your Life after it, you shall be an Inheritor of such Riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither Thief shall steal, neither yet the Moths corrupt. Desire with *David*, good Sister, to understand the Law of the Lord God.

So live die, th by De you m live.

Live still to die, that you by Death may purchase eternal Life. And trust not that the Tenderness of your Age shall lengthen your Life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the Young as the Old, and labour always to learn to die. Defy the World, deny the Devil, and despise the Flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sins, and yet despair not: Be strong in Faith, and yet presume not: And desire with St. *Paul* to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in Death there is Life.

Life. Be like the good Servant, and even at Midnight be waking, leſt when Death cometh and ſtealeth upon you as a Thief in the Night, you be, with the evil Servant found ſleeping, and left for lack of Oil, you be found like the five fooliſh Women, and like him that had not on the Wedding Garment, and then ye be caſt out from the Marriage. Rejoice in Chriſt, as I do. Follow the Steps of your Maſter Chriſt, and take up your Croſs: Lay your Sins on his Back, and always embrace him. And as touching my Death, rejoice as I do, (good Siſter) that I ſhall be delivered of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall for loſing of a mortal Life, win an immortal Life, the which I pray God grant you, and ſend you of his Grace to live in his Fear, and to die in the true Chriſtian Faith, from the which (in God's Name) I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for Hope of Life, nor for Fear of Death. For if you will deny his Truth for to lengthen out your Life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your Days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your Days to your Comfort and his Glory: To which Glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well, good Siſter, and put your only Truſt in God, who alone muſt help you.

A Prayer made by the Lady Jane *in the Time of her Trouble.*

A Prayer of the Lady *Jane.*

O Lord, thou God and Father of my Life, hear me poor and deſolate Woman, which flieth unto thee only in all Troubles and Miſeries. Thou, O Lord, art the only Defender and Deliverer of thoſe that put their Truſt in thee; and therefore I being defiled with Sin, incumbered with Affliction, unquieted with Troubles, wrapped in Cares, overwhelmed with Miſeries, vexed with Temptations, and grievouſly tormented with the long Impriſonment of this vile Maſs of Clay my ſinful Body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy Mercy and Help, without the which ſo little Hope of Deliverance is left, that I may utterly deſpair of any Liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeeing our Life ſtandeth upon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometime with ſome Adverſity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy Flock or no; and alſo know thee and our ſelves the better: Yet thou that ſaidſt thou wouldeſt not ſuffer us to be tempted above our Power, be merciful unto me now a miſerable Wretch, I beſeech thee; which, with *Solomon*, do cry unto thee; humbly deſiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with Proſperity, neither too much preſſed down with Adverſity; leſt I, being too full, ſhould deny thee, my God; or being too low brought, ſhould deſpair and blaſpheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, conſider my Miſery beſt known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a ſtrong Tower of Defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my Power; but either be thou a Deliverer unto me out of this great Miſery, or elſe give me Grace patiently to bear thy heavy Hand and ſharp Correction. It was thy right Hand that delivered the People of *Iſrael* out of the Hands of *Pharaoh*, which, for the Space of four hundred Years did oppreſs them, and keep them in Bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeem good to thy fatherly Goodneſs, to deliver me, ſorrowful Wretch, for whom thy Son Chriſt ſhed his precious Blood on the Croſs) out of this miſerable Captivity and Bondage wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent, for ever? O Lord, haſt thou forgotten to be gracious; and haſt thou ſhut up thy loving Kindneſs in Diſpleaſure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy Mercy clear gone for ever, and thy Promiſe come utterly to an End for evermore? Why doſt thou make ſo long tarrying? Shall I deſpair of thy Mercy, O God, far be that from me. I am thy Workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus; give me Grace therefore to tarry thy Leiſure, and patiently to bear thy Works, aſſuredly knowing, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliver me when it ſhall pleaſe thee; nothing doubting or miſtruſting thy Goodneſs towards me, for thou knoweſt better what is good for me than I do; therefore do with me in all Things as thou wilt, and plague me what Way thou wilt; only in the mean time arm me, I beſeech thee, with thy Armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my Loins being girded about with Verity, having on the Breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſs, and ſhod with the Shoes prepared by the Goſpel of Peace; above all Things taking to me the Shield of Faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked, and taking the Helmet of Salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is thy moſt Holy Word; praying always, with all Manner of Prayer and Supplication, that I may refer my ſelf wholly to thy Will, abiding thy Pleaſure, and comforting my ſelf in thoſe Troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me; ſeeing ſuch Troubles be profitable for me, and ſeeing I am aſſuredly perſuaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doeſt. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his Sake, whom thou wouldeſt ſhould be a Sacrifice for my Sins: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory. *Amen.*

Anno 1554. *Pſal.* 77.

The Words and Behaviour of the Lady Jane *upon the Scaffold.*

The Lady *Jane*'s Behaviour on the Scaffold.

WHEN ſhe firſt mounted the Scaffold, ſhe ſpake to the Spectators in this Manner: *Good People, I am come hither to die, and by a Law I am condemned to the ſame, The Fact againſt the Queen's Highneſs was unlawful, and the conſenting thereunto by me: But touching the Procurement and Deſire thereof by me or on my Behalf, I do waſh my Hands thereof in Innocency before God, and the Face of you, good Chriſtian People, this Day.* And therewith ſhe wrung her Hands wherein ſhe had her Book. *Then*, ſaid ſhe, *I pray you all good Chriſtian People, to bear me Witneſs that I die a true Chriſtian Woman, and that I do look to be ſaved by no other Mean, but only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of his only Son* Jeſus Chriſt: *And I confeſs, that when I did know the Word of God I neglected the ſame, loved myſelf and the World, and therefore this Plague and Puniſhment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my Sins: And yet I thank God that of his Goodneſs he hath thus given me a Time and Reſpite to repent: And now, good People, while I am alive, I pray you aſſiſt me with your Prayers.* And then kneeling down, ſhe turned to *Fecknam*, ſaying, *Shall I ſay this Pſalm?* and he ſaid, *Yea.* Then ſhe ſaid the Pſalm of *Miſerere mei Deus*, in *Engliſh*, in a moſt devout Manner throughout to the End, and then ſhe ſtood up, and give her Maid, Mrs. *Ellen*, her Gloves and Handkerchief, and

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her Book to Mr. *Bruges*; and then ſhe untied her Gown, and the Executioner preſſed upon her to help her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two Gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and alſo with her Frowes, Paaſt, and Neckerchief, giving to her a fair Handkerchief to put about her Eyes.

Then the Executioner kneeled down and aſked her Forgiveneſs, whom ſhe forgave moſt willingly. Then he deſired her to ſtand upon the Straw, which doing, ſhe ſaw the Block. Then ſhe ſaid, *I pray you diſpatch me quickly.* Then ſhe kneeled down, ſaying: *Will you take it off before I lay me down?* And the Executioner ſaid, *No, Madam.* Then ſhe tied the Handkerchief about her Eyes, and feeling for the Block, ſhe ſaid: *What ſhall I do? Where is it? Where is it?* One of the Standers by guiding her thereunto, ſhe laid her Head down upon the Block, and then ſtretched forth her Body, and ſaid, *Lord into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and ſo finiſhed her Life, in the Year of our Lord 1554. the 12th Day of *February*, about the 17th Year of her Age.

Lady *Jane* and Lord *Guilford Dudley* beheaded.

Thus died the Lady *Jane*, and on the ſame Day the Lord *Guilford* her Huſband, one of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, who was likewiſe beheaded, two Innocents in Compariſon of them that fate upon them. For they were both very young, and ignorantly accepted that which others had contrived, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

A wonderful Example upon *Morgan* the Judge, who gave Sentence againſt the Lady *Jane*.

It is worthy Notice, that Judge *Morgan*, who gave Sentence againſt the Lady *Jane*, ſoon after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and ſo he ended his Life.

Henry Duke of *Suffolk*, her Father beheaded.

On the 21ſt Day of the ſame Month, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk* was beheaded on Tower-Hill, the Fourth Day after his Condemnation: About which Time many Gentlemen and Yoemen were condemned, whereof ſome were executed at *London*, and ſome in the Country. In the Number of whom was the Lord *Thomas Gray*, Brother to the ſaid Duke, being apprehended not long after in North *Wales*, and executed for the ſame. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* very narrowly eſcaped, as ye ſhall hear (God willing) in another Place.

Lord *Thomas Gray* apprehended and executed.

On the 24th Day of *February*, in the ſame Year, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* ſent a Commiſſion, directed to all the Paſtors and Curates of his Dioceſs, for the taking of the Names of all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to come to auricular Confeſſion the Lent following, and to the receiving at *Eaſter*. The Copy of which here followeth.

The Monition of Bonner *Biſhop of* London, *ſent to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioceſs.*

A Monition of *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* to all the Miniſters of his Dioceſs.

EDMUND, by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of *London*, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Miniſters of the Church within the City and Dioceſs of *London*, ſendeth Grace, Peace, and Mercy in our Lord everlaſting. Foraſmuch as by the Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Conſtitutions of this Realm, and the laudible Uſage and Cuſtom of the whole Catholick Church, by many hundred Years agone, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all faithful People, being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, are bound once in the Year at leaſt (except reaſonable Cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their own proper Curate, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, with due Preparation and Devotion: And foraſmuch alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry evil-diſpoſed and undevout Perſons, given to ſenſual Pleaſures, and carnal Appetites, following the Luſts of their Body, and neglecting utterly the Health of their Souls, do forbear to come to Confeſſion according to the ſaid Uſage, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil Example to the younger Sort, to neglect and contemn the ſame: We minding the Reformation thereof for our own Diſcharge, and deſirous of good Order to be kept, and good Example to be given; do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the Receipt of this our Commandment, ye and every each of you within your Cure and Charge, do uſe all your Diligence and Dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commanding all your Pariſhioners, being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, to come before *Eaſter* next coming, to Confeſſion, according to the ſaid Ordinance and Uſage, with due Preparation and Devotion to receive the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and that ye do note the Names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed unto you, and do not receive of you the ſaid Sacrament, certifying us, or our Chancellor or Commiſſary thereof before the ſixth Day of *April* next enſuing the Date hereof; that ſo we, knowing thereby who did not come to Confeſſion, and receiving the Sacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being Perſons culpable, and Tranſgreſſors of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Law and Uſage. Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid Chancellor or Commiſſary, before the Day aforeſaid, whether you have your Altars ſet up, Chalice-Book, Veſtments, and all Things neceſſary for Maſs, and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, with Proceſſion, and all other divine Service prepared and in Readineſs, according to the Order of the Catholick Church, and the virtuous and godly Example of the Queen's Majeſty. And if ye ſo have not, ye then with the Church-Wardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe Fault and Negligence the ſame Want or Fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your Pariſhioners to Church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there unreverently in the Time of divine Service, and of all other open Faults and Miſdemeanours, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will anſwer upon your Peril for the contrary.

Coming to Confeſſion. Receiving the Sacrament of the Altar.

Given at *London* the 23d of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1554.

On the 4th of *March* following the Queen ſent a Letter to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, with certain Articles annexed thereunto, to be put in ſpeedy Execution, containing as follows.

Queen Mary's *Letter to* Bonner *Biſhop of* London.

A Letter of Queen *Mary* to Biſhop *Bonner*.

'RIGHT Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and Well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore in the Time of the late Reign of our moſt deareſt Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, whoſe Soul

'God pardon, divers notable Crimes, Exceſſes and Faults, with ſundry Kinds of Hereſies, Simony, Adultery, and other Enormities have been committed within this our Realm, and other our Dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like Diſorder ſince the Beginning of our Reign, without any Correction or Reformation at all, and the People both of the Laity and alſo of the Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much Inſolency and ungodly Rule, greatly to the Diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our Regret and evil Contentation, and to no little Slander of other Chriſtian Realms, and in a Manner to the Subverſion and clean defacing of this our Realm; and remembring our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may be) that all Virtue and godly Living ſhould be embraced, flouriſh and increaſe; and therewith alſo that all Vice and ungodly Behaviour ſhould be baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſtwiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that Godlineſs and Honeſty might have the upper hand; underſtanding by very credible Report and publick Fame, to our no ſmall Heavineſs and Diſcomfort, that within your Dioceſs, as well in not exempted as exempted Places, the like Diſorder and evil Behaviour hath been done and uſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe, unleſs due Proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame; which earneſtly in very Deed we do mind and intend to the uttermoſt all the Ways we can poſſible, truſting of God's Furtherance and Help in that Behalf. For theſe Cauſes and other moſt juſt Conſiderations us moving, we ſend unto you certain Articles of ſuch ſpecial Matters, as among other Things be moſt neceſſary now to be put in Execution by you and your Officers, extending to the End by us deſired, and the Reformation aforeſaid: Wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpecial Commandment, by theſe our Letters, to the Intent you and your Officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without Fear of any Preſumption to be noted on your Part, or Danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Laws, as by our doing of that is in the ſaid Articles contained, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatned in any ſuch Caſe. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid Officers, to proceed to the Execution of the ſaid Articles, without all Tract and Delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary.'

Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Weſtminſter, *the 3d Day of* March, *the firſt Year of our Reign.*

Articles ſent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, commanding both him and his Officers to ſee them put in Execution throughout the whole Dioceſs.

Articles of Queen *Mary.*

FIRST, That every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall with all Speed and Diligence, and all Manner of Ways to them poſſible, put in Execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, heretofore in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth uſed within this Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. Anno 1554.

Item, That no Biſhop or any of his Officers, or other Perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any Eccleſiaſtical Writing, in Proceſs, or other extrajudicial Acts, do uſe to put in this Clauſe or Sentence, [Supported by Royal Authority.] The King's Authority giveth Place to the Pope's Authority.

Item, That no Biſhop, or any of his Officers, or other Perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the Admiſſion of any Perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, Order, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy or Succeſſion, as of late in few Years paſſed hath been accuſtomed and uſed. The Supremacy of the King repealed.

Item, That every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other Perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant Eye, and uſe ſpecial Diligence and Foreſight, that no Perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable Kind of Hereſy, or other great Crime. and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions do not notably decay, or take Hindrance by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of Hereſies, and notable Crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame. For puniſhing of Hereſies, as they call them.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful Devices, engendring Hatred amongſt the People, and Diſcord among the ſame. And that Schoolmaſters, Preachers and Teachers, do exerciſe and uſe their Offices and Duties without teaching, preaching, or ſetting forth any evil and corrupt Doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers puniſhed and removed.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all Celerity and Speed, may and ſhall deprive or declare deprived, and amove, according to their Learning and Diſcretion, all ſuch Perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the State of their Order, and the laudible Cuſtom of the Church, have married and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered and abuſed themſelves; ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions. Againſt Prieſts Marriage.

Item, that the ſaid Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, to uſe more Lenity and Clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with other whoſe Women do yet remain alive. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the Conſent of their Wives or Women openly in the Preſence of the Biſhop do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed more favourably. In which Caſe, after the Penance effectually done, the Biſhop, according to his Diſcretion and Wiſdom, may upon juſt Conſideration, receive and admit them again to their former Adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame Place, appointing them ſuch a Portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice whereof they be deprived, by Diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop or his Officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice. Proviſion for Prieſts who renounce their Wives.

Anno 1554.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious Man, having ſolemnly profeſſed Chaſtity, to continue with his Woman or Wife, but that all ſuch Perſons after Deprivation of their Benefice or eccleſiaſtical Promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid Woman, and due Puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the Offence therein.

Married Prieſts divorced both from Wife and Benefice.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do take Order and Direction with the Pariſhioners of every Benefice, where Prieſts are wanting, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service, or to appoint for the convenient Time, till other better Proviſion may be made, one Curate to ſerve in their ſtead, in divers Pariſhes, and to allot to the Curate for his Labour ſome Portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

Proviſion for want of Prieſts.

Item, That all and all Manner of Proceſſions of the Church be uſed and frequented, and continued after the old Order of the Church in the Latin Tongue.

Proceſſions in Latin.

Item, That all ſuch holy Days and faſting Days be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter Time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

Holy days and faſting days.

Item, That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, That Children be chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, Touching ſuch Perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new Sort and Faſhion of Orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very Deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe Sufficiency and Ability in thoſe Men, may ſupply that Thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his Diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Orders.

Item, That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs an uniform Doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good Inſtruction and Teaching of all People: And that the ſaid Biſhop and other Perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear divine Service, as of Reaſon they ought.

Coming to divine Service.

Item, That they examine all Schoolmaſters and Teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any wiſe to remove them, and place Catholick Men in their rooms, with a ſpecial Commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, as hath been accuſtomed.

Proviſion for Catholick Schoolmaſters.

Item, That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other the Perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch Regard, Reſpect, and Conſideration of the ſetting forth of the Premiſes, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example, with repreſſing alſo and keeping under Vice and Unthriftineſs, as they and every of them may be ſeen to favour the Reſtitution of true Religion; and alſo to make an honeſt Account and Reckoning of their Office and Cure, to the Honour of God, our good Contentation and Profit of this our Realm, and the Dominions of the ſame.

A like Preſcript alſo with Articles, was ſent from the Queen to the Lord Mayor of *London*, the fourth Day of *March* in the ſame Year, who upon receiving the ſame, directed his Commandment to the Aldermen, every one ſeverally in his Ward, as followeth:

By the Lord Mayor.

A Preſcript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

ON the Queen our moſt gracious and moſt benign Sovereign Lady's behalf, we moſt ſtraitly Charge and Command you, that ye the ſaid Aldermen, fail not perſonally to call before your own Perſon in ſuch Place within your ſaid Ward, as to you ſhall ſeem moſt convenient and meet, upon Wedneſday *next coming, which ſhall be the ſeventh Day of this preſent Month, at ſeven o'Clock in the Morning of the ſame Day, all and every the Houſholders both Poor and Rich of your ſaid Ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own Diſcharge, and for the eſchewing the Perils that to you might otherwiſe be juſtly imputed and laid, do not only ſtraitly admoniſh, charge, and command, in the Queen our ſaid Sovereign Lady's Name and Behalf, all and every the ſaid Houſholders, that both in their own Perſons, and alſo their Wives, Children and Servants, being of the Age of twelve Years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every Time and Times from henceforth, and namely at the holy Time of* Eaſter *now approaching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and catholickly, uſe and behave themſelves like good and faithful chriſtian People, in all and every Thing and Things touching and concerning the true Faith, Profeſſion, and Religion of his Catholick Church, both according to the Laws and Precepts of Almighty God, and alſo their bounden Duty of Obedience towards our Sovereign Lady the Queen, her Laws and Statutes, and her Highneſs moſt good Example and gracious Proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to the Right, Wholeſome, Charitable and godly Admonition, Charge and Exhortation, late ſet forth and given by the Right Reverend Father in God, the Biſhop of* London, *our Dioceſan and Ordinary, to all the Parſons, Vicars and Curates, within his Dioceſs: But alſo that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertiſe you of the Names and Sirnames of all and every Perſon and Perſons, that they or any of them can or may at any Time hereafter know, perceive or underſtand to tranſgreſs or offend in any Point or Article concerning the Premiſſes, at their utmoſt Perils. That ye immediately after ſuch Notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertiſe us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all Circumſpection and Diligence, as ye will anſwer to our ſaid moſt dread Sovereign Lady the Queen for the contrary at your like Peril. Given at the Guildhall of the City of* London, *the fifth Day of* March *in the firſt Year of the Reign of our ſaid Sovereign Lady and Queen.*

BLACKWELL.

And likewiſe do you give to every of the ſaid Houſholders ſtraitly in Commandment, that they or their Wives depart not out of the ſaid City, until this holy Time of Eaſter *be paſt.*

About the ſame Year and Time that Doctor *Bonner* publiſhed his Preſcript or Monitory, there came from the Queen another Proclamation commanding all Foreigners and Strangers to deſert this Realm. The Copy of which Proclamation, becauſe it related chiefly to Religion and the true Profeſſors thereof, I have thought fit here to annex.

A Copy

A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for driving out all Foreigners and Strangers out of the Realm.

Q. *Mary's* Proclamation for driving out of Strangers.

THE Queen our Sovereign Lady, underſtanding that a Multitude of evil diſpoſed Perſons, being born out of her Highneſs Dominions in other Sundry Nations, flying from the Obeyſance of the Princes and Rulers under whom they be born, (ſome for Hereſy, ſome for Murther, Treaſon, Robbery, and ſome for other horrible Crimes,) be reſorted into this her Majeſty's Realm, and here have made their Demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingring, partly to eſchew ſuch condign Puniſhment as their ſaid horrible Crimes deſerve, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the Seeds of their malicious Doctrine and lewd Converſation among the good Subjects of this her ſaid Realm, on purpoſe to infect her good Subjects with the like, inſomuch as beſides innumerable Hereſies, which divers of the ſame being Hereticks have preached and taught within her Highneſs ſaid Realm, it is aſſuredly known unto her Majeſty, that not only their ſecret Practices have not failed to ſtir, comfort and aid divers her Highneſs Subjects to this moſt unnatural Rebellion againſt God and her Grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her People forthwith to rebel: Her Majeſty therefore having (as afore is ſaid) Knowledge and Intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons born out of her Highneſs Dominions, now Commorant or Reſident within this Realm, of whatſoever Nation or Country, being either Preacher, Printer, Bookſeller, or other Artificer, or of whatſoever Calling elſe, not being Denizen or Merchant known uſing the Trade of Merchandize, or Servant to ſuch Ambaſſadors as be Liegers here from the Princes and States joined in League with her Grace, ſhall within twenty four Days of this Proclamation, avoid the Realm upon pain of moſt grievous Puniſhment by Impriſonment, and Forfeiture and Confiſcation of all their Goods and Moveables, and alſo to be delivered unto their natural Princes or Rulers, againſt whoſe Perſons, or Laws they have offended. Giving to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other her Miniſters, Officers, and good Subjects ſtraitly alſo in Charge, if they know any ſuch Perſon, not born in the Queen's Highneſs Dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall, after the Time and Day limited in the Proclamation, tarry within this Realm, that they ſhall apprehend the ſame Perſon or Perſons, and commit him or them to Ward, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till her Grace's Pleaſure or her Councils be ſignified unto them for the further ordering of the ſaid Perſon or Perſons. And that if any of her ſaid Officers, after the ſaid twenty four Days, apprehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with all Diligence immediately certify her ſaid Council thereof, to the Intent Order may be forthwith given for their Puniſhment accordingly.

Cauſes laid againſt Strangers.

Peter Martyr and *Joannes Alaſco* baniſhed the Realm.

Engliſhmen fled out of the Realm for Religion.

In the mean while, upon the Proclamation above-mentioned, not only the Strangers received into the Realm for Religion in King *Edward*'s Time, among whom was *Peter Martyr*, and *John Alaſco* the King of *Poland*'s Uncle, but many *Engliſhmen* fled, ſome to *Freizland*, ſome to *Cleveland*, ſome to *High Germany*, where they were diverſly ſcattered into different Companies and Congregations, at *Weſel*, *Frankfort*, *Baſil*, *Zurich*, *Geneva*, and other Places; where by the Providence of God near 800 Perſons, reckoning Students and others, were all ſuſtained, and entertained with much greater Kindneſs among Strangers abroad, than they could be in their own Country at home. Anno 1554.

March 15. Lady *Elizabeth* and L. *Courtney* upon Suſpicion of Sir *Thomas Wyat*'s Riſing committed to the Tower.

In the ſaid Month of *March* likewiſe the Lord *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, whom the Queen at her firſt Entrance releaſed out of the Tower, and the Lady *Elizabeth* the Queen's Siſter, were both ſuſpected to have been conſenting to *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy, and therefore this very *March* were apprehended for the ſame, and committed to the Tower.

But as to the Impriſonment of the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, I could wiſh thee for thy Learning, good Reader, to take Notice of a politick Point of Practice in *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, not unworthy to be conſidered. For this *Gardiner* being always a capital Enemy to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and thinking from Mr. *Wyat*'s Rebellion to gather ſomething whereby to accuſe the Lord *Courtney*, and ſo in the End entangle the Lady *Elizabeth*: deviſed for their Conveyance thither a moſt peſtilent Practice, as from the following Story may plainly appear.

A Point of Practice of *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The Story is this: The ſame Day Sir *Thomas Wyat* was executed, he deſired the Lieutenant to bring him to the Preſence of the Lord *Courtney*; where before the Lieutenant and the Sheriffs kneeling down upon his Knees, he beſought the Lord *Courtney* to forgive him, for that he had falſly accuſed both him and the Lady *Elizabeth*: And when brought from thence to the Scaffold, publickly to ſuffer in the Face of all the People, he clear'd the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, ſo as to be entirely innocent and free from all Suſpicion of that Commotion. At which Confeſſion Dr. *Weſton* ſtanding by, cried to the People, ſaying, *Believe him not, good People, for he confeſſed otherwiſe before the Council.*

After the Execution of Sir *Thomas Wyat*, which was *April* 11. Word was immediately brought to the Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas White*, a little before Dinner, how Maſter *Wyat* had cleared the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, and what Dr. *Weſton* likewiſe ſaid to the People; whereunto the Lord Mayor anſwering, ſaid, *Is this true? Said* Weſton *ſo? In ſooth, I never took him otherwiſe but for a Knave.* But upon the Lord Mayor's ſitting down to Dinner that Day at the Bridge-Houſe, there cometh in Sir *Martin Bowes* with the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament-Houſe, and hearing from the Mayor and Sheriffs this Report of *Wyat*'s Confeſſion, both upon the Scaffold and alſo in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was a contrary Tale told the ſame Day in the Parliament-Houſe, which was, that Sir *Thomas Wyat* ſhould deſire the Lord *Courtney* to confeſs the Truth, as he had done before.

Cut an Apprentice in *London* brought before *Stephen Gardiner*.

It was not long after this, that a certain Apprentice living in St. *Laurence*-lane, named *Cut*, as he was drinking with one *Denham* a Plaiſterer, being one of Queen *Mary*'s Servants, happened amongſt other Things to mention how Sir *Thomas Wyat* had cleared the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, to be no Conſenters to his Riſing. Which Words being brought to *Gardiner* (by what Means I know not) Sir *Andrew Judd* was immediately ſent by the ſaid Biſhop unto the Lord Mayor, commanding him to bring the ſaid Apprentice to the Star-Chamber, who was accuſed for ſaying, That *Wyat* was conſtrained by

Anno 1554. by the Council to accuſe the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*. And when this Fellow was come to the Star-Chamber, the aforeſaid *Gardiner*, letting paſs all other Matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole Multitude, how miraculouſly Almighty God had brought the Queen's Majeſty to the Crown, the whole Realm being in a Manner againſt her, and that he had brought this to paſs for this ſingular Intent and Purpoſe, that this Realm being overſpread with Hereſies, ſhe might reduce the ſame again to the true Catholick Faith: And how ſhe took the Lady *Elizabeth* into Favour, and loved her tenderly, and alſo the Lord *Courtney*, who had been long detained in Priſon, and by her was ſet at Liberty, and received great Benefits at her Hands, and notwithſtanding all this they had both moſt unnaturally and traiterouſly conſpired againſt her, with that heinous Traitor *Wyat*, as by the Confeſſion of *Wyat*, ſaid he, and the Letters ſent to and fro may plainly appear: Yet there were ſome in the City of *London* who reported, that *Wyat* was conſtrained by the Council to accuſe the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*; and yet you, my Lord Mayor, quoth he, have not ſeen the ſame puniſhed.

Stephen Gardiner's Tale in the Star-Chamber againſt the Lady *Elizabeth.*

The Party is here, ſaid the Lord Mayor. Take him with you, ſaid *Gardiner*, and puniſh him according to his Deſert; and ſaid further, my Lord, take heed to your Charge, the City of *London* is a Whirlpool and Sink of all evil Rumours, where they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all Parts of the Realm.

There ſtood by at the ſame Time the Lord *Shandois* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and hearing the Biſhop thus ſpeak, to flatter him in his Tale, came in with theſe Words as follows: *My Lords*, ſaid he, *this a Truth that I ſhall tell you, being Lieutenant of the Tower when* Wyat *ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to the Lord* Courtney; *which when I had done, he fell down on his Knees before him in my Preſence, and deſired him to confeſs the Truth of himſelf, as he had done before, and ſubmit himſelf unto the Queen's Majeſty's Mercy.*

The Lord *Shandois's* falſe Report in the Star-Chamber againſt Lady *Elizabeth* and Lord *Courtney*

And thus much I thought fit to declare of this Matter, to the Intent that the Reader perceiving the Biſhop's Proceedings in the Premiſſes, and comparing the ſame with the Teſtimony of *Wyat* himſelf, and with the Teſtimony of the Sheriffs that were then preſent, when Sir *Thomas Wyat* aſked the Lord *Courtney* Forgiveneſs, may the better judge of the whole Caſe and Matter for which the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney* were ſo long in Troubie. Of which her Grace's Trouble (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the Story of her Life. In the mean while, let us now proceed in our Hiſtory.

Not long after this, Queen *Mary* ſummoned a Parliament to be held at *Oxford*, where both the Univerſity, Town and Country had ſhewed themſelves very forward in reſtoring the popiſh Religion. For this Purpoſe great Proviſion was made by the Townſmen and Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the Country round about.

A Parliament held at *Weſtminſter.*

But the Queen's Mind ſoon changed, and the *April* following the ſame Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*; where the Queen propoſed her Marriage with King *Philip*, which was agreed upon; and reſtoring of the Pope's Supremacy, which could not then be obtained.

At the ſame Time when this Parliament was ſummoned, the Queen ſummoned likewiſe a Convocation of Biſhops, and of the Clergy, writing unto *Bonner* (whom ſhe had made Vicegerent in the room of *Cranmer*, being then in the Tower) in a Style different from the old Style of King *Henry* and King *Edward*, as followeth.

Bonner made Vicegerent and Preſident in the Convocation.

MARY, *by the Grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith; to the Reverend Father in God* Edmund *Lord Biſhop of* London, *ſendeth greeting.*

Here the Reader is deſired to take Notice, that the Queen's Title is altered, and the latter Part left out; to wit, *Of the Churches of* England *and* Ireland, *ſupreme*, becauſe in this Parliament the Supremacy was taken from the Crown of *England*, and given to the Pope: And Biſhop *Bonner*, giving his Certificate upon the ſame, leaves out *Autoritate*, &c. *By the Authority of our moſt illuſtrious Queen impowered*; which Part of the Biſhop's Title in the ſame Parliament was likewiſe repealed and taken away.

Supreme Head, in the Queen's Style left out.

In this aforeſaid Convocation, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* being Vicegerent, made an Oration to the Clergy, wherein he ſeemeth to ſhew a great Piece of profound Learning, in ſetting forth the ſuper-angelical Order of Prieſthood, as may appear by this Fragment of his Oration, being collected by ſome that ſtood by; which as it came to our Hands, ſo I thought to impart it to the Reader.

The Dignity of Prieſts extolled by Bp. *Bonner.*

Biſhop Bonner's *Oration in Praiſe of Prieſthood.*

WHEREFORE it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy of all Men to be worſhipped for the Dignity Sake which they have of God, as in *Matthew* xvi. *Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon Earth*, &c. And *whatſoever ye ſhall bind*, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome Means is like *Mary* the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three Points; As the Bleſſed Virgin by five Words did conceive Chriſt, as it is ſaid: *Luke* 1. *Be it unto me according to thy Word*: So the Prieſt by five Words doth make the very Body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the Conſent of *Mary*, Chriſt was all whole in her Womb; ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the Words of Conſecration; the Bread is ſubſtantiated into the very Body of Chriſt. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Chriſt in her Arms, and laid him in an Ox-ſtall after his Birth; even ſo the Prieſt after the Conſecration, doth lift up the Body of Chriſt, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his Hands. *Thirdly*, As the Bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe had conceived; ſo the Prieſt being ordained and anointed before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without Orders he could conſecrate nothing: Therefore the Lay-man cannot do that Thing, altho' he be never ſo holy, and do ſpeak the ſelf-ſame Words of Conſecration, Therefore here is to be known, that the Dignity of Prieſts by ſome Means paſſeth the Dignity of Angels, becauſe there is no Power given to any of the Angels to make the Body of Chriſt. Whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do on Earth, that which the greateſt and higheſt Angel in Heaven cannot do, as St. *Bernard* ſaith, *O worſhipful*

Prieſts compared to the Virgin *Mary* in three Points.

Prieſthood compared and preferred before the State of Angels.

Dignity of Prieſts, in whoſe Hands the Son of God is, as in the Womb of the Virgin he was incarnate. St. Auguſtine ſaith, *That Angels in the Conſecration of the ſacred Hoſt do ſerve him, and the Lord of Heaven deſcendeth to him.* Whereupon St. *Ambroſe* upon St. *Luke* ſaith, *Doubt thou not the Angels to be where Chriſt is preſent upon the Altar;* Wherefore Prieſts are to be honoured before all Kings of the Earth, Princes, and Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, Maker of his Creator, Wherefore, *&c.*

Horrid Blaſphemy.

Communication between Dr. Ridley *Secretary* Bourne, *&c. in the Tower, at the Lieutenant's Table.*

MASTER *Thomas Bridges* ſaid at his Brother Maſter Lieutenant's Board, I pray you Maſter Doctors, for my Inſtruction, tell me what an Heretick is. Maſter Secretary *Bourne* ſaid, I will tell you who is an Heretick; whoſo ſtubbornly and ſtiffly maintaineth an Untruth, he is an Heretick. You mean Sir, ſaid I, an Untruth in Matters of Religion, and concerning our Faith. Yea, that is true, ſaid he; and in this we are are ſoon agreed. Then ſaid Maſter *Fecknam*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, ſitting at the upper End of the Table, I will tell you by St. *Auguſtine* who is an Heretick; *He that either for the Sake of Princes, or for the Sake of filthy Lucre, ſets on foot, or propagates wrong Notions, he is an Heretick.* Sir, ſaid I, St *Auguſtine* addeth the third Number, which is, *Or for the Sake of Vain Glory.* You ſay even true, Maſter Doctor, ſaid he, and thus far we did agree all three.

An Heretick defined by St. *Auguſtine.*

Maſter *Fecknam* began again to ſay, Whoſo doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will oſtinately maintain the contrary, he is an Heretick: As in the Sacrament of the Altar, *Matthew* doth affirm there to be Chriſt's Body, *Mark* doth affirm it, *Luke* affirmeth it, *Paul* affirmeth it, and none denieth it; therefore to hold the contrary is Hereſy. It is the ſame Body and Fleſh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by Unity, Antiquity, and Univerſality. For none before *Berengarius* did ever doubt of this, and he was an Heretick, as Maſter Doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to Witneſs his own Conſcience, ſaid he.

Fecknam provoking Dr. *Ridley.*

Marry Sir, ſaid Maſter Secretary, Maſter *Fecknan* hath ſpoken well. Theſe be great Matters, Unity, Antiquity, and Univerſality. Do you not think ſo Maſter Doctor, ſaid he to me?

Here, while I ſtrained Courteſy and pretended no Willingneſs to talk; ſaid one of the Commiſſioners, Peradventure Maſter *Ridley* doth agree with Maſter *Fecknam*, and then there needs not much debating of the Matter.

Sir, ſaid I, in ſome Things I do, and ſhall agree with him, and in ſome Things which he hath ſpoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Maſters, ſaid I, ye be (as I underſtand) the Queen's Commiſſioners here, and if ye have Commiſſion to examine me in theſe Matters, I ſhall declare unto you plainly my Faith; if ye have not, then I ſhall pray you either to give me leave to ſpeak my Mind freely, or elſe to hold my Peace.

There is none here, ſaid Maſter Secretary, that doth not favour you: And then every Man ſhewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an Agreement.

But as I ſtrained to have Licenſe of them in plain Words to ſpeak my Mind, ſome thought they granted me it for *Vix* or *Ægre*. Well, at the laſt I was content to take it for licenſed, and ſo began to talk. Anno 1554.

Biſhop *Ridley* anſwering *Fecknam.*

To Maſter *Fecknam*'s Arguments of the manifold Affirmation where no Denial was, I anſwered; where is a Multitude of Affirmations in Scripture, and where is one Affirmation, all is one concerning the Truth of the Matter: For that which any one of the Evangeliſts ſpake, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which was ſpoken of them all. It is as true that *John* ſaith of Chriſt, *I am the Door of the Sheep, as if all had ſaid it.* For it is not in Scripture as in Witneſs of Men, where the Number is credited more than one, becauſe it is uncertain with what Spirit he doth ſpeak. And where Maſter *Fecknam* ſpake of ſo many, affirming without any Negation, *&c.* Sir, ſaid I, all they do affirm the Thing which they meant. Now if ye take their Words, to leave their Meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, ſaid I, if in Talk with you, I ſhould ſo utter my Mind in Words, that ye by the ſame do, and may plainly perceive my Meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my Words, and writh them to another Senſe, I would think ye were no gentle Companions to talk with, except ye would take my Words as ye did perceive I did mean.

Words in Scripture muſt be taken with their Meaning.

Marry, quoth Maſter Secretary, we ſhould elſe do you plain Injury and Wrong.

Maſter *Fecknam* perceiving whereunto my Talk went. Why, quoth he, What Circumſtances can ye ſhew me that ſhall move to think of any other Senſe, than as the Words plainly ſay, *This is my Body which ſhall be betrayed for you?*

Sir, ſaid I, even the next Sentence that followeth, *viz. Do this in my Remembrance.* And alſo by what Reaſon ye ſay the Bread is turned into Chriſt's carnal Body, by the ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his myſtical Body. For as that ſaith of it, *This is my Body which ſhall be betrayed for you*; ſo *Paul* which ſpake by Chriſt's Spirit, ſaith, *We being many, are all but one Bread and one Body, inaſmuch as we are Partakers of one Bread.*

This is my Body, expounded.

Reaſons why theſe Words ought not to be taken literally.

Here he calleth one Bread, one Loaf, ſaid Maſter Secretary.

Yea, ſaid I, one Loaf, one Bread, all is one with me.

But what ſay ye, quoth Maſter Secretary, of the Univerſality, Antiquity, and Unity, that Maſter *Fecknam* did ſpeak of?

I aſſure you, ſaid I, I think them Matters weighty, and to be conſidered well. As for Unity, the Truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, ſo it be with Verity, and joined to our Head Chriſt, and ſuch an one as *Paul* ſpeaketh of, ſaying; *one Faith, one God, one Baptiſm.* And for Antiquity, I am alſo perſuaded that to be true which *Irenæus* ſaith, That which is firſt is true. In our Religion Chriſt's Faith was firſt truly taught by Chriſt himſelf, by his Apoſtles, and by many good Men, that from the Beginning did ſucceed next unto them; and for this Controverſy of the Sacrament, I am perſuaded that thoſe old Writers, which wrote before the Controverſy and the uſurping of the See of *Rome*, do all agree, if they be well underſtood in this Truth.

I am glad to hear, ſaid Mr. Secretary, that you do ſo well eſteem the Doctors of the Church.

Now as for Univerſality, it may have two Meanings; one to underſtand that to be univer-

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ſal, which from the Beginning in all Ages hath been allowed; another to underſtand Univerſality for the Multitude of our Age, or of any other ſingular Age.

No, no, ſaith Mr. Secretary, theſe three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt: And here he and I changed many Words. And finally, to be ſhort in this Matter, we did not agree.

There was none, quoth Mr. *Fecknam*, before *Berengarius*, *Wickliffe* and *Huſs*, and now in our Days *Caroloſtadius* and *Œcolampadius*. *Caroloſtadius* ſaith, Chriſt pointed to his own Body, and not to the Sacrament, and ſaid, *This is my Body*. And *Melanchthon* writeth to one *Miconius* (*Miconius*, ſaid I,) theſe or the like Words; I can find no grounded Reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the Belief of our Forefathers.

Thus when he had ſpoken, at length, with many other Words more; Sir, ſaid I, it is certain that others before theſe have written of this Matter: Not by the Way only, and *Obiter*, as do for the moſt all the old Writers, but even *Ex profeſſo*; and there whole Books treat of it alone, as *Bertram*.

The Doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Bertram, ſaid the Secretary, what Man was he? and who was he? and how do you know, *&c.* with many Queſtions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his Book; he propoundeth the ſame which is now in Controverſy, and anſwereth ſo directly, that no Man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the Subſtance of Bread remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament, and he wrote unto *Carolus Magnus*.

Marry, quoth he, mark, for there is a Matter. He wrote, quoth he, *ad Henricum*, and not *ad Carolum*; for no Author maketh any ſuch Mention of *Bertram*.

Yes, quoth I, *Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium Scriptorum*, ſpeaketh of him. *Trithemius* was but of late Time; but he ſpeaketh, quoth I, of them that were of Antiquity. Here after much Talk of *Bertram*, what Authors have ye, quoth Mr. *Secretary*, to make of the Sacrament a Figure?

Doctors that make the Sacrament but a Figure. *Tertullian.* *Gelaſius.* *Origen.*

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I think) that *Tertullian* in plain Words ſpeaketh thus; *This is my Body*, that is to ſay, *a Figure of my Body*. And *Gelaſius* ſaith plainly, That the Subſtance of Bread remaineth. And *Origen* ſaith likewiſe, That which is ſanctified, as touching the Matter or Subſtance, paſſeth away into the Draught. Upon this Maſter Secretary ſaid to me, you know very well as any Man, *&c.* And here, if I would I might have been ſet in a fooliſh Paradiſe of his Commendation of my Learning, and a Man of much Reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He ſet me not up ſo high, but I brought myſelf as low again; and here was much ado.

As for *Melanchthon* (quoth I) whom Mr. *Fecknam* ſpake of, I marvel that ye will alledge him, for we are more nigh an Agreement here in *England*, than the Opinion of *Melanchthon* is to you: For in this Point we all agree here, that there is in the Sacrament but one material Subſtance; and *Melanchthon*, as I ween, ſaith, there are two.

Ye ſay Truth, quoth Mr. Secretary, *Melanchthon*'s Opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye have heard that the Sacrament was in old Time ſo reverenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the Miniſtration thereof; *Catechumeni*, quoth he, and many more.

Truth Sir, quoth I, there were ſome called *Audientes*, ſome *Pœnitentes*, ſome *Catechumeni*, and ſome *Energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.

Catechumeni and others went out at the Miniſtration.

Now, quoth he, then; and how can ye then make but a Figure or a Sign of the Sacrament, as that Book doth which is ſet forth in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Name? I know ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the reſt, as tho' they would have given me the Glory of the Writing of that Book; which yet was ſaid of ſome there to contain the moſt heinous Hereſy that ever was.

The Book of Catechiſm.

Maſter Secretary, quoth I, that Book was made by a great learned Man, and him which is able to do the like again: As for me I aſſure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any ſuch like Thing; he paſſeth me no leſs than the learned Maſter his young Scholar.

Now here every Man would have his Saying which I paſs over, not much material for to tell. But Sir, quoth I, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the People in hand that any Man doth ſo lightly eſteem the Sacrament, as to make of it a Figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare Figure without any more Profit, which that Book doth often deny, as appeareth to the Reader moſt plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no, quoth I, of a Truth, and as for me, I aſſure you I make no leſs of the Sacrament than thus: I ſay, whoſoever receiveth the Sacrament, he receiveth there with either Life or Death.

No, quoth Mr. Secretary, Scripture ſaith not ſo.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the ſame Sound of Words, yet it doth in the ſame Senſe, and St. *Auguſtine* ſaith in the Sound of Words alſo: For *Paul* ſaith, *The Bread which we break, is it not the partaking or Fellowſhip of the Body of Chriſt?* And St. *Auguſtine*, Eat Life, drink Life.

Then ſaid Mr. *Pope*, what can ye make of it when ye ſay, There is not the real Body of Chriſt, which I do believe, *&c.* and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either Life or Death, when Chriſt's Body is not there?

The Sacrament may bring Life without Tranſubſtantiation.

Sir, quoth I, when you hear God's Word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye ſhall and do receive Life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you Death: And yet Chriſt's Body is ſtill in Heaven, and not carnal in every Preacher's Mouth.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you anſwer to this, *Which ſhall be given for you.* Was the Figure of Chriſt's Body given for us.

No Sir, quoth I, but the very Body itſelf, whereof the Sacrament is a ſacramental Figure.

How ſay you then, quoth he, to, *Which ſhall be given for you?*

Forſooth, quoth I, *Tertullian*'s Expoſition maketh it plain, for he ſaith, The Body is a Figure of the Body. Now put to, *Which ſhall be given for you*, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty Pounds that ye were of a good Opinion, For I aſſure you, I have heard you, and had an Affection to you.

I thank you Mr. *Pope* for your Heart and Mind, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very Fool if I would in this Matter diſſent from you, if that in my Conſcience the Truth did not inforce me ſo to do. For I know it is ſomewhat out of my Way, if I would eſteem worldly Gain.

What

What ſay ye, quoth he to *Cyprian?* Doth he not ſay plainly, *The Bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the Form, but according to the Nature thereof, by the omnipotent Word is made Fleſh.*

Dr. *Ridley* falſly reported of, for a Sermon of his at *Paul's.*

True, Sir, ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwer even the ſame which once by Chance I preached at *Paul's-Croſs* in a Sermon, for which I have been as unjuſtly reported of, as any poor Man hath been. For there I ſpeaking of the Sacrament, and inveighing againſt them that eſteemed it no better than a Piece of Bread; told even the ſame Thing of *Pœnitentes*, *Audientes*, *Catechumeni*, *Energumeni*, that I ſpake of before; and I bad them depart as unworthy to hear the Myſtery: And then I ſaid to thoſe that be worthy, *Cyprian* the Martyr ſhall tell you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying, Bread is the Body, Meat, Drink, Fleſh, becauſe that unto this material Subſtance is given the Property of the Thing whereof it beareth the Name: And this Place then took I to utter as the Time would then ſuffer, that the material Subſtance of Bread doth remain. Mr. *Fecknam*, (which as is reported to me, did bely me openly in the ſame Matter at *Paul's Croſs)* heard all this my Talk, as red as ſcarlet in his Face, and herein anſwered me not a Word.

The Place of St. *Cyprian* expounded.

You do well, quoth Mr. Secretary, that *Origen* and *Tertullian* were not Catholick, but erred.

None of all the Doctors holden in all Points.

Sir, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all Points, but are thought to have erred in ſome Things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to *Origen's* Charge, or to *Tertullian*, that ever they were thought to have erred in this Matter of the Sacrament.

What, quoth Mr. *Cholmley*, late Chief Juſtice, doth not Chriſt plainly ſay, that it is his very Fleſh, and his very Blood, and we muſt needs eat him, or elſe we can have no Life? Sir, quoth I, if you will hear how St. *Auguſtine* expounded that Place, you ſhall perceive that you are in a wrong Box. And then I began to tell St. *Auguſtine's* Mind in his Book of the Doctrine of Chriſtianity. Yea, yea, quoth Mr. Secretary, that is true, St. *Auguſtine* doth it figuratively indeed.

St. *Auguſtine* taeth the Words of the Sacrament figuratively by *Bourne's* own Confeſſion.

Forty Years ago, quoth Mr. *Fecknam*, all were of one Opinion in this Matter.

Forty Years ago, quoth I, all held that the Biſhop of *Rome* was ſupream Head of the univerſal Church.

What then, ſaid Mr. *Fecknam*, who was beginning to ſpeak; but Mr. Secretary took the Tale, and ſaid that was but a poſitive Law.

A poſitive Law, quoth I; no Sir, he would not have it ſo; for it is in his Decrees that he challenged it by Chriſt's own Word: For his Decree ſaith, The Church of *Rome* was advanced above all other Churches in the World, not by any ſynodical Conſtitutions, nor any Councils, but by the lively Voice of the Lord, according as the Lord ſaid to *Peter*, *Thou art Peter*, &c. And in another Place he intreateth, *Thou art Cephas*, that is to ſay, the Head.

Tuſh, it was not counted an Article (quoth Mr. Secretary) of our Faith.

Yes, ſaid I, if ye call that an Article of our Faith, which is believed under pain of Damnation: For he ſaith, We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every Creature is ſubject to the Obedience of the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* upon neceſſity of Salvation.

And here, when we ſpake of Laws and Decrees, Mr. *Roger Cholmley* thought himſelf much wronged, that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupt him; and then he up and told a long Tale, what Laws were of Kings in *England* made againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the Clergy did fly to him. And here, becauſe he ſeemed to ſpeak of many Things beſide our Purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was anſwered of his own Fellows, and I let them talk. Anno 1554.

Finally, We departed in Peace, and Mr. Secretary promiſed in the End, that of their Talk there ſhould come to me no Harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my Books, he ſaid, they were all once given him; but ſince I know (ſaid he) who hath them now, write me the Names of ſuch as you would have, and I will ſpeak for you the beſt I can.

Dr. *Ridley's* Books given away.

Upon the Articles above-mentioned, and Inquiſition made upon the ſame, divers Miniſters were divorced from their Wives: Amongſt whom was one *John Draper*, and *Joan Gold* his Wife, in the Dioceſe of *London*, troubled for the ſame by *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, who ſent forth a Commiſſion, with a Proceſs, to ſequeſter and ſeparate them, enjoining alſo Penance to the poor Woman. Many others were alſo divorced the ſame Time againſt their Wills; and ſome were contented of their own unconſtant Accord, to be ſeparated from their Wives.

Miniſters divorced from their Wives.

March 10, 1554. A Letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to deliver the Bodies of Dr. *Cranmer*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, to Sir *John Williams*, to be conveyed by him to *Oxford*.

March 26. There was a Letter directed to Sir *Henry Doel*, and one *Foſter*, to attach the Bodies of Dr. *Taylor*, Parſon of *Hadley*, and of *Henry Aſkew*, and to ſend them up to the Council.

Cranmer, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* ſent down to *Oxford* to diſpute.

About the tenth of *April*, *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer*, ſometime Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were convey'd as Priſoners from the *Tower* to *Windſor*, and from thence to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, there to diſpute with the Divines and learned Men of both the Univerſities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, about the Preſence, Subſtance, and Sacrifice of the Sacrament. The Names of the Univerſity Doctors and Graduates appointed to diſpute againſt them were theſe; of *Oxford*, Dr. *Weſton*, Prolocutor; Dr. *Treſham*, Dr. *Cole*, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, Dr. *Pie*, Mr. *Harpsfield*, Mr. *Fecknam*. Of *Cambridge*, Dr. *Young*, Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Glin*, Dr. *Seaton*, Dr. *Watſon*, Dr. *Sedgewick*, Dr. *Atkinſon*, &c. The Articles or Queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute, were theſe:

Three Queſtions.

1. Whether the natural Body of Chriſt be really in the Sacrament, after the Words ſpoken by the Prieſt, or no?
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the Words of Conſecration, any other Subſtance do remain than the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt?
3. Whether in the Maſs be a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Sins of the Quick and the Dead?

Concerning the Order and Manner of all Things there done, with the Notes, Arguments, and all Circumſtances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the Matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing that ſhall ſeem neceſſary to be added: Firſt, Here is to be underſtood, that upon *Saturday* the 7th of *April*, the Heads of the Colleges in *Cambridge* being aſſembled together,

Anno 1554. Letters coming down from *Stephen Gardiner*, Lord Chancellor, were read, with Articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at *Oxford*; the Contents of which three Articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon, in the said Congregation of the aforesaid University of *Cambridge*, there was granted first a Grace, in this Form, proposed by the senior Proctor: *May it please you to have an Instrument made, that the Doctrine of these aforesaid Articles is sound and catholick, and consonant with the Verity of the right meaning Faith, and that the same may be approved by your Consent and Voices?* Secondly, In the said Congregation another Grace was given and granted, that Dr. *Young*, being Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Glin*, Dr. *Atkinson*, Dr. *Scot*, and Mr. *Sedgewick*, should go to *Oxford* to defend the said Articles against *Canterbury*, *London*, and *Latimer*: Also to have Letters to the *Oxford* Men, sealed with their common Seal. *Item*, Another Grace granted to Mr. *Sedgewick* to be actual Doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foresaid Letters being then drawn out, the third Day after were read in the foresaid Congregation-House, and there sealed.

Letters sent down from *Stephen Gardiner* to *Cambridge*.

The coming of the *Cambridge* Men to *Oxford*.

Whereupon the next Day the aforesaid Doctors, with the full Grace of that University, set forward to *Oxford*, and coming thither the 13th of *April*, were lodged all at the *Cross-Inn*, with one *Wakecline*, being sometime Servant to Bishop *Bonner*.

Soon after their coming, Dr. *Crooke* presented them with Wine for their Welcome; and shortly after two of their Beadles came from the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and presently the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, with a Dish of Apples and a Gallon of Wine; after whom Mr. *Pie* and *Fecknam* came next to welcome them. Then, after Consultation concerning the Delivery of their Letters, and Instrument of Grace (which was in Dr. *Seaton* and Dr. *Watson*'s keeping) they all went to *Lincoln-College* to Dr. *Weston*, the Prolocutor, and to Dr. *Tresham*, the Vice-Chancellor; and there they delivered their Letters, and declared what they had done touching the Articles, Letters and Graces. Half an Hour after Eight they returned to their Inn again; but first they concluded of a Procession, Sermon, and Convocation, to be had the Morrow following, and that the Doctors of *Cambridge* should be incorporate in the University of *Oxford*, and likewise that the Doctors of *Oxford* should be incorporate in the University of *Cambridge*. The same Day the fore-named Prisoners were dissevered, Dr. *Ridley* to the House of Alderman *Irish*, Mr. *Latimer* to another, and Dr. *Cranmer* remained still in *Bocardo* *.

The *Cambridge* Doctors repair to Dr. *Weston*.

* The Name of a Prison in *Oxford*.

On *Saturday*, *April* 14. at Eight of the Clock, the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, with the other Doctors of the same University, repaired to *Lincoln-College* again, and found the Prolocutor above in a Chapel, with a Company of the House, singing Mass for the Dead, and tarried there until the End: Then consulting all together in the Master's Lodging, about Nine of the Clock they all came to the University Church, called St. *Mary*'s; and there, after a short Consultation in a Chapel, the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor, *&c.* of *Oxford*, caused the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and the rest of the Doctors of that University, to send for their scarlet robes brought from *Cambridge*, save that Dr. *Seaton* and *Watson* borrowed of the *Oxford* Men. And in this Time the Regents in the Congregation House had granted all the *Cambridge* Doctors their Graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. *Oglethorpe* presenting them, and the Proctor reading the Statute, and giving them their Oaths.

That done, they all came into the Choir, and there held the Convocation of the University: They had Mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung by the Choir Men of Christ's Church; but first, the Cause of the Convocation was opened in *English*, partly by the Vice-Chancellor, and partly by the Prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the Queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused Mr. *Say*, the Register, openly to read the Commission. That done, the Vice-Chancellor read the *Cambridge* Letters openly; and then concluded that three Notaries, Mr. *Say* for the Convocation, a Beadle of *Cambridge* for that University, and one Mr. *White* for *Oxford*, should testify of their Doing; and then ordered the said Notaries to provide Parchment, that the whole Assembly might subscribe to the Articles, except those that had subscribed before in the Convocation House at *London* and *Cambridge*; and so the Vice-Chancellor began first, the rest of the *Oxford* Men after him, as many as could in the Mass-time.

The Causes of their Assembly declared.

The Mass being done, they went in Procession: First, the Choir in their Surplices followed the Cross; then the First-year Regents and Proctors; then the Doctors of Law, and their Beadles before them; then the Doctors of Divinity of both Universities intermingled, the Divinity and Arts-beadles going before them; the Vice-Chancellor and Prolocutor going together: After them Batchelors of Divinity, *Regentes & non Regentes*, in their Array; and last of all the Batchelors of Law and Art; after whom followed a great Company of Scholars and Students not graduate: And thus they proceeded through the Street to *Christ-Church*, and there the Choir sung a Psalm, and after that a Collect was read. This done, the Commissioners, Doctors, and many others, went to *Lincoln College*, where they dined with the Mayor of the Town, one Alderman, four Beadles, Mr. *Say*, and the *Cambridge* Notary. After Dinner they all went again to St. *Mary*'s Church; and there, after a short Consultation in a Chapel, all the Commissioners came into the Choir, and sat all on Seats before the Altar, to the Number of thirty-three Persons. And first, they sent to the Mayor, that he should bring in Dr. *Cranmer*, who within a while was brought to them with a Number of Bill Men.

Procession in *Oxford*.

A Consultation of the Doctors and Priests.

Then the Reverend Arch-bishop, when he was brought before the Commissioners, reverenced them with much Humility, and stood with his Staff in his Hand; who notwithstanding, having a Stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the Prolocutor sitting in the Midst in a scarlet Gown, began with a short Oration in praise of Unity, and especially in the Church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking Degrees in *Cambridge*; and also how he was promoted by King *Henry*, and had been his Counsellor and Catholick Man, one of the same Unity, and a Member thereof in Times past; but of late Years did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous Doctrine, making every Year a new Faith; And therefore it pleased the Queen's Grace to send them of the Convocation, and other learned Men, to bring him to this Unity again, if it might be. He then shewed him how they of the Convocation House had agreed upon certain

Archbishop *Cranmer* brought before the Doctors and High-Priests at St. *Mary*'s Church.

Articles, whereunto they desired him to subscribe.

The Answer of the Archbishop to D. *Weston.*

The Archbishop answered to the Preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an Unity, forasmuch as it was, The Preserver of all Common-wealths, as well of the Heathen, as of the Christians; and so he dilated the Matter with one or two Stories of the *Roman* Common-wealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, That he was very glad to come to an Unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy Word.

When he had thus spoken his full Mind, the Prolocutor caused the Articles to be read to him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe to them. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* read them over three or four times, and concerning the first Article, he asked what they meant by these Terms, True and Natural? Do you not mean, saith he, A sensible Body? Some answered, The same that was born of the Virgin; and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false, and against God's holy Word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that Unity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor first willing him to write his Mind of them that Night, said moreover that he should dispute in them, and caused a Copy of the Articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on *Monday* next, and so charged the Mayor with him again, to *Beccardo*, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what Books he would occupy, and he should have them brought unto him. The Archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his Modesty; insomuch that some Masters of Arts were seen to weep for him, who in Judgment were contrary to him.

The Articles denied by the Archbishop.

Dr. *Ridley* brought in.

Then was Dr. *Ridley* brought in, who hearing the Articles read to him, answered without any Delay, saying, They were all false; and said further, That they sprang out of a bitter and sour Root. His Answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest. Then they laid to his Charge a Sermon that he preached when he was Bishop of *Rochester*, wherein (they said) he spake for Transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no Proof of it at all. After that, he was asked by one, whether he desired not my Lord Chancellor that now is, to stick to the Mass, and other Things? He said, That my Lord would say no such Things or Words of him; for if he did, he reported not the Truth of him.

Answer of Bishop *Ridley* to the Articles.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, That as long as God gave him Life, he should not only have his Heart, but also his Mouth and Pen to defend his Truth; but he required Time and Books. They said, he could not, and that he should dispute on *Thursday*, and till that Time he should have Books. He said, it was not Reason that he might not have his own Books, and Time also to look for his Disputation. Then they gave him the Articles, and bid him write his Mind of them that Night, and so they commanded the Mayor to take him whence he came.

Bishop *Ridley* appointed to dispute the next Day after the Archbishop.

Mr. *Latimer* brought in.

Last of all came in Mr. *Latimer*, in like sort, with a Kerchief, and two or three Caps on his Head, his Spectacles hanging by a String at his Breast, and a Staff in his Hand, and was set in a Chair; for so was he suffered by the Prolocutor. And after his Denial of the Articles, when he had *Wednesday* appointed for Disputation, he alledged Age, Sickness, Dis-use, and lack of Books, saying, That he was almost as meet to Dispute, as to be a Captain of *Calice*: but he would, he said, declare his Mind either by Writing or Word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his Back; complaining moreover, That he was permitted to have neither Pen nor Ink, nor yet any Book, but only the New Testament there in his Hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the Mass in it, neither the Marrow-bones nor Sinews of the same. At which Words the Commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. *Weston* said, That he would make him grant that it had both Marrow-bones and Sinews in the New Testament. To whom Mr. *Latimer* said again, That you will never do, Mr. Doctor, and so forthwith they put him to silence; so that where he was desirous to tell what he meant by those Terms, he could not be suffered: There was a very great Press and Throng of People, and one of the Beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the Vestry. After this, bringing home the Prolocutor first, the *Cambridge*-Men, *viz.* Dr. *Young*, Vice-chancellor, *Seton*, *Glin*, *Atkinson*, *Scot*, *Watson*, and *Sedgewick*, went to the *Cross*-Inn to Supper. And this was on *Saturday April* 14.

Anno 1554.

Mr. *Latimer* could not find the Mass in all the New-Testament. What he meaneth by the Marrow-Bones of the Mass, read after in his Protestation given in Writing to the Prolocutor.

On *Sunday* after Mr. *Harpsfield* preached at St. *Mary's*, the University-Church, at Nine of the Clock, where were divers of the Doctors of the University in their Robes, and placed accordingly. After the Sermon they went all to Dinner to *Magdalen* College, and there had a great Dinner. They supped at *Lincoln* College with the Prolocutor, whither Dr. *Cranmer* sent Answer of his Mind upon the Articles in Writing.

On *Monday*, being the 16th of *April*, Mr. *Say* and Mr. *White*, Notaries, went about in the Morning to the Colleges, to get Subscriptions to the Articles. And about eight of the Clock the Prolocutor, with all the Doctors and the Vice-chancellor, met together at *Exeter* College, and so they went into the Schools, and when the Vice-chancellor, the Prolocutor, and Doctors were placed, and four appointed to be *Exceptores Argumentorum*, set at a Table in the midst, and four Notaries sitting with them, Dr. *Cranmer* came to the Answerer's Place, the Mayor and Aldermen sitting by him, and so the Disputation began to be set on work by the Prolocutor with a short Præludium. Dr. *Chedsey* began to argue first, and e're he left, the Prolocutor divers times, Dr. *Tresham*, *Oglethorp*, *Marshal*, the Vice-chancellor, *Pye*, *Cole*, and *Harpsfield*, did interrupt and press him with their Arguments, so that every Man said somewhat, as the Prolocutor would suffer, disorderly, sometime in *Latin*, sometime in *English*, so that three Hours of the Time was spent e're the Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge* began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four Questions subtily. Here the Beadles had provided Drink, and offered the Answerer; but he refused, with Thanks. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make Water, or otherwise ease himself, he should. Thus the Disputation continued until almost two of the Clock, with this Applausion *Audientium*, *Vicit veritas.* Then were all the Arguments, written by the four appinted, delivered into

Cranmer sitter in the Respondent's Place.

Disputers against the Archbishop.

The Archbishop offered Drink.

Anno 1554.

Dr, *Cranmer* after Disputation returned again to *Bocardo.*

the Hand of Mr. *Say*, Register. And as for the Prisoner, he was had away by the Mayor; and the Doctors dined together at the University College.

And thus much concerning the general Order and Manner of these Disputations, with such Circumstances as there happen'd: now followeth to declare the Orations, Arguments, and Answers, used and brought forth forth in the said Disputations on both Parts.

The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations used in this Disputation.

ON *Monday*, Dr. *Weston*, with the Residue of the Visitors, Censors, and Opponents, repairing to the Divinity-School, each one installed themselves in their Places. Dr. *Cranmer* was brought thither, and set in the Answerer's Place, with the Mayor and Aldermen sitting by him: where Dr. *Weston*, Prolocutor, apparelled in a Scarlet Gown, after the Custom of the University, began the Disputation with this Oration:

Dr. *Weston* speaketh truer than he intended.

Ye are assembled hither, Brethren, this Day, to confound the detestable Heresy of the Verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, &c. At which Words thus pronounced unawares by the Prolocutor, several of the learned Men there present considering and well weighing the Words by him uttered, burst out into a great Laughter, as though, even in the Entrance of the Disputations, he had betrayed himself and his Religion, that termed the Opinion of the Verity of Christ's Body in the Sacrament a detestable Heresy. The rest of his Oration tended all to this Effect, That it was not lawful by God's Word to call these Questions into Controversy; for such as doubted of the Words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the Truth and Power of God. Whereupon Dr. *Cranmer* desiring License, answered in this wise:

Dr. *Cranmer*'s Answer to the Preface.

We are assembled (said he) *to discuss these doubtful Controversies, and to lay them open before the Eyes of the World; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no Reason* (said he) *that we should dispute of that which is determined upon before the Truth be tried. But if these Questions be not called into Controversy, surely mine Answer then is looked for in vain.* This was the Sum and Effect of his Answer; and this done, he prepared himself for Disputation.

Dr. *Chedsey.*

Then *Chedsey* the first Opponent began in this wise to dispute.

Articles.

Reverend Mr. Doctor, these three Conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dispute upon:

1. In the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, and also his Blood, present really under the Forms of Bread and Wine, by Virtue of God's Word pronounced by the Priest.
2. There remaineth no Substance of Bread and Wine after the Consecration, nor any other Substance, but the Substance of God and Man.
3. The lively Sacrifice of the Church is in the Mass propitiatory, as well for the Quick as the Dead.

These be the Conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present Controversy doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your Opinion thereof. I term it your Opinion, in that it disagreeth from the Catholick. Wherefore thus I argue.

Ched. Your Opinion differeth from Scripture.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Cran. I deny the Antecedent.

Ched. Christ, when he instituted his last Supper, spake to his Disciples, *Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be given for you*,

But his true Body was given for us.

Ergo, His true Body is in the Sacrament.

The right Form of this Argument is thus to be framed.

The same which was given for us is in the Sacrament.

But his true Body was given for us:

Ergo, His true Body is in the Sacrament.

How Christ's Body is present in the Sacrament.

Cran. His true Body is truly present to them that truly receive him; but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual Sort. For when he said, *This is my Body*, it is all one as if he had said, This is the breaking of my Body, This is the shedding of my Blood. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in Remembrance of the breaking of my Body, and the shedding of my Blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, so truly shall you receive the Benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

Ched. Your Opinion differeth from the Church, which saith, that the true Body is in the Sacrament.

Ergo, Your Opinion therein is false.

Cran. I say and agree with the Church, that the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament effectually, because the Passion of Christ is effectual.

Ched. Christ, when he spake these Words, *This is my Body*, spake of the Substance, but not of the Effect.

Cran. I grant he spake of the Substance, and not of the Effect after a sort; and yet it is most true, that the Body of Christ is effectually in the Sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in Bread, or that under the Bread is his organical Body. And because it would be too tedious (he said) to make Discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his Opinion thereof to Dr. *Weston*, written at large, with Answers to every one of their three Propositions: which he desired Dr. *Weston*, sitting there on high, to read openly to the People; which he promised to do. But it was not the first Promise that such Papists have broken.

Christ's Body effectually, not substantially in the Sacrament.

The Copy of this Writing, altho' it were not there read, yet the Contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer *upon the aforesaid Conclusions.*

The Contents of *Cranmer*'s Explication, given up in Writing.

CRANMER. In the Assertions of the Church and of Religion, trifling and new-fangled Novelties of Words, so much as may are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but Contention and Brawling about Words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the Manner of Speaking of the Scripture.

How Christ is really present.

In the first Conclusion, if ye understand by this Word [really] *Re ipsa*, that is, in very Deed and effectually; so Christ by the Grace and Efficacy of his Passion, is indeed and truly present to all true and holy Members.

But if ye understand by this Word [really] *Corporaliter*, that is, corporally; so that by the Body of Christ is understood a natural and organical; so the first Proposition doth vary, not only from the usual Speech and Phrase of Scrip-

Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy Word of God, and Christian Profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these Words, and also the Catholick Church hath professed from the Beginning, Christ to have left the World, and to sit at the Right-hand of the Father till he come to Judgment.

And likewise I answer to the second Question; that is, That it swerveth from the accustomed Manner and Speech of Scripture.

The third Conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in doubtful and ambiguous Words, and differing also much from the true Speech of the Scripture, so as the Words thereof seem to import no open Sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious Blood, which upon the Altar of the Cross, is the only Sacrifice and Oblation for the Sins of all Mankind.

Ched. By this your Interpretation which you have made upon the first Conclusion, this I understand, the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament only by the way of Participation: insomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the Grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the Effect thereof. But our Conclusion standeth upon the Substance, and not the Efficacy only, which shall appear by the Testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the Fathers a thousand Years after Christ.

And first, to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in *Matt.* xxvi. *Mark* xiv. *Luke* xxii. and 1 *Cor.* xi. *Matthew* saith, *As they sat at Supper, Jesus took Bread*, &c. In *Mark* there is the same Sense, although not the same Words, who also for one Part of the Sacrament speaketh more plainly, *Jesus taking Bread*, &c. After the same Sense also writeth *Luke* xxii. *And when Jesus had taken Bread*, &c. *In the Mouth of two or three Witnesses*, saith the Scripture, *standeth all Truth.* Here we have three Witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his Body which was given for many, and that to be his Blood which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the Substance, and not only the Efficacy alone thereof. *Ergo*, It is not true that you say, there to be not the Substance of his Body, but the Efficacy alone thereof.

Substance and Efficacy both granted in the Sacrament.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine Answer, as though I did mean of the Efficacy, and not of the Substance of the Body; but I mean of them both, as well of the Efficacy as of the Substance. And forasmuch as all things come not readily to Memory, to a Man that shall speak *Extempore*, therefore for the more ample and fuller Answer in this Matter, this Writing here I do exhibit.

Archbishop Cranmer's *Explication.*

The final Cause why the Supper was ordained.

OUR Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the Time of his Maundy, preparing himself to die for our Cause, that he might redeem us from eternal Death, to forgive us all our Sins, and to cancel out the Hand-writing that was against us; that we through ungrateful Oblivion, should not forget his Death, therefore at the Time of his Holy Supper did institute a perpetual Memory of this his Death, to be celebrated among Christians in Bread and Wine, according as it is said: *Do this in Remembrance of me. And so often as you eat this Bread and drink this Cup, you shall shew forth the Lord's Death till he come.* And this Remembrance or Sacrament of his holy Passion, that is, of his Body slain, and Blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in Bread and Wine, according as he said, *Take, eat, and drink ye all of this.* Therefore whosoever for Man's Tradition denieth the Cup of Christ's Blood to Lay-men, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake; *Matth.* xxv. *Ye Hypocrites, ye have rejected the Commandments of God for your Traditions. Well did Esaiah prophecy of you, saying, This People honoureth me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from me. Without Cause do they worship me, teaching the Doctrines and Precepts of Men.* The Sacrament and mystical Bread being broken and distributed after the Institution of Christ, and the mystical Wine being likewise taken and received, be not only Sacraments of the Flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his Blood-shedding, but also be most certain Sacraments for us, and (as a Man would say) Seals of God's Promises and Gifts, and also of that holy Fellowship which we have with Christ and all his Members. Moreover they be to us Memorials of that heavenly Food and Nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal Life, and the Thirst of our boiling Conscience quenched; and finally, whereby the Hearts of the Faithful be replenished with unspeakable Joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all Works of Godliness. *We are many*, (saith St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xi.) *one Bread, and one Body, all we which do participate of one Bread, and one Cup.* And Christ saith, *Eat ye, this is my Body.* And, *Drink ye, this is my Blood.* And, *I am the living Bread which came down from Heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your Fathers did eat Manna in the Desart, and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for ever.* Anno 1554.

Bread and Wine remaineth still in the Eucharist, and be Seals to us annexed with God's Promises.

Thus therefore true Bread and true Wine remain still in the Eucharist, untill they be consumed of the Faithful, to be Signs, and as Seals unto us annexed unto God's Promises, making us certain of God's Gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his Flesh and drink his Blood, as Christ himself hath promised: *They that eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward Sacrament, neither doth he depart so soon as the Sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain Bodies of that Head, and Members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural Body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no Distinction of Members and Parts in it: But that Body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the Form, and Shape, and Parts of the true natural Body of Man. Christ spake not these Words of any uncertain Substance, but of the certain Substance of Bread. which he then held in his Hands, and shewed his Disciples when he said, *Eat ye, this is my Body:* And likewise of the Cup, when he said, *Drink ye, this is my Blood:* Meaning verily of that Bread which by Nature is usual and common with us, which is taken ut of the Fruit of the Ground, compacted by the uniting of many Grains together made by Man, and by Man's Hand brought to that visible Shape, being of round Compass, and without all Sense or Life, which nourisheth the

Christ's Words are spoken not of an uncertain Substance, but of a certain Substance of Bread.

Anno 1554.

Body, and ſtrengthneth the Heart of Man: Of this ſame Bread (I ſay) and not of any uncertain and wandring Subſtance, the old Fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe Words, *Eat ye, this is my Body.* And likewiſe alſo of the Wine, which is the Creature and Fruit of the Wine preſſed out of many Cluſters of Grapes, and maketh Man's Heart merry, of the very ſame Wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake, *Drink ye, this is my Blood.* And ſo the old Doctors do call this ſpeaking of Chriſt, tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical, which they do interpret after this Sort, that although the Subſtance of Bread and Wine do remain, and be received of the Faithful, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt changed the Appellation thereof, and called the Bread by the Name of his Fleſh, and the Wine by the Name of his Blood, not that it is ſo in very Deed, but ſignified in a Myſtery. So that we ſhould conſider, not what they be in their own Nature, but what they import to us and ſignify, and ſhould underſtand the Sacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend not to the viſible Nature of the Sacraments, neither have reſpect only to the outward Bread and Cup, thinking to ſee there with our Eyes no other Things but only Bread and Wine, but that lifting up our Minds we ſhould look up to the Blood of Chriſt with our Faith, ſhould touch him with our Mind, and receive him with our inward Man, and that being like Eagles in this Life, we ſhould fly up into Heaven in our Hearts, where that Lamb is reſident at the Right Hand of his Father, which taketh away the Sins of the World, by whoſe Stripes we are made whole; by whoſe Paſſion we are filled at his Table, and whoſe Blood we receiving out of his holy Side, do live for ever, being made the Gueſts of Chriſt, having him dwelling in us thro' the Grace of his true Nature, and thro' the Virtue and Efficacy of his whole Paſſion, being no leſs aſſured and certified, that we are fed ſpiritually unto eternal Life by Chriſt's Fleſh crucified, and by his Blood-ſhed, the true Food of our Minds, than that our Bodies be fed with Meat and Drink in this Life: And hereof this ſaid myſtical Bread on the Table of Chriſt, and the myſtical Wine, being adminiſtered and received after the Inſtitution of Chriſt, be to us a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament, and a Seal.

How the Doctors take the Speech of Chriſt.

In the Sacrament is to be conſidered not what it is in Nature, but what it ſignifieth in Myſtery.

The Sacrament is a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament and a Seal.

And thereof it is that Chriſt ſaith not thus; *This is my Body, eat ye:* But after he had bidden them eat, then he ſaid, *This is my Body, which ſhall be given for you.* Which is to mean, as though he ſhould ſay, In eating of this Bread, conſider you that this Bread is no common Thing, but a myſtical Matter; neither do you attend that which is ſet before your bodily Eyes, but what feedeth you within: Conſider and behold my Body crucified for you, that eat and digeſt in your Minds, chew you upon my Paſſion, be fed with my Death, this is the true Meat, this is the Drink that moiſteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, ſhall live for ever. The Bread and Wine which be ſet before your Eyes are only Declarations of me, but I myſelf am the eternal Food. Wherefore whenſoever at this my Table you ſhall behold the Sacraments, have not Regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them, which is myſelf to be Meat for you of eternal Life.

What the crucified Body of Chriſt doth to our Souls.

The only Oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered himſelf to God the Father once to Death upon the Altar of the Croſs for our Redemption) was of ſuch Efficacy, that there is no more need of any Sacrifice for the Redemption of the whole World; but all the Sacrifices of the Old Law he took away, performing that in very Deed, which they did ſignify and promiſe. Whoſoever therefore ſhall fix the Hope of his Salvation in any other Sacrifice, he falleth from the Grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious againſt the Blood of Chriſt. For *He was wounded for our Tranſgreſſions, and was broken for our Iniquities. All we like Sheep have wandred aſtray. Every Man hath turned after his own Way, and the Lord hath laid all our Iniquities upon him. For he hath entred once for all into the holy Place by the Blood, not of Goats or Calves, but by his own Blood, finding eternal Redemptitn: And hath entred into Heaven, to appear now in the Sight of God for us, not to offer himſelf oftentimes (for ſo ſhould he have ſuffered many Times) but now hath he appeared once to put away Sin, through his own Oblation. And as it is appointed to all Men once to die, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: Who offering up one Oblation for Sins, ſitteth now for ever on the Right Hand of God. For by one Oblation hath he made perfect for ever thoſe that be ſanctified. For where is Remiſſion of Sins, there is now no Oblation for Sin,* but this only Sacrifice of Chriſt; whoſoever ſhall ſeek any other Sacrifice propitiatory for Sin, maketh the Sacrifice of Chriſt of no Validity, Force, or Efficacy. For if it be ſufficient to remit Sins, what need is there of any other? For the Neceſſity of another argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one Sacrifice of Chriſt, and that we to him again may repay our Sacrifices of Thankſgiving, of Praiſe, of confeſſing his Name, of true Amendment, of Repentance, of Mercifulneſs towards our Neighbours, and of all other good Works of Charity. For by ſuch Sacrifices we ſhall declare ourſelves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy Sacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you have out of the Teſtimonies of holy Scripture, and of the antient Doctors of the Church, the true and ſincere Uſe of the Lord's holy Supper, and the Fruit of the true Sacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoever through captious or wreſted Interpretations, or by Men's Traditions, ſhall go about, otherwiſe than Chriſt ordained them, to alter or tranſubſtantiate, he ſhall anſwer to Chriſt in the latter Day, when he ſhall underſtand (but then too late) that he hath no Participation with the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but that out of the Supper of eternal Life he hath eaten and drunken eternal Damnation to himſelf.

The Sacrifice of Chriſt's Body once ſufficient for all.

Iſaiah 53.

Heb. 9.

Heb. 9. 27

Chriſt ſacrificed once for Sin, we ſacrifice daily by Thankſgiving, and thankful Works of Charity.

Weſt. Becauſe we will not conſume and ſpend the Time in Waſte, this your Writing which you exhibit, hereafter ſhall be read in this Place. In the mean Seaſon let us now fall to the Arguments.

Ched. The Scriptures in many Places do affirm, that Chriſt gave his natural Body, *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Mark* 22.

Ergo, I do conclude that the natural Body is in the Sacrament.

Cran. To your Argument I anſwer: If you underſtand by the Body natural [*Organicum*] that is, having ſuch Proportion and Members as he had living here, then I anſwer negatively.

Furthermore, concerning the Evangeliſts, thus I ſay and grant, that Chriſt took Bread, and called it his Body.

Ched. The Text of the Scripture maketh againſt you, for the Circumſtance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the

Body, but alſo teacheth us what Manner of Body it is, and ſaith, The ſame Body which ſhall be given.

That Thing is here contained, that is given for us.

But the Subſtance of Bread is not given for us.

Ergo, the Subſtance of Bread is not here contained.

The Word [contained] diſtinguiſhed.

Cran. I underſtand not yet what you mean by this Word [Contained]: If ye mean Really, then I deny your Major.

Ched. The Major is the Text of Scripture. He that denieth the Major, denieth the Scripture. For the Scripture ſaith, *This is my Body which is given for you.*

Cran. I grant he ſaid it was his Body which ſhould be given, but he ſaid it was not his Body which is here contained; but the Body, ſaith he, that ſhall be given for you. As though he ſhould ſay, This Bread is the breaking of my Body, and this Cup is the ſhedding of my Blood. What will ye ſay then? Is the Bread the breaking of his Body, and the Cup the ſhedding of his Blood really? If you ſay ſo, I deny it.

Chriſt ſaith not, This is my Body which is here contained; but, This is my Body which ſhall be given for you.

Ched. If you aſk what is the Thing therein contained; becauſe his Apoſtles ſhould not doubt what Body it was that ſhould be given, he ſaith, This is my Body which ſhall be given for you, and my Blood which ſhall be ſhed for many. *Ergo*, here is the ſame Subſtance of the Body, which the Day after was given, and the ſame Blood which was ſhed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantaſtical, no feigned, no ſpiritual Body, nor Body in Faith, but the Subſtance of the Body.

Cran. You muſt prove that it is contained, but Chriſt ſaid not which is contained. He gave Bread, and called that his Body. I ſtick not in the Words of the Scripture, but in your Word, which is feigned and imagined of yourſelf.

Ched. When Chriſt took Bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave Bread. The Bread ſacramentally, and his Body ſpiritually, and the Bread there he called his Body.

Ched. This Anſwer is againſt the Scripture, which ſaith, that he gave his Body.

Cran. It did ſignify that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the Body as the *Capernaites* did underſtand it, but the ſelf ſame Body which was given for the Sins of the World. *Ergo*, It was his Body which ſhould be given, and his Blood which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other Copies I find this Argument to be made by *Chedſey*.

Argument

The ſame Body is in the Sacrament, which was given for us on the Croſs.

But Bread was not given on the Croſs for us: *Ergo*, Bread is not given in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny the Major, which is, that the ſame natural Body is given in the Sacrament, which was given on the Croſs, except you underſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo the Argument as utterly naught, as he might well do, the Major in the ſecond Figure being not univerſal.

When Mr. *Chedſey* had put forth his Argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Dr. *Cranmer* anſwered as before is ſhewed, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, one of thoſe Doctors which the Prolocutor called *Cenſores*. (belike to be Arbiters to order the Diſputations) ſaid on this wiſe.

Oglethorpe. You come in ſtill with one Evaſion or ſtarting Hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gave his very Body. You ſay, that he gave his Body in Bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? Qualis eſt corpus? Qualis eſt prædicatio? Panis eſt corpus.* Anno 1554.

Dr. *Oglethorpe* ſpeaketh falſe *Latin.*

Cran. You ſhould ſay, *Quale corpus.* I anſwer to the Queſtion: It is the ſame Body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, aſcended; but tropically, and by a Figure. And ſo I ſay, *Panis eſt corpus*, is a figurative Speech, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a Sacrament of his Body.

Cranmer anſwereth *Oglethorpe.*

Ogle. This Word [Body, being *Prædicatum*] doth ſignify Subſtance.

But *Subſtantia* is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, It is an eſſential Predication, and ſo it is his true Body, and not the Figure of his Body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatively in an Allegory, or in a Metaphor, or in a figurative Locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely Thing that Chriſt hath leſs Care for his Spouſe the Church, than a wiſe Houſholder hath for his Family in making his Will or Teſtament.

Cran. Your Reaſon is drawn out of the Affairs of Men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures.

Ogle. But no Houſholder maketh his Teſtament after that Sort.

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what Matter is it, ſo it be underſtood and perceived? I ſay Chriſt did uſe figurative Speech in no Place more than in his Sacraments, and ſpecially in this of his Supper.

Ogle. No Man of Purpoſe doth uſe Tropes in his Teſtament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his Teſtament: Therefore Chriſt uſeth none here.

Cran. Yes, he may uſe them well enough. You know not what Tropes are.

Ogle. The good Man of the Houſe hath reſpect that his Heirs, after his Departure, may live in quiet, and without brabling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do uſe Tropes:

Therefore (I ſay) he uſed no Tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

Weſt. Auguſtine, in his Book intitled, *De Unitate Eccleſiæ, chap.* 10. hath theſe Words following:

A Place of St. *Auguſtine* recited by the Prolocutor.

What a Thing is this, I pray you, when the laſt Words of one lying upon his Death-bed are heard, which is ready to go to his Grave, no Man ſaith that he hath made a Lye, and he is not accounted his Heir which regardeth not thoſe Words. How ſhall we then eſcape God's Wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we ſhall reject the laſt Words, both of the only Son of God, and alſo of our Lord and Saviour, both aſcending into Heaven, and beholding from thence who deſpiſeth, who obſerveth them not, and ſo ſhall come from thence to judge all Men.

The Argument is thus formed:

Whoſoever ſaith that the Teſtator lieth, is a wicked Heir.

But whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt ſpake by Figures, ſaith that he did lie.

Ergo, Whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt here ſpake by Figures, is a wicked Heir.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary, that he which uſeth to ſpeak by Tropes and Figures ſhould lie in ſo doing.

Ogle. Your Judgment is diſagreeing with all Churches.

Anno 1554.

Cran. Nay, I disagree with the Papistical Church.

Ogle. This you do through the Ignorance of Logick.

Cran. Nay, this you say through the Ignorance of the Doctors.

Weston. I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What gave he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What did he eat?

Cran. Bread.

West. He gave Bread, therefore he gave not his Body.

He gave not his Body, therefore it is not his Body verily, and indeed and in Truth.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Cole. This Argument holdeth a *Disparatis*: It is Bread. *Ergo*, It is not the Body; and it is such an Argument or Reason as cannot be dissolved.

Disparata, is a School Term, meaning divers Substances, being so separated in Nature, that one can never be said to be the other. The Sacrament, setting the Figure aside, formally is not Christ's Body.

Cran. The like Argument may be made. He is a Rock, *Ergo*, he is not Christ.

Cole. It is not alike.

West. He gave not his Body indeed: *Ergo*, It was not his Body indeed.

Cran. He gave his Death, his Passion, and the Sacrament of his Passion. And in very Deed setting the Figure aside, formally it is not his Body.

West. Why, then the Scripture is false.

Cran. Nay, the Scripture is most true.

West. This saith *Chrysostom*, *Homil.* 61. *ad pop. Antioch. Needful it is, dear Friends, to tell you what the Miracle of the Mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what Profit there is of the Thing. We are one Body, and Members of his Flesh and of his Bones. We that be in the Mystery, let us follow the Thing which was spoken. Wherefore that we may become this Thing, not only by Love, but also that we may become one with that Flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this Food, which he gave unto us, minding to shew his great good Will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own Body with us, that we should be made all as one Thing together, as a Body joined and annexed to the Head, for this is a Token of most ardent and perfect Love. And the same Thing* Job *also insinuating, said of his Servants, of whom he was desired above Measure, insomuch that they, shewing their great Desire toward him, said, who shall give unto us to be filled with his Flesh. Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a great Love toward him, and to declare his Desire toward us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our Teeth in his Flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like Lions therefore, as breathing Fire, let us go from that Table, being made terrible to the Devil, remembring our Head in our Mind, and his Charity which he shewed unto us. For Parents many Times give their Children to others to be fed; but I do not so, saith he, but feed you with mine own Flesh, and set myself before you, desiring to make you all jolly People; and pretending to you great Hope and Expectation to look for Things to come, who here give my self to you, but much more in the World to come. I am become your Brother, I took Flesh and Blood for you. Again, my Flesh and Blood, by the which I am made your Kinsman, I deliver unto you.*

Thus much out of *Chrysostom*; out of which Words I make this Argument.

The same Flesh whereby Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman by his true, natural, and organical Flesh.

Ergo, His true, natural, and organical Flesh, is given to us to be eaten.

Cran. I grant the Consequence and the Consequent.

Dr. *Weston*'s Argument denied: We are the true Body of Christ: *Ergo*, We eat it with our Mouth.

West. Therefore we eat it with our Mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eat it through Faith.

West. He gave us the same Flesh to eat, whereby he became our Brother and Kinsman.

But he became our Brother and Kinsman by his true, natural, and organical Flesh.

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical Flesh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical Flesh, wherein he suffered, and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that Flesh is received spiritually.

West. He gave us the same Flesh which he took of the Virgin.

But he took not the true Flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a Figure.

Ergo, He gave his true natural Flesh, not spiritually.

Cran. Christ gave to us his own natural Flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually.

West. *Chrysostom* is against you, who saith: *Let it come into thy Remembrance with what Honour thou art honoured, and what Table thou sittest at: for with the same Thing we are nourished, which the Angels do behold and tremble at: Neither are they able to behold it without great Fear, for the Brightness which cometh thereof; and we be brought and compact into one Heap or Mass with him, being together one Body of Christ, and one Flesh with him. Who shall speak the Powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his Praises? What Pastor hath ever nourished his Sheep with his own Members? Many Mothers have put forth their Infants after their Birth to other Nurses: which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own Body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.*

Chrysostom alledged by Dr. *Weston*, *Hom.* 85. in *Matt.* cap. 26.

Whereupon I gather this Argument:

Like as Mothers nurse their Children with Milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his Body.

But Mothers do not nourish their Infants spiritually with their Milk:

Therefore, Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually with his Blood.

Cran. He gave us the Wine for his Blood.

West. If he gave the Wine for his Blood, as you say, then he gave less than Mothers do give.

But *Chrysostom* affirmeth, that he gave more than Mothers give.

Therefore he gave not the Wine for his Blood.

Cran. You prevent mine Answer. He gave Wine, yet the Blood is considered therein. As for Example: When he giveth Baptism, we consider not the Water, but the Holy Ghost, and Remission of Sins. We receive with the Mouth the Sacrament; but the Thing and the Matter of the Sacrament we receive by Faith.

Christ nourisheth us both with Bread and with his Body: with Bread our Bodies, with his Body our Souls.

West. When Christ said, Eat ye, whether meant he, by the Mouth or by Faith?

Cran. He meant that we should receive the Body by Faith, the Bread by the Mouth.

West.

A gros Saying.

West. Nay, the Body by the Mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Chrysostom alledged by Dr. *Weston.*

West. I prove it out of *Chrysostom*, writing upon the 50th Psalm.

She that is a Mother, shameth sometime to play the Nurse. But Christ our Nurse doth not so play with us. Therefore instead of Meat he feedeth us with his own Flesh, and instead of Drink he feedeth us with his own Blood. Likewise upon the 26th Chapter of *Matthew*, the 83d Homily, he saith: *For it shall not be enough for him to become Man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one Mass or Lump with himself (as I may so call it) and maketh us his Body, not by Faith alone, but also in very Deed.*

Cran. I grant, we make one Nature with Christ. But that to be done with Mouth I deny.

Chrysostom alledged by Dr. *Weston.*

West. Chrysostom, 2 *Cor.* cap. xiii. *Hom.* 29. hath these Words, *No little Honour is given to our Mouth, receiving the Body of the Lord.*

Cran. This I say, that Christ entreth into us both by our Ears and by our Eyes. With our Mouth we receive the Body of Christ, and tear it with our Teeth, that is to say, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the Virtue of the Sacrament is much: And therefore *Chrysostom* many times speaketh of Sacraments no otherwise, than of Christ himself, as I could prove, if I might have Liberty to speak, by many Places of *Chrysostom*, where he speaketh of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.

The Words of *Chrysostom* expounded.

With which Word of the Sacrament of the Body, *&c.* Dr. *Cole* being highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, save only of the mystical Body which is the Church.

Cran. And why should we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, offered upon the Cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient Fathers do so call it?

Cole. How gather you that of *Chrysostom?*

Chrysostom alledged by Dr. *Cranmer. Chrys. lib. 3. de sacerd.* cap. 3.

Cran. *Chrysostom* declareth himself, *O miracle! O the Good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above at the Right-hand of the Father, and is holden in Mens Hands at the Sacrifices Time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no Subtilty or Craft, but with the open and beholding Eyes of all the Standers-by.*

Thus you hear Christ is seen here in Earth every Day, is touched, is torn with the Teeth, that our Tongue is red with his Blood; which no Man having any Judgment, will say or think to be spoken without Trope or Figure.

West. What Miracle is it if it be not his Body, and if he spake only of the Sacrament, as though it were his Body?

Chrysostom alledged by Dr. *Weston.*

But hearken what *Chrysostom* saith, *I shew forth that Thing on the Earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest Honour. For like as in the Palace of Kings, neither the Walls, nor the sumptuous Bed, but the Body of Kings sitting under the Cloth of Estate, and royal Seat of Majesty, is of all things else the most excellent; so is in like manner the King's Body in Heaven, which is now set before us on Earth. I shew thee neither Angels nor Archangels, nor the Heaven of Heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest, and not only touchest, but eatest that which on the Earth is the greatest and chiefest Thing of all other, and when thou hast received the same, thou goest Home; wherefore cleanse thy Soul from all Uncleanness?* Anno 1554.

Upon this I conclude that the Body of Christ is shewed us upon the Earth.

Cran. What? upon the Earth? no Man seeth Christ upon the Earth: He is seen with the Eyes of our Mind, with Faith and Spirit.

West. I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest Honour on the Earth? Is it the Sacrament, or else the Body of Christ?

Cran. Chrysostom speaketh of the Sacrament, and the Body of Christ is shewed forth in the Sacrament.

West. Ergo, Then the Sacrament is worthy greatest Honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

West. That Thing is shewed forth, and is now in the Earth [Ostenditur] & * [est] which is worthy highest Honour.

* This Word [est] is not in *Chrysostom.*

But only the Body of Christ is worthy highest Honour.

Ergo, The Body of Christ is now on the Earth.

Cran. I answer, the Body of Christ to be on the Earth, but so as in the Sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the Water of Baptism.

West. Chrysostom saith [Ostendo] I shew forth, which noted a Substance to be present.

Cranmer answereth to the Place of *Chrysostom*, how Christ is shewed forth on the Earth, not bodily, but in a Sacrament, that is, sacramentally and figuratively.

Cran. That is to be understood sacramentally.

West. He saith [Ostendo in Terra] I shew forth on Earth, declaring also the Place where.

Cran. This is to be understood figuratively.

West. He is shewed forth, and is now on the Earth, *&c.* as before.

Cran. Your Major and Conclusion are all one.

West. But the Major is true: *Ergo*, the Conclusion also is true.

That Thing is on the Earth, which is worthy of most high Honour.

But no Figure is worthy of highest Honour

Ergo, That which is on the Earth is no Figure.

Cran. I answer, that is true sacramentally.

Here *Weston* crieth to him, that he should answer to one Part, bidding him repeat his Words. Which when he went about to do, such was the Noise and crying out in the School, that his mild Voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the People how the Prolocutor did not well *English* the Words of *Chrysostom*, using for [*Ostenditur in Terra*,] He is shewed forth on the Earth, [*Est in Terra*,] He is on the Earth, whereas *Chrysostom* hath not [*Est*] nor any such Word of being on Earth, but only of shewing, as the Grace of the Holy Ghost, [*in baptismo Ostenditur*], Is shewed forth in Baptism: And oftentimes he did inculcate this Word [*Ostenditur.*] Then the Prolocutor, stretching forth his Hand, set on the rude People to cry out at him, filling all the School with hissing, clapping of Hands, and Noise, calling him unlearned, unskilful, impudent. Which impudent and reproachful Words this reverend Man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the Suffering of such-like Reproaches. And when the Prolocutor, not yet satisfied with rude and unseemly Demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the Argument: Then he bad the Notary repeat his Words again.

Weston falsifieth the Words of *Chrysostom.*

Unreverend Words used in the School against Dr. *Cranmer.*

Notary. That which is worthy most high Honour, here I shew forth to thee on Earth.

The Body of Christ is worthy highest Honour.

Ergo,

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The Body of Christ is shewed forth to us here in Earth diversWays: As in reading of the Scriptures, sometimes in hearing Sermons, and also in Sacraments, and yet neither the Scriptures, nor Sermons, nor Sacraments, are to be worshipped.

Ergo, He sheweth forth the Body of Christ here on Earth.

Cran. That is shewed forth here on the Earth which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but these Things be not true of the Body.

Cole. Why should not these Things be true of the Body of Christ?

Cran. The Major out of *Chrysostom* is true, meaning of the Sacraments. For in the Sacrament the true Body of Christ, and not the figurative Body, is set forth.

West. Shew me somewhat in Earth worthy greatest Honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the Sacrament only.

West. Ergo, The Sacrament is worthy greatest Honour.

Cran. So it is.

Judges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my Answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the Body of Christ is shewed forth unto us. It is our Faith that seeth Christ.

West. Ostendo tibi, I shew it to thee, saith *Chrysostom*, not to thy Faith.

Cran. He speaketh sacramentally.

West. Ergo, *Chrysostom* lieth. For he, speaking of shewing, saith: *Ego Chrysostomus ostendo*: I *Chrysostom* do shew. But he can shew nothing sacramentally.

Ched. By Force of Argument we are brought to this Point, That the Body of Christ is proved to be on Earth, not only sacramentally, but in very Deed also, by this Reason, that it is worthy highest Honour. The Reason is indissoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vain Argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine Answer unto it.

Ched. Will you affirm, that it is absurd which *Chrysostom* saith, that the Body of Christ is touched?

I touch the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, as *Thomas* touched Christ.

Thomas touched Christ, and said *Dominus meus*, *Deus meus*: My Lord, my God.

Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God.

The Argument of *Chedsey* is not formal.

This Argument, as I received it out of the Notary's Book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third Figure thus.

As *Thomas* touched the Body of Christ, so we touch it in the Sacrament.

Thomas touched the Body of Christ corporally.

Ergo, We touch the Body of Christ corporally in the Sacrament.

God cannot be touched.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it sound Doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Ched. This is because of the Union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertul. de Resurrectione carnis. Quod Symbolorum est Rei attribuitur.

Tertullian saith, *Let us consider as concerning the proper Form of the Christian Man, what great Prerogative this vain and foul Substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no Soul could ever get Salvation, unless it believe while it is in the Flesh; so much the Flesh availeth to Salvation; by the which Flesh it cometh, that whereas the Soul so is linked unto God, it is the said Flesh that causeth the Soul to be linked: Yet the Flesh moreover is washed that the Soul may be cleansed; the Flesh is anointed that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be defended; the Flesh is shadowed by the Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the Flesh doth eat the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Soul may be fed of God.* Whereupon I gather this Argument.

The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ.

Ergo, The Body of Christ is eaten with the Mouth.

Item, *Phoceus* 1 *ad Cor. cap.* 11. Whereas he saith, *Is guilty of the Body and Blood*, this he declareth, *that like as* Judas *betrayed him, and* the Jews *were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, which receive his holy Body with their impure Hands, and as the* Jews *did hold him then, do now receive him with impure Mouths. And whereas he often maketh Mention of the Body and Blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply Man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the Maker of all Things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.*

Phoceus alledged by *Chedsey.*

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the Body of Christ is touched with the Hands.

Cran. You vouch two Authors against me upon sundry Things. First, I must answer *Tertullian*, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one Meaning.

Answer to *Tertullian.*

Cran. Unto *Tertullian* I answer, (because our Disputation is wandring and uncertain) that he calleth that the Flesh which is the Sacrament. For athough God work all Things in us invisibly beyond Man's Reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every Sense. Therefore he setteth forth Baptism, Unction, and last of all the Supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his Operation in us. The Flesh liveth by the Bread, but the Soul is inwardly fed by Christ.

Dr. *Weston* urgeth him with the Words of *Tertullian.*

West. Stick to those Words of *Tertullian*, The Body eateth, that the Soul may be fed.

Ched. The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ, that the Soul may be fed therewith.

West. Here you see two Kinds of Food, of the Soul and of the Body.

Ched. He saith, that not only the Soul, but the Flesh is also fed.

Cran. The Soul is fed with the Body of Christ, the Body with the Sacrament.

Ched. Is the Soul fed with the Body of Christ and not with the Sacrament.

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by Things external, an Operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's Body, and outwardly we eat the Sacrament. So one Thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in Baptism the external Element whereby the Body is washed, is one; the internal Thing, whereby the Soul is cleansed, is another.

Inwardly we eat the Body, outwardly the Sacrament.

Ched. The Soul is fed by that which the Body eateth.

But the Soul is fed by the Flesh of Christ.

Ergo, The Body eateth the Flesh of Christ.

Cran. We eat not one Thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's Body: Outwardly we eat the Sacrament.

Ched. I will repeat the Argument.

† The Flesh eateth Christ's Body, that the Soul may be fed therewith.

† The Form of this Argument which he repeateth stood better before, For the Form of this Connexion answereth to none of the three Figures of *Syllogisms.*

The Soul is not fed with the Sacrament, but with Christ's Body.

Ergo, The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ.

Cran. The Sacrament is one Thing, the Matter of the Sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the Sacrament; inwardly we eat the Body of Christ.

Ched. I prove, that we receive that outwardly wherewith the Soul is fed.

Consequence. The Soul is fed with the Body of Christ.

Ergo, We eat the Body of Christ outwardly.

Consequence. The Flesh eateth Christ his Body.

Ergo, The Soul is fed therewith.

Answer. *Cran.* The Flesh (I say) eateth the Sacrament; it eateth not Christ's Body. For *Tertullian* speaketh of the Sacrament; and the Place hath not [*inde*] thereof, but [*de Deo*] of God.

Ched. What say you to *Phoceus* Saying; *They which receive the Body with impure Hands, are guilty of the Lord's Blood, as* Judas *was*?

West. That which followeth in *Tertullian* doth take away your Shift, whereas he saith; *They cannot be separated in Reward, whom one Work joineth together.*

But Manducation, *i. e.* the Work or Labour; *Ergo*, &c.

The Form of this Argument may be thus collected. One Work or Labour joineth Body and Soul together.

Manducation is a Work or Labour.

Ergo, One Manducation joineth together both Body and Soul.

* As the Body and Soul are joined in the Work of Baptism, so are they joined in the Communion of the Lord's Supper. For as the Flesh is washed with Water, that the Soul may be purged spiritually; so the Body eateth the outward Sacrament, that the Soul may be fed of God

* To the Major of which Argument, thus it may be answered, expounding the Saying of *Tertullian*, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus.* Again, *Opera*, here in *Tertullian*, may be taken for Temptations and Afflictions.

Cran. Your Authority (I suppose) is taken out of the Book, *De Resurrectione Carnis:* Of the Resurrection of the Flesh: And the Meaning thereof is this: *Tertullian* goeth about there to prove, that the Flesh shall rise again, becaufe it is joined together in one Work with the Soul. Through Baptism in this World the Body is washed, and the Soul is washed: The Body outwardly, the Soul inwardly, the Work is one. In this Work they are joined. And he speaketh of Signs.

West. He speaketh of eating in a Sign.

Ergo, The Reward is in a Sign.

Cran. They are coupled in one Work, namely, in the Sacrament.

West. There are two Works.

Ergo, There are two Rewards.

If the Work be in a Figure.

Ergo, The Reward is in a Figure.

Cran. He speaketh not of two Works. Two Works are but one Work. And yet he saith not, [*Quos una opera conjungit,*] Whom one Work joineth together, but [*Opera*] A Work: As in Baptism the Soul and Body are joined in Understanding.

West. The Flesh and Soul shall have one and the self same Reward, becaufe they have one Work.

Cran. Becaufe they be joined together in one Work.

Dr. *Tresham* disputeth. *Tresh.* Foraſmuch as the reverend Doctors here have impugned, and overthrown your Assertion and your Answers sufficiently: I will fall to another Matter, not altogether impertinent to the Purpose, and that in few Words, against a certain Sequel of your Opinion. The Sequel is this; That between us and Christ there is no further Conjunction, while we receive the Eucharist, than a Conjunction of the Mind, or a spiritual Conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ thro' Faith and Love. As for the Presence of Christ concerning the Substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very Deed you leave but a spiritual Union and joining together of Mind. Howbeit you would seem to think otherwise by your subtle Answers. But I will declare by manifest Testimonies of the Fathers, that this your Sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the Truth. And I will begin with St. *Hilary*, who is both an ancient and learned Author. For disputing against the Arians, *Octavo de Trinitate*, he saith, that this was their Opinion; That the Father and the Son are conjoined only thro' Unity of Will. Whereupon *Arius* himself, when Scripture was alledged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right Meaning of it by his false Interpretations. But the Catholick Church hath always believed and ever maintained, That Christ is one with the Father in Nature, and not by Consent of Will only. To the Proof whereof, when the Catholicks vouched this Testimony of *John*, *Pater & Ego unum sumus*, *The Father and I are one:* The *Arians* answered, that [*unum sumus*] was to be understood by the Assent of their Wills, and Agreement of their Minds, not by Unity of their Natures. Thus it happeneth now adays, where Men do doubt of the Sacrament. But *Hilary* going on, and proving the natural Conjunction between the Father and the Son [*a fortiori,*] questioneth with his Adversaries after this Manner. *I demand of them now which will needs have the Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by Nature, or only by the Agreement of Wills. If* (saith he) *the Word be incarnate in very Deed, and we receive at the Lord's Table the Word made Flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who being born Man, hath both taken the Nature of our Flesh upon him that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that Nature of his own Flesh unto the Nature of Eternity under the Sacrament of his Flesh, to be communicated unto us?* Thus much hath *Hilary.* Whereupon I ask of you this Question, How Christ dwelleth now in us; according to Faith, or according to Nature.

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Conjunction between Christ and us.

Cran. I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our Flesh upon him, and becaufe he hath communicated his Nature unto us.

Tresh. Bucer contra Abrincensem, referreth these Words only to the Eucharist, saying, *Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy Supper, and according to the holy Fathers* (saith he) *Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by Faith and Love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual Union (as you suppose) but also by a corporal and carnal Union.*

Bucer contra Abrincensem alledged by *Tresham*,

Cran. I know that Mr. *Bucer* was a learned Man. But your Faith is in good Case, which leaneth upon *Bucer.*

Tresh. I do not bring *Bucer* as a Patron of our Faith, but becaufe he is a Man of your Sort, and yet bringeth this Place of *Hilary* for that Union which we have by the Sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ, whereas you think we are joined by it only thro' Faith and Love.

Christ communicated and united to us by Birth, by Unity of the Church, by the Communion, by Baptism, by Faith.

Cran. I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by Faith, but in very Deed also when he was born of the Virgin. We have Fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the Unity of the Church, when we are made Flesh of his Flesh, and Bones of his Bones, and so we are united in the Communion, in Baptism, and in Faith.

Tresh

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Tresh. I pray you what Fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made Man? Are not the *Turks* and *Jews* therein joined with him? For they are Men as we are, and are joined with him in Man's Nature, in that he was born of a Woman. I speak now of a more near Unity. We are made one with Christ by the Communion in a perfect Unity.

We are united to Christ by Communion so as we are by Baptism.

Cran. We are made so, I grant; but we are made so also by Baptism; and the Unity in Baptism is perfect.

Tresh. We are not made one by Baptism in a perfect Unity, as *Hilary* there speaketh, but by the Communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewise by Baptism: Wherefore you understand not *Hilary*. You shall hear his Words, which are these: *He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect Union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my Flesh, shall also live through me.* And a little after he writeth thus: *This truly is the Cause of our Life, that we have Christ dwelling by his Flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such Sort as he liveth by his Father.* Wherefore of these Words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect Unity by Means of the Sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us.

Objection of *Hilary*.

Answer to the Place of *Hilary*.

Cran. Nay, *Hilary* in that same Place doth teach, that it is done by Baptism: And that Doctrine is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by Baptism.

West. Repeat the Argument.

Cran. You must first make an Argument.

Tresh. It is made already, but it shall be made again in this Form:

As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's Flesh live by the same Flesh.

But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by Faith and Love, but naturally.

Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's Flesh, by Faith and Love only, but naturally.

Cran. We live by Christ, not only by Faith and Love, but eternally indeed.

Tresh. Nay, * naturally; I prove it thus:

As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his Flesh eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only by Faith and Love, but naturally.

Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's Flesh only by Faith and Love (as you suppose) but naturally.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Tresh. This is the Opinion of *Arius*, That Christ is united to his Father by Conjunction of Mind, and not naturally.

* The Papists by this one Word naturally, confound themselves. For if the natural Body of Christ were eaten, and went naturally into our Bodies, then should it follow, that the Nature of his Body being immaculate and now also immortal, our Bodies united in Nature to his pure and immortal Body, naturally should never sin nor die. Wherefore it remaineth, that the natural uniting to Christ's Body, cometh not by the bodily eating of the Sacrament, unto our Body, nor to our Soul, and so shall redound at length unto our Bodies. If that Union of the Substance of Flesh should be granted unto our Bodies, then should our Bodies never die, nor see Corruption.

Cran. I say not so yet, neither do I think so. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You say, That Christ doth not live by his Father only by Faith and Love; but I say, That Christ liveth not at all by his Faith.

West. Mark and consider well this Word (by Faith) lest any Occasion of cavilling be given.

Tresh. Let that Word (by Faith) be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through Faith. Yet the Strength of the Argument remaineth in Force; for else *Hilary* doth not confute the *Arians*, except there be a greater Conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual Conjunction. You do only grant an Union. As for a carnal or natural Union of the Substance of the Flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better Mind, and shew you the Light of his Truth, that you may return into the Way of Righteousness.

West. We came hither to dispute, and not to pray.

Tresh. Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?

West. It is not lawful yet. But proceed.

The same Argument again repeated.

Tresh. Again, I reason thus; As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same Manner do we live by the eating of his Flesh.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in Unity of Will, but naturally.

Ergo, We do not live when we eat the Flesh of Christ, only by Faith and Unity of Will, but naturally.

Answer.

Cran. This is my Faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture, Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but also in Baptism. For Infants, when they are baptised, do eat the Flesh of Christ.

West. Answer either to the whole Argument, or to the Parts thereof. For this Argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved.

The Archbishop repeateth the Argument.

Cran. This is the Argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same Manner do we live by his Flesh, being eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father only in Unity of Will, but naturally.

Ergo. We eating his Flesh do not live only by Faith and Love, but naturally.

But the Major is false; namely, That by the same Manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father.

West. † *Hilary* saith, after the same Manner, upon these Words, He that eateth my Flesh shall live by me. *Ergo*, Christ liveth by his Father, after the same Manner we shall live by his Flesh. Here you see, that *Hilary* saith, After the same Manner.

Cran. After the same Manner, doth not signify alike in all Things, but in Deed and eternally: For so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other Respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ.

West. He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally.

Cran. We do not live naturally, but by Grace, if you take naturally for the Manner of Nature; as Christ hath eternal Life of his Father, so have we of him.

† Christ not after his Manhood, but after his Divine Nature, liveth naturally by his Father, which Divine Nature of his worketh also in his Man-hood an Immortality: So our Spirit and Soul, receiving the natural Body of Christ in the Mysteries, by Faith do receive also the Nature of his Body, that is, his Pureness, Justification, and Life; the Operation whereof redounding likewise unto our Bodies, doth make the same also capable of the same Glory and Immortality. And thus it is true that as Christ liveth naturally by his Father, so we live naturally by the Body of Christ eaten in the Mysteries, having respect both to the Man-hood of him, and us. For as the Flesh of Christ in respect of bare Flesh, liveth not naturally by the Father, but for that it is joined to his Divinity: So our Flesh liveth not naturally by Christ's Body eaten in the Sacrament (for then every wicked Man eating the Sacrament should live naturally by him) but for that our Flesh is joined to the Spirit and Soul, which truly eateth the Body of Christ by Faith: And so only the Bodies of the Faithful do live by eating the Body of Christ naturally, in participating the natural Properties of the Body of Christ.

West.

West. I stick to this Word Naturally.

Cran. I mean it touching the Truth of Nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ.

West. Hilary, in his eighth Book *de Trinitate*, denieth it, when he saith: He liveth therefore by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the same Manner we shall live by his Flesh.

Naturally expounded.

Cran. We shall live after the same Manner, as concerning the Nature of the Flesh of Christ: For as he hath of his Father the Nature of Eternity, so shall we have of him.

West. Answer unto the Parts of the Argument.

The Argument the third Time repeated.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same Manner shall we live by his Flesh.

But Christ doth not live by his Father only in Unity of Will, but naturally.

Ergo, We eating of his Flesh, do not live only by Faith and Love, but naturally.

Cran. I grant (as I said) we live by Christ naturally; but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in Unity of Will only.

West. Because it seemeth a Marvel unto you, hear what *Hilary* saith: *These Things are recited of us to this End, because the Hereticks, feigning an Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, did use the Example of our Unity with God, as though we being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father only by Obedience and Will of Religion, had no Propriety of the natural Communion by the Sacrament of the Body and Blood.*

But answer to the Argument. Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: Therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally.

Cran. Cyril and *Hilary* do say, that Christ is united to us not only by Will, but also by Nature: He doth communicate to us his own Nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our Nature of the Virgin *Mary*. And *Hilary* doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are Partakers of their Nature, which is Eternity, or Everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our Nature, did join it in Unity of Person, and did communicate unto that our Nature, the Nature of his Eternity; that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting Life of the Father, even so he gave the same Nature to his Flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same Nature of Eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in Will and Love, but that we should be also Partakers of the Nature of everlasting Life.

Naturally expounded, that is, our Bodies to participate the Nature and Properties of Christ's holy immortal Body.

West. Hilary, where he saith, Christ communicated to us his Nature, meaneth that not by his Nativity, but by the Sacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to us his Flesh by his Nativity.

West. We have communicated to him † our Flesh when he was born.

† Then had Christ a sinful Flesh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to us his Flesh, when he was born, and that I will shew you out of *Cyril* upon this Place, *Et homo factus est.*

West. Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his Flesh.

Cran. In his Nativity he made us ‖ Partakers of his Flesh.

‖ That is, made us Partakers of the Properties, Life, Innocency, and Resurrection of his Body.

West. Write, Sirs.

Cran. Yea, write.

Ched. This Place of *Hilary* is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your Book, because you could not draw it to confirm your Purpose.

If Christ have taken verily the Flesh of our Body, and the Man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary, *is Christ; and also we receive under the true Mystery the Flesh of his Body, by means whereof we shall be one, for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us; how shall that be called the Unity of Will, when the natural Property, brought to pass by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of Unity. We must not speak in the Sense of Man, or of the World in Matters concerning God: Neither must we perversly wrest any strange or wicked Sense out of the wholesome Meaning of the Holy Scripture, thro' impudent and vile Contention. Let us read those Things that are written, and let us understand those Things that we read, and then we shall perform the Duty of perfect Faith. For, as touching that natural and true Being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that Thing that we do speak. For he saith, My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed: He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the Verity of his Flesh and Blood, there is left no Place of Doubt: For now, both by the Testimony of the Lord, and also by our Faith, it is verily Flesh and verily Blood.* Anno 1554.

Here you have falsified *Hilary*, for you have set [*vero sub mysterio,*] for [*vere sub mysterio,*] we receive truly under a Mystery. *Hilary* thrice reporteth [*vere sub mysterio,*] and you interpret it twice [*vere sub mysterio,*] but the third Time you have [*vero*] for [*vere.*]

Thus far was their Talk in *English.* Seeing Mr. *Cranmer* had twice *Vere*, and but once *Vero*, they had no Cause to be grieved, but that they were disposed to find a Knot in a Rush.

Cran. Assuredly, I am not Guilty of any Deceit herein. It may be that the Copy which I followed had [*sub vero mysterio,*] that is, under a true Mystery; altho' touching the Sense it differeth little. God I call to Witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had Leisure to hear false Citations, I could recite unto you six Hundred.

West. Here shall be shewed you two Copies of *Hilary*, the one printed at *Basil*, the other at *Paris.*

Cran. I suppose that Dr. *Smith*'s Book hath [*vero.*]

West. Here is Dr. *Smith*; let him answer for himself.

Mr. *Smith*, Mr. Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it:

Here Dr. *Smith*, either for the Truth in his Book alledged, or else astonished with Dr. *Weston*'s hasty calling, staid to Answer: For he only put off his Cap, and kept Silence.

West. But your own Book, printed by *Wolf* your own Printer, hath [*vero.*]

Cran. That Book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this Controversy. I am sure, the Book of Decrees, hath [*vero.*]

Cole. Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Dr. *Cole* beginneth to carp.

Cran. Touching the Sense of the Matter there is little Difference. The changing of one Letter for another, is but a small Matter.

West. No? Yes; *Pastor* (as you know) signifieth a Bishop, and *Pistor* signifieth a Baker. But *Pastor* shall be *Pistor*, a Bishop shall be a Baker by this your Change of one Letter, if *Vere* and *Vero* do nothing change the Sense.

Cran. Let it be so, that in *Pistor* and *Pastor* one Letter maketh some Difference: Yet let *Pistor* be either a Maker or Baker of Bread, ye see here the Change of a Letter, and yet no great Difference to be in the Sense.

Dr. *Young* cometh in with his Socratical Interrogations.

Yong. This Disputation is taken in Hand, that the Truth might appear. I perceive that I must go

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go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common ſaying, Againſt them that deny Principles, we muſt not diſpute. Therefore, that we may agree of the Principles, I demand, Whether there be any other Body of Chriſt, than his inſtrumental Body?

Cran. There is no natural Body of Chriſt, but his organical Body.

Yong. Again, I demand, whether Senſe and Reaſon ought to give Place to Faith?

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, Whether Chriſt be true in all his Words?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt true, and Truth itſelf.

Yong. Fourthly, Whether Chriſt at his Supper minded to do that which he ſpake, or no?

Cran. In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the Sacrament to his Diſciples.

Yong. Anſwer according to the Truth, Whether did Chriſt that as God and Man which he ſpake, when he ſaid, This is my Body?

Cran. This is a ſophiſtical Cavillation; go plainly to work. There is ſome Deceit in theſe Queſtions. You ſeek Subtilneſs, leave your crafty Fetches.

Yong. I demand, Whether Chriſt by theſe Words wrought any Thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the Sacrament.

Yong. But anſwer, whether did he work any Thing?

Cran. He did work in inſtituting the Sacrament.

This Syllogyſm, ſpeaking of a Figure, hath no perfect Form nor Figure.

Yong. Now I have you; for before you ſaid, it was but a figurative Speech.

But a Figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, It is not a figurative Speech. A Lyar ought to have a good Memory.

Cran. I underſtood your Sophiſtry before. You by working underſtand converting into the Body of Chriſt: But Chriſt wrought the Sacrament, not in converting, but in inſtituting.

Yong. Wo be to them that make Chriſt a Deceiver. Did he work any other Thing than he ſpake, or the ſelf ſame Thing?

Cran. He wrought the Sacrament, and by theſe Words he ſignified the Effect.

Yong. A figurative Speech is no working Thing.

But the Speech of Chriſt is working.

Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. It worketh by inſtituting, not by converting.

Yong. The Thing ſignified in the Sacrament, is it not that Sacrament.

Anſwer to Dr. *Yong* by St. *Auſtin.*

Cran. It is. For the Thing is miniſtred in a Sign. He followeth the Letter that taketh the Thing for a Sign. *Auguſtine* ſeparateth the Sacrament from the Thing. The Sacrament, ſaith he, is one, and the Thing of the Sacrament another.

Weſt. Stick to this Argument.

It is a figurative Speech.

Ergo, It worketh nothing.

Yong. But the Speech of Chriſt is a working Thing.

Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. Oh how many Crafs are in this Argument? they are meer Fallacies; I ſaid not, That the Words of Chriſt do work, but Chriſt himſelf; and he worketh by a figurative Speech.

Weſt. If a Figure work, it maketh of Bread the Body of Chriſt.

Cran. A figurative Speech worketh not.

Weſt. A figurative Speech, by your own Confeſſion, worketh nothing.

But the Speech of Chriſt in the Supper (as you grant) wrought ſomewhat.

Ergo, The Speech of Chriſt in the Supper was not figurative.

Cran. I anſwer, Theſe are meer Sophiſms: The Speech doth not work, but Chriſt by the Speech doth work the Sacrament.

I look for Scriptures at your Hands, for they are the Foundation of Diſputation.

Yong. Are not theſe Words of Scripture, *This is my Body? The Word of Chriſt is of Strength*; and *by the Lord's Words the Heavens were made.* He ſaid, This is my Body: *Ergo*, he made it.

Cran. He made the Sacrament, and I deny your Argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He ſaid, *This is my Body.* You ſay contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the Body of Chriſt, and fall from the Faith.

Cran. You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old Writers, and feign a ſtrange Senſe.

Amb. de iis qui initiantur, *&c.* cap. 9.

Yong. *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Thou haſt read of the Works of all the World; That he ſpake the Word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the Word of Chriſt, which made of nothing that which was not, change thoſe Things that are, into that they were not? For it is no leſs Matter to give new Things, than to change Natures. But what uſe we Arguments? let us uſe his own Examples, and let us confirm the Verity of the Myſtery by Example of his Incarnation. Did the Uſe of Nature go before, when the Lord Jeſus was born of* Mary? *If you ſeek the Order of Nature, Conception is wont to be made by a Woman joined to a Man. It is manifeſt therefore, that contrary to the * Order of Nature, a Virgin did conceive: And this Body that we make, is of the Virgin. What ſeekeſt thou here the Order of Nature in the Body of Chriſt, when againſt the Order of Nature the Lord Jeſus was conceived of a Virgin? It was the true Fleſh of Chriſt which was crucified, and which was buried: Therefore it is truly the Sacrament of him. The Lord Jeſus himſelf crieth; This is my Body. Before the Bleſſing of the heavenly Words, it is named another Kind: But after the Conſecration the Body of Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it his Blood. Before Conſecration it is called another Thing: After Conſecration it is called Blood, and thou ſayeſt,* Amen; *that is, It is true. That the Mouth ſpeakth, let the inward Mind confeſs; that the Word ſoundeth, let the Heart perceive.*

* As *Chriſt Jeſus* was conceived againſt the Order of Nature; ſo in the inſtituting of this Sacrament the Order of Nature is not to be ſought.

The ſame *Ambroſe* in his fourth Book of Sacraments, the fourth Chapter, ſaith thus: *This Bread is Bread before the Words of the Sacraments; when the Conſecration cometh to it, of Bread it is made the Fleſh of Chriſt. Let us confirm this therefore; How can that which is Bread, by Conſecration be the Body of Chriſt? By what Words then is the Conſecration made, and by whoſe Words? By the Words of our Lord Jeſus. For touching all other Things that are ſaid, Praiſe is given to God, Prayer is made for the People, for Kings, and for the reſt: When it cometh that the reverend Sacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt uſeth not his own Words, but the Words of Chriſt: Therefore the Word of Chriſt maketh this Sacrament. What Word? that Word by which all Things were made: The Lord † commanded, and Heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the Earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the Seas were made; the Lord commanded, and all Creatures were made. Doſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in working the Word of Chriſt is? If therefore ſo great Strength be in the Lord's Word, that thoſe Things ſhould begin to be which were not before,*

† But the Lord Jeſus here uſed not ſuch Words of Commanding in the Sacrament as in the Creation: For we read not, [*fiat hoc corpus meum,*] as we read, [*fiat lux* &c.

fore, how much the rather is it of Strength to work, that these Things which were, should be changed into another Thing? Ambrose *saith, that the Words are of Strength to work.*

Weston. You omit those Words which follow, which maketh the Sense of *Ambrose* plain: Read them.

Yong. *Heaven was not, the Sea was not, the Earth was not, but hear him that said: He spake the Word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore to answer thee, it was not the Body of Christ before Consecration; but after the Consecration, I say to thee, that now it is the Body of Christ.*

Cran. All these Things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the Sacraments.

Yong. How doth he work?

Cran. By his Power, as he doth in Baptism.

Yong. Nay, by the Word he changed the Bread into his Body, This is the Truth, acknowledge the Truth, give Place to the Truth.

Cran. O glorious Words! You are too full of Words.

Yong. Nay, O glorious Truth! You make no Change at all.

Cran. Not so, but I make a great Change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great Change, when the Child or Bondslave of the Devil, is made the Son of God? so it is also in the Sacrament of the Supper, when he receiveth us into his Protection and Favour.

Yong. If he work in the Sacrament, he worketh in this Sacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his faithful, not in the Sacraments.

West. In the Supper the Words are directed to the Bread; in Baptism to the Spirit. He said not, the Water is the Spirit, but of the Bread he said, *This is my Body.*

As the Dove is called the Spirit, so the Bread is called the Body.

Cran. He calleth the Spirit a Dove, when the Spirit descended in Likeness of a Dove.

West. He doth not call the Spirit a Dove; but he saith, that he descended as a Dove. He was seen in the Likeness of a Dove. As in Baptism the Words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the Supper the Words are directed unto the Bread.

Cran. Nay it is written, *Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending.* He calleth that which descended the Holy Spirit. And *Augustine* calleth the Dove the Spirit. Hear what *Augustine* saith in 1 John, *What meant he by the Dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth to teach him, who sent him.*

Yong. He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a Dove: The Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the Truth heard, let us proceed.

De Sacram. cap. 4.

Hear what *Ambrose* saith: *You see what a working Power the Word of Christ hath. Therefore if there be so great Power in the Lord's Word, that those Things which were not, begin to be, how much more of Strength is it, to work, that those Things that were, should be changed into another Thing?*

And in the fifth Chapter he saith: *Before it is consecrated, it is bread: But when the Words of Christ come to it, it is the Body of Christ.*

But hear what he saith more: *Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body. Before the Words of Christ the Cup is full of Wine and Water; when the Words of Christ have wrought, there is made the Blood of Christ which redeemed the People. What can be more plain?*

Cran. Nay, what can be less to the Purpose? The Words are of Strength to work in this Sacrament, as they are in Baptism.

Pie. The Words of Christ, as *Ambrose* saith, are of Strength to work. What do they work? *Ambrose* saith, they make the Blood which redeemed the People. Anno 1554.

Ergo, The natural Blood is made.

Cran. The Sacrament of his Blood is made. The Words make the Blood to them that receive it: Not that the Blood is in the Cup, but in the Receiver.

Pie. There is made the Blood which redeemed the People.

Cran. The Blood is made, that is, the Sacrament of the Blood, by which he redeemed the People. [*Fit*] It is made, that is to say, [*Ostenditur*] It is shewed forth there. And *Ambrose* saith, we receive in a Similitude, *As thou hast received the Similitude of his Death, so also thou drinkest the Similitude of his precious Blood.*

West. He saith, in a Similitude, because it is ministred under another Likeness. And this is the Argument:

Mark how Dr. *Weston* expoundeth to eat in a Similitude.

* There is made the Blood which redeemed the People.

But the natural Blood redeemed the People.

Ergo, There is the natural Blood of Christ.

* If this Syllogysm be in the second Figure (as by standing of the Terms appeareth) then is it false, because it concludeth affirmatively.

You answer, that Words make it Blood to them that receive it; not that Blood is in the Cup, but because it is made Blood to them that receive it. That all Men may see how falsly you would avoid the Fathers, hear what *Ambrose* saith in the sixth Book and first Chapter.

Peradventure thou wilt say, how be they true? I which see the Similitude, do not see the Truth of the Blood. First of all I told thee of the Word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn Kinds ordained by Nature. Afterwards when the Disciples could not abide the Words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his Flesh to eat, and his Blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter *said, Thou hast the Words of eternal Life, whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this Thing, as though there should be a certain Horror of Blood, and yet the Grace of Redemption should remain: Therefore in a Similitude thou receivest the Sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the Grace and Power of his Nature.*

Amb. lib. 6. cap. 1. de Sacrament.

Cran. These Words of themselves are plain enough. And he read this Place again, Thou receivest the Sacrament for a Similitude. But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a Similitude? I think he understandeth the Sacrament to be the Similitude of his Blood.

Answer to *Ambrose.*

Ched. That you may understand that Truth dissenteth not from Truth, to overthrow that which you say of that Similitude; hear what *Ambrose* saith:

Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 4.

If the heavenly Word did work in other Things, doth it not work in the heavenly Sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of Bread is made the Body of Christ, and that Wine and Water is put into that Cup, but by Consecration of the heavenly Word it is made Blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the Likeness of Blood is not seen. But it hath a Similitude. For as thou hast received the Similitude of his Death, so also thou drinkest the Similitude of his precious Blood, so that there is no Horror of Blood, and yet it worketh the Price of Redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the Body of Christ.

Note, that *Ambrose* saith, We drink a Similitude of Christ's Blood.

Cran. He speaketh of Sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the Sacraments by the Names of the Thing: for he useth the Signs for the Things signified: and therefore the Bread is not called Bread, but his Body, for the Excellency and Dignity of the Thing signified by it. So

Answer to the Place of *Ambrose.*

doth

Anno 1554. doth *Ambrose*, interpret himself, when he saith, *For a Type or Figure whereof we receive the mystical Cup of his Blood, for the Safeguard of our Bodies and Souls.*

Ambros in 1 Cor. cap. 11.

Ched. A Type! He calleth not the Blood of Christ a Type or Sign: but the Blood of Bulls and Goats in that Respect was a Type or Sign.

Cran. This is new Learning; you shall never read this among the Fathers.

Ched. But *Ambrose* saith so.

Cran. He calleth the Bread and the Cup a Type or Sign of the Blood of Christ, and of his Benefit.

West. *Ambrose* understandeth it for a Type of his Benefit, that is, of Redemption, not of the Blood of Christ, but of his Passion. The Cup is the Type or Sign of his Death, seeing it is his Blood.

Cran. He saith most plainly, that the Cup is a Type of Christ's Blood.

Ched. As Christ is really and truly incarnate, so is he truly and really in the Sacrament.

But Christ is really and truly incarnate.

Ergo, The Body of Christ is truly and really in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny the Major.

Justin. Apol.

Ched. I prove the Major out of *Justine* in his second Apology, Ὁν τρόπον Διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ζωηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν διὰ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Cran. This Place hath been falsified by *Marcus Constantius.* *Justine* meant nothing else but that the Bread, which nourishes us is called the Body of Christ.

Answer to the Place of Justine.

Ched. To the Argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, *&c.* as above.

Cran. I deny your Major.

Ched. The Words of *Justine* are thus to be interpreted Word for Word.

As by the Word of God, Jesus Christ *our Saviour, being made Flesh, had both Flesh and Blood for our Salvation, so we are taught, that the Meat* * *consecrated by the Word of Prayer, instituted of him, whereby our Blood and Flesh are nourished by* † *Communion, is the Flesh and Blood of the same* Jesus *which was made Flesh.*

* Of Thanksgiving. † Mutation.

Cran. You have translated it well; but I deny your Major. This is the Sense of *Justine*; that the Bread is called the Body of Christ, and yet of that sanctified Meat our Bodies are nourished.

Ched. Nay, he saith, of that sanctified Meat both our Bodies and Souls are nourished.

Cran. He saith not so, but he saith that it nourisheth our Flesh and Blood: And how can that nourish the Soul, that nourisheth the Flesh and Blood?

Cole. It feedeth the Body by the Soul.

Cran. Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the Soul and Spirit be called the Meat of the Body.

West. Hear then what *Irenæus* saith, *That the same Cup which is a Creature, he confirmed to be his Body, by which he increaseth our Bodies. When both the Cup mixed and the Bread broken, hath joined to it the Word of God, it is made the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, of which the Substance of our Flesh is increased and consisteth.*

The Substance of our Flesh is increased by the Body and Blood of Christ.

Ergo, Our Body is nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He calleth it the Flesh and Blood for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as *Tertullian* also saith, *Our Flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental Bread, but our Soul is nourished with the Body of Christ.*

West. Look what he saith more. *How do they say, that the Flesh cannot receive the Gift of God, that is eternal Life, which is nourished with the Body and Blood of Christ?*

Cran. The Body is nourished both with the Sacrament, and with the Body of Christ: With the Sacrament to a temporal Life; with the Body of Christ to eternal Life.

Ched. I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest Lye in your Writings. For where you translate *Justine* on this Fashion; that the Bread, Water and Wine, are not so to be taken in this Sacrament, as common Meats and Drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are Meats chosen out peculiarly for this, namely, for the giving of Thanks, and therefore be called of the *Greeks Eucharistia*, that is, Thanksgiving; they are called moreover the Blood and Body of Christ (so have you translated it:) the Words of *Justine* are thus; *We are taught that the Meat consecrated by the Word of Prayer, by the which our Flesh and Blood is nourished by Communion, is the Body and Blood of the same* Jesus *which was made Flesh.*

Note, That the Archbishop here did not translate the Words of Justine, but only gather the Effect of his Meaning.

Cran. I did not translate it Word for Word, but only I gave the Meaning: And I go nothing from his Meaning.

Cranmer purgeth himself.

Harps. You remember touching *Justine*, to whom this Apology was written, namely to a heathen Man. The Heathen thought that the Christians came to the Church to worship Bread; *Justine* answereth, that we come not to common Bread, but as to, *&c.* as is said afore. Weigh the Place well, it is right worthy to be noted; our Flesh is nourished according to Mutation.

In eating the Sacrament no Bread is considered, but only the true Body of Christ. Consecrat. dist. 2. Quia.

Cran. We ought not to consider the bare Bread, but whosoever cometh to the Sacrament eateth the true Body of Christ.

West. You have corrupted *Emissenus*; for instead of *Cibis satiendus*, that is, *To be filled with Meat*, you have set *Cibis satiendus spiritualibus*, that is, *To be filled with spiritual Meats.*

Cran. I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees.

West. You have corrupted another Place of *Emissenus*; for you have omitted these Words: *Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend Altar to be filled with spiritual Meats: Look in Faith to the holy Body and Blood of thy God, marvel at his Honour, worthily touch him.*

Cran. This Book hath not that.

Cranmer charged with false translating.

West. Also you have falsified this Place by evil translating [*Honora Corpus Dei tui*] Honour the Body of thy God: you have translated it, [*Honora eum qui est Deus tuus*] Honour him which is thy God: Whereas *Emissenus* hath not, *Honour* him; but, *Honour the Body of thy God.*

Cranmer purgeth himself.

Cran. I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty Cause; else it should not have been without Danger, if I had translated it thus; Honour the Body of thy God; because of certain, that according to the Error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a Body.

West. Nay you most of all have brought the People into that Error, which so long have taught that he sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father; and counted me for an Heretick, because I preached that God had no right Hand. Then

I will oppose you in the very Articles of your Faith.

Christ sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father.

But God the Father hath no right Hand.

Ergo, Where is Christ now?

Cran. I am not so ignorant a Novice in the Articles of my Faith, but that I understand, that to sit at the right Hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the Glory of the Father.

The right Hand of God, what it signifieth.

West. Now then take this Argument.

Wheresoever God's Authority is, there is Christ's Body.

But God's Authority is in every Place.

Ergo, What letteth the Body of Christ to be in every Place?

Cranmer charged with mistransliting *Duns.*

Moreover you have also corrupted *Duns.*

Cran. That is a great Offence, I promise you.

West. For you have omitted *Secundum apparentiam*, that is, *As it appeareth.* Where his Words are these, *Et si quæras quare voluit ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possint salvari secundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, secundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c.* That is, *If you demand why the Church did chuse this so hard an Undertaking of this Article, whereas the Words of Scripture may be salved after an easie and true Understanding* [*as appeareth*] *of this Article*, &c.

Cran. It is not so.

West. Also you have set forth a Catechism in the Name of the Synod of *London*, and yet there be fifty, which witnessing that they were of the Number of the Convocation, never heard one Word of this Catechism.

Cran. I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title; and as soon as I had Knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them, that the Book was so entituled, because it was set forth in the Time of the Concation.

West. Moreover, you have in *Duns* translated *In Romana ecclesia, pro ecclesia catholica.* In the Church of *Rome*, for, The catholick Church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romish Church.

Dr. *Cranmer* charged with mis-translating *Tho. Aquinas.*

West. Moreover you have depraved St. *Thomas*, namely, where he hath these Words: *In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactivam: Sed in satisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quam quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam dividua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus misit. Quamvis verbo hæc oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiet ad satisfaciendum pro omnipæna: tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, & non pro tota pæna.* That is, *Inasmuch as it is a Sacrifice, it hath the Power of Satisfaction: But in Satisfaction the Affection of the Offerer is more to be weighed than the Quantity of the Oblation. Wherefore the Lord said in* Luke's *Gospel, of the Widow which offered two Mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore although this Oblation of the Quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all Pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them, for whom it is offered, or to the Offerers, according to the Quantity of their Devotion, and not for all the Pain.*

You have thus turned it, *Quod sacrificium sacerdotis habet vim satisfactivam, &c.* That is, *That the Sacrifice of the Priest hath Power of Satisfaction*, &c. And therefore in this Place you have chopped in this Word [*Sacerdotis*] of the Priest, whereas in the Translation of all the New Testament you have not set it, but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. *Thomas* hath [*pro omni pœna*] for all your Pain, your Book omitteth many Things there. Anno 1554.

Thus you see, Brethren, the Truth stedfast and inviolable; you see also the Craft and Deceit of Hereticks; the Truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed; therefore cry altogether, *Vincit Veritas.* The Truth overcometh. *Weston* triumpheth before the Victory.

This disorder'd Disputation sometime in *Latin*, sometime in *English*, continued almost till two of the Clock. Which being finished, and the Arguments written and delivered to the Hands of Mr. *Say*, the Prisoner was had away by the Mayor, and the Doctors dined together at the University College.

A Disputation at Oxford *between Dr.* Smith, *and others, with Bishop* Ridley.

THE next Day, which was the 12th of *April*, Bishop *Ridley* was brought forth in the Divinity School. Against whom disputed Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *Weston*, Dr. *Tresham*, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, Dr. *Glin*, Dr. *Seton*, and Dr. *Cole*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Harpsfield*, Dr. *Watson*, Mr. *Pie*, Mr. *Harding*, Mr. *Curton*, and Mr. *Fecknam.* Dr. *Smith* appointed to dispute against Bishop *Ridley.* Disputers against Dr. *Ridley.*

The Disputation began as follows:

Dr. *Weston*, Prolocutor. Good Christian People and Brethren, we have begun this Day our School, by God's good Speed I trust, and are entring into a Controversy, whereof no Question ought to be moved concerning *the Verity of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.* Christ is true, which said the Words. The Words are true which he spake, yea, Truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true Interpreter of his Word; which may purge away Errors, and give Light, that Verity may appear. Let us also ask Leave and Liberty of the Church to permit the Truth received to be called this Day in Question, without any Prejudice to the same. Your Parts thereof shall be to implore the Assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the Prosperity of the Queen's Majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive Ears. Now go to your Question.

Dr. *Smith.* This Day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three Questions are propounded, whereof no Controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit:

The Question.

1. Whether the natural Body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, and offered for Man's Redemption upon the Cross, is verily and really in the Sacrament by Virtue of God's Word spoken by the Priests, *&c.*
2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the Words of Consecration, be any other Substance, *&c.*
3. Whether in the Mass be a Sacrifice propitiatory, *&c.*

Concerning which Questions, although you have publickly professed your Judgment and Opinion on *Saturday* last; yet being not satisfied with that your Answer, I will assay again to demand your Sentence in the first Question; Whether the true Body of Christ, after the Words pronounced, be really in the Eucharist, or else only the Figure. In which Matter I stand here now to hear your Answer.

Dr.

Anno 1554.

Dr. Ridley's *Preface or Proteſtation, before his Diſputation.*

I Received of you the other Day, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend Maſters, Commiſſioners from the Queen's Majeſty and her honourable Council, three Propoſitions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare againſt this Day, what I thought good to anſwer concerning the ſame.

Now whilſt I weighed with myſelf how great a Charge of the Lord's Stock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I muſt once render an Account to my Lord God, (and that how ſoon he knoweth) and that moreover, by the Commandment of the Apoſtle *Peter*, *I ought to be ready alway to give a Reaſon of the Hope that is in me with Meekneſs and Reverence, unto every one that ſhall demand the ſame:* Beſides this, conſidering my Duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your Worſhips, being Commiſſioners by publick Authority: I determined with myſelf to obey your Commandment, and ſo openly to declare unto you my Mind touching the aforeſaid Propoſitions. And albeit, plainly to confeſs unto you the Truth in theſe Things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwiſe in Times paſt than now I do, yet (God I call to Record unto my Soul, I lye not) I have not altered my Judgment, as now it is, either by Conſtraint of any Man, or Laws, either for the Dread of any Dangers of this World, either for any Hope of Commodity, but only for the Love of the Truth revealed unto me by the Grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perſuaded) in his holy Word, and in the Reading of the ancient Fathers.

What moved Dr. *Ridley* to alter his Judgment from the Church of *Rome*.

Theſe Things I do rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in Times paſt it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwiſe of the Matters propounded in theſe Propoſitions than I now do, God may open them unto you in Time to come.

But howſoever it ſhall be, I will in few Words do that which I think ye all look I ſhould do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my Judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly ſpeak in any Point againſt God's Word, or diſſent in any one Jot from the ſame, or from the Rules of Faith, or chriſtian Religion: which Rules that ſame moſt ſacred Word of God preſcribeth to the Church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for ever ſubmit myſelf and all my doings. And becauſe the Matter I have now taken in Hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of Time, as alſo lack of Books: therefore here I proteſt, that I will publickly this Day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine Anwers, Explications, and Confirmations, to add or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſeem hereafter more convenient and meet for the Purpoſe, thro' more ſound Judgment, better Deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular Thing. Having now, by the Way of Preface and Proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few Words, I will come to the Anſwer of the Propoſitions propounded unto me, and ſo to the moſt brief Explication and Confirmation of mine Anſwers.

Biſhop *Ridley* ſubmitteth himſelf to the Church of Chriſt.

Weſton. Reverend Mr. Doctor, concerning the lack of Books, there is no Cauſe why you ſhould complain. What Books ſoever you will name, you ſhall have them: And as concerning the Judgment of your Anſwers to be had of yourſelf with farther Deliberation; it ſhall (I ſay) be lawful for you until Saturday next to add unto them what you ſhall think good yourſelf. My Mind is, that we ſhould uſe ſhort Arguments, leſt we ſhould make an infinite Proceſs of the Thing.

This Promiſe was not kept.

Rid. There is another Thing beſides, which I would gladly obtain at your Hands. I perceive that you have Writers and Notaries here preſent. By all likelihood our Diſputations ſhall be publiſhed, I beſeech you for God's Sake let me have Liberty to ſpeak my Mind freely, and without Interruption, not becauſe I have determined to protract the Time with a ſolemn Preface, but leſt it may appear that ſome be not ſatisfied. God knows I am no Orator, nor have I learned Rhetorick to ſet Colours on the Matter.

Weſt. Among this whole Company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your Part.

Two Notaries permitted to Dr. *Ridley*. Theſe two Notaries were Maſter *Juel*, ſometime Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and Maſter *Gilbert Mounſon*.

Rid. I will chuſe two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Weſt. Here are two which Mr. *Cranmer* had Yeſterday. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am content with them; I truſt they are honeſt Men.

The firſt Propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the Altar, by the Vertue of God's Word ſpoken of the Prieſt, the natural Body of Chriſt born of the Virgin *Mary*, and his natural Blood is really preſent under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

The Anſwer of N. Ridley.

Dr. *Ridley*'s Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition.

In Matters appertaining to God we may not ſpeak according to the Senſe of Man, nor of the World: Therefore this Propoſition or Concluſion is framed after another Manner of Phraſe or Kind of Speech than the Scripture uſeth. Again it is very obſcure and dark, by Means of ſundry Words of doubtful Signification. And being taken in the Senſe which Schoolmen teach, and at this Time the Church of *Rome* doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous, and plain contrary to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs.

The Explication.

How far the Diverſity and Newneſs of the Phraſe in all this firſt Propoſition is from the Phraſe of the holy Scripture, and that in every Part almoſt, it is ſo plain and evident to any that is but meanly exerciſed in holy Writ, that I need not now (eſpecially in this Company of learned Men) to ſpend any Time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

The firſt Doubt.

Firſt, there is a double Senſe in theſe Words [*by Virtue of God's Word*] for it is doubtful what Word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the Evangeliſts, or in *Paul*, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Evangeliſts, or in St. *Paul*, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's Word, and of ſuch Virtue that it ſhould be able to work ſo great a Matter.

2. Doubt in the Word *Prieſt*.

Again there is a Doubt of theſe Words [*of the Prieſt*] whether no Man may be called a Prieſt, but he which hath Authority to make a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead;

and how it may be proved that this Authority was committed of God to any Man, but to Chriſt alone.

3. Doubt in the Word *ſacrificing.*

It is likewiſe doubted, after what Order the ſacrificing Prieſt ſhall be, whether after the Order of *Aaron*, or elſe after the Order of *Melchiſedeck*. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more.

Weſt. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lack Time at this preſent, there is Time enough hereafter.

Dr. *Weſton* interrupteth him in his Explication.

Weſt. Theſe are but Evaſions or ſtarting Holes; you conſume the Time in vain.

Rid. I cannot ſtart far from you, I am captive and bound.

Weſt. Fall to it my Maſters.

Smith. That which you have ſpoken may ſuffice at this preſent.

Rid. Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to ſay behind.

Weſt. Go forward.

4. Doubt the Word *really,*

Rid. Moreover, there is Ambiguity in this Word [*really,*] whether it be taken as the Logicians term it, [*tranſcendenter*;] *i. e.* Moſt generally: And ſo it may ſignify any Manner of Thing which belongeth to the Body of Chriſt, by any Means: After which Sort we alſo grant Chriſt's Body to be really in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, (as in Diſputation, if Occaſion be given ſhall be declared) or whether it be taken to ſignify the very ſame Thing, having Body, Life, and Soul, which was aſſumed and taken of the Word of God, into the Unity of Perſon. In which Senſe, ſince the Body of Chriſt is really in Heaven, becauſe of the true Manner of his Body, it may not be ſaid to be here in the Earth. There is yet a further

5. Doubt in the Words (*Forms of Bread and Wine.*)

Doubtfulneſs in theſe Words, [*under the Forms of Bread and Wine*] whether the Forms be there taken to ſignify the only accidental and outward Shews of Bread and Wine; or therewithal the ſubſtantial Natures thereof, which are to be ſeen by their Qualities, and perceived by exterior Senſes:

Now the Error and Falſeneſs of the Propoſition after the Senſe of the *Roman* Church and Schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the Bread to be tranſubſtantiated and changed to the Fleſh aſſumed of the Word of

Tranſubſtantiation not founded in Scripture.

God, and that (as they ſay) by Virtue of the Word, which they have deviſed by a certain Number of Words, and cannot be found in any of the Evangeliſts, or in *Paul*, and ſo they gather that Chriſt's Body is really contained in the Sacrament of the Altar. Which Poſition is grounded upon the Foundation of the Tranſubſtantiation; which Foundation is monſtrous,

The Analogy of the Sacrament is the Similitude and Likeneſs which they have with the Things they repreſent.

againſt Reaſon, and deſtroyeth the Analogy or Proportion of the Sacraments: And therefore this Propoſition alſo, which is builded upon this rotten Foundation, is falſe, erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable Hereſy of the Sacramentaries.

Weſt. We loſe Time.

Rid. You ſhall have Time enough.

Weſt. Fall to reaſoning. You ſhall have ſome other Day for this Matter.

Rid. I have no more to ſay concerning my Explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but ſpeak a Word or two for my Confirmation.

Weſt. Go to; ſay on.

The Confirmation of the aforeſaid Anſwer.

There ought no Doctrine to be eſtabliſhed in the Church of God, which diſſenteth from the Word of God, from the Rule of Faith, and draweth with it many Abſurdities that cannot be avoided. Anno 1554.

But this Doctrine of the firſt Propoſition, is ſuch.

Ergo, It ought not to be eſtabliſhed and maintained in the Church of God.

The Major or firſt Part of my Argument is plain, and the Minor or ſecond Part is proved thus.

The Doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal Preſence of Chriſt's Fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the Word, to be in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that not by Virtue and Grace only, but alſo by the whole Eſſence and Subſtance of the Body and Fleſh of Chriſt.

But ſuch a Preſence diſagreeth from God's Word, from the Rule of Faith, and cannot but draw with it many Abſurdities. The real Preſence of Chriſt's Body diſagreeth from the Scriptures.

Ergo, The ſecond Part is true.

The firſt Part of this Argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet farther be confirmed thus.

Weſt. Thus you conſume Time, which might be better beſtowed on other Matters. Maſter Opponent, I pray you to your Arguments. Dr. *Weſton* again interrupteth Dr. *Ridley.*

Smith. I will here reaſon with you upon Tranſubſtantiation, which you ſay is contrary to the Rule and Analogy of Faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the Doctors. But before I enter Argumentation with you, I demand firſt, whether in the ſixth Chapter of *John*, there be any Mention made of the Sacrament, or of the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Rid. It is againſt Reaſon that I ſhould be impeached to proſecute that which I have to ſpeak in this Aſſembly, being not ſo long, but that it may be comprehended in few Words.

Weſt. Let him read on.

Rid. Firſt of all, this Preſence is contrary to many Places of the holy Scripture. Inconveniences come of the Real Preſence.

Secondly, It varieth from the Articles of the Faith.

Thirdly, It deſtroyeth and taketh away the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper.

Fourthly, It maketh precious Things common to profane and ungodly Perſons; for it caſteth that which is holy unto Dogs, and Pearls unto Swine.

Fifthly, It forceth Men to maintain many monſtrous Miracles without Neceſſity and Authority of God's Word.

Sixthly, It giveth Occaſion to the Hereticks which erred concerning the two Natures in Chriſt, to defend their Hereſies thereby.

Seventhly, It falſifieth the Sayings of the godly Fathers; it falſifieth alſo the catholick Faith of the Church, which the Apoſtles taught, the Martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the Fathers ſaith) do retain and keep until this Day. Wherefore the ſecond Part of mine Argument is true.

The Probation of the Antecedent or former Part of this Argument by the Parts therof.

The firſt Inconvenience.

This carnal Preſence is contrary to the Word of God, as appeareth, *John* 16. *I tell you the Truth. It is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter ſhall not come unto you.* Acts 3. *Whom the Heavens muſt receive until the Time of reſtoring of all Things which God hath ſpoken.* Mat. 9. *The Children of the Bridegroom cannot mourn ſo long as the Bridegroom*

Anno 1554. *is with them: but now is the Time of Mourning.* John 26. *But I will ſee you again, and your Hearts ſhall rejoice.* John 14. *I will come again and take you to myſelf.* Mat. 24. *If they ſhall ſay unto you, behold here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, believe them not: For whereſoever the dead Carcaſe is, thither the Eagles will reſort.*

2 The real Preſence againſt the Articles of the Faith.

It varieth from the Articles of the Faith; he aſcendeth into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other Place, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*,) he ſhall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead.

3. It deſtroyeth the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper.

It deſtroyeth and taketh away the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, which was commanded only to be uſed and continued until the Lord himſelf ſhould come. If therefore he be really preſent in the Body of his Fleſh, then muſt the Supper ceaſe: For a Remembrance is not of a Thing preſent, but of a Thing paſt and abſent. And there is a Difference between Remembrance and Preſence, and (as one of the Fathers ſaith) a Figure is in vain where the Thing figured is preſent.

4. It prophaneth Things Holy and precious, and ingendreth abſurdities.

It maketh precious Things common to profane and ungodly Perſons, and conſtraineth Men to confeſs many Abſurdities. For it affirmeth, that Whoremongers and Murderers, yea, and (as ſome of them hold Opinion) the wicked and faithleſs Mice, Rats, and Dogs, alſo may receive the very real and corporal Body of the Lord, wherein the Fulneſs of the Spirit of Light and Grace dwelleth; contrary to the manifeſt Words of Chriſt in ſix Places and Sentences of the ſixth Chapter of St. *John*.

Anthropophagi, are a Kind of bruiſh People that feed on Man's Fleſh.

It confirmeth and maintaineth alſo that beaſtly Kind of Cruelty of the *Anthropophagi*, that is, the Devourers of Man's Fleſh: For it is a more cruel Thing to devour a quick Man, than to ſlay him.

Pie. He requireth Time to ſpeak Blaſphemies. Leave your Blaſphemies.

Ridley. I had little Thought to have had ſuch reproachful Words at your Hands.

Weſt. All is quiet. Go to your Arguments Mr. Doctor.

Ridley. I have not many Things more to ſay.

Weſt. You utter Blaſphemies with a moſt impudent Face: Leave off, I ſay, and get you to the Argument.

5. It maintaineth monſtrous Miracles without Neceſſity.

Ridley. It forceth Men to maintain many monſtrous Miracles, without any Neceſſity and Authority of God's Word. For at the coming of this Preſence of the Body and Fleſh of Chriſt, they thruſt away the Subſtance of Bread; and affirm that the Accidents remain without any Subject, and in Stead thereof they place Chriſt's Body without his Qualities and the true Manner of a Body. And if the Sacrament be reſerved ſo long until it mould, and Worms breed, ſome ſay that the Subſtance of Bread miraculouſly returneth again, and ſome deny it. Others affirm, the real Body of Chriſt goeth down into the Stomach of the Receivers, and doth there abide ſo long only as they ſhall continue to be good: but another Sort hold, that the Body of Chriſt is carried into Heaven, ſo ſoon as the Forms of Bread be bruiſed with the Teeth. O Works of Miracles!

All the reſt that followeth was not read, becauſe the Prolocutor made poſt Haſte to the Arguments.

Truly, and moſt truly, I ſee that fulfilled in theſe Men, whereof St. *Paul* propheſied, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. *Becauſe they have not received the Love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong Deluſions that they ſhould believe Lies, and be all damned which have not believed the Truth.* This groſs Preſence hath brought forth that fond Phantaſy of Committance, whereby is broken at this Day and abrogated the Commandment of the Lord for diſtributing of the Lord's Cup to the Laity.

6. It giveth Occaſion to Hereticks.

It giveth Occaſion to Hereticks to maintain and defend their Errors; as to *Martian*, which ſaid that Chriſt had but a phantaſtical Body; and to *Euteches*, which wickedly confounded the two Natures in Chriſt.

7. It falſifieth the Sayings of the old Doctors.

Finally, It falſifieth the Sayings of the godly Fathers, and the catholick Faith of the Church, which *Vigilius* a Martyr and grave Writer ſaith, was taught of the Apoſtles, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the Faithful, unto his Time. By the Sayings of the Fathers, I mean of *Juſtine*, *Irene*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Emiſene*, *Athanaſius*, *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Auguſtine*, *Vigilius*, *Fulgentius*, *Bertram*, and other moſt ancient Fathers. All thoſe Places, as I am ſure, I have read making for my Purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured that I could ſhew the ſame, if I might have the Liberty of mine own Books, which I will take to me to do, even upon the Peril of my Life, and Loſs of all that I may loſe in this World.

The true Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Supper not denied.

But now (my Brethren) think not becauſe I diſallow that Preſence which the firſt Propoſition maintaineth (as a Preſence which I take to be forged, fantaſtical, and beſides the Authority of God's Word, perniciouſly brought into the Church by the Romaniſts) that I therefore go about to take away the true Preſence of Chriſt's Body in his Supper, rightly and duly miniſtred, which is grounded upon the Word of God, and made more plain by the Commentaries of the faithful Fathers. They that think ſo of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the ſame evident unto you, I will in few Words declare what true Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper I hold and affirm, with the Word of God and the antient Fathers.

The Faith and Confeſſion of *Ridley* in affirming the true Preſence in the Sacrament.

I ſay and confeſs with the Evangeliſt *Luke*, and with the Apoſtle *Paul*, that the Bread on the which Thanks are given, is the Body of Chriſt in the Remembrance of him and his Death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the Faithful until his coming.

I ſay and confeſs the Bread which we break to be the Communion and Partaking of Chriſt's Body, with the ancient and the faithful Fathers.

I ſay and believe that there is not only a Signification of Chriſt's Body ſet forth by the Sacrament, but alſo that therewith is given to the Godly and Faithful the Grace of Chriſt's Body, that is, the Food of Life and Immortality. And this I hold with *Cyprian*.

I ſay alſo with St. *Auguſtine*, that we eat Life and we drink Life; with *Emiſene*, that we feel the Lord to be preſent in Grace; with *Athanaſius*, that we receive celeſtial Food, which cometh from above; the Prophecy of natural Communion, with *Hillary*; the Nature of Fleſh and Benediction which giveth Life in Bread and Wine, with *Cyril*; and with the ſame *Cyril*, the Virtue of the very Fleſh of Chriſt, Life and Grace of his Body, the Propriety of the only Begotten, that is to ſay, Life, as he himſelf in plain Words expoundeth it.

I confeſs alſo with *Baſil*, that we receive the myſtical Advent and coming of Chriſt, Grace and Virtue of his very Nature; the Sacrament of his very Fleſh, with *Ambroſe*; the Body by

Grace

Grace, with *Epiphanius*; ſpiritual Fleſh, but not that which was crucified, with *Jerom*; Grace flowing into a Sacrifice, and the Grace of the Spirit, with *Chryſoſtom*; Grace and inviſible Verity, Grace and Society of the Members of Chriſt's Body, with *Auguſtine*.

The Power of God's Word feeding the Soul, *Bertram*.

Finally, with *Bertram* (which was the laſt of all theſe) I confeſs that Chriſt's Body is in the Sacrament in this Reſpect; namely (as he writeth) becauſe there is in it the Spirit of God, which not only feedeth the Soul, but alſo cleanſeth it. But of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearly appear unto all Men, how far we are from that Opinion, whereof ſome go about falſely to ſlander us to the World, ſaying, we teach that the Godly and Faithful ſhould receive nothing elſe at the Lord's Table, but a Figure of the Body of Chriſt.

The Proteſtants falſly belyed to teach nothing but a Figure in the Sacrament.

The ſecond Propoſition.

After the Conſecration there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, neither any other Subſtance, than the Subſtance of God and Man.

The Anſwer.

The ſecond Concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the Word of God, the Nature of the Sacrament, and the moſt evident Teſtimonies of the Godly Fathers; and it is the rotten Foundation of the other two Concluſions propounded by you, both of the Firſt, and alſo of the Third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further Explication of this Anſwer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the Anſwer of the firſt Propoſition.

The ſecond Propoſition of Tranſubſtantiation denied.

The firſt Argument for the Confirmation of this Anſwer.

It is very plain by the Word of God, that Chriſt did give Bread unto his Diſciples, and called it his Body.

But the Subſtance of Bread is another Manner of Subſtance, than is the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body, God and Man.

Therefore the Concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond Part of mine Argument is plain, and the firſt is proved thus:

The ſecond Argument.

That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gave Thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his Diſciples, and called it his Body.

But he took Bread, gave Thanks on bread, and brake Bread.

Ergo, The firſt Part is true. And it is confirmed with the Authorities of the Fathers, *Irene*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, *Cyril*, *Rabanus*, and *Bede*. Whoſe Places I will take upon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this Behalf, if I may be ſuffered to have my Books, as my Requeſt is.

Bread is the Body of Chriſt.

Ergo, It is Bread.

* *A tertio adjacente ad ſecundum adjacens cum verbi ſubſtantivi pura copula.*

* The Rule of Logick is this: *A propoſitione de tertio adjacente, ad eam quæ eſt de ſecundo cum verbo recto ſignificante exiſtentiam, valet conſequentia affirmative*, &c.

The third Argument.

As the Bread of the Lord's Table is Chriſt's natural Body, ſo is his myſtical Body.

But it is not Chriſt's myſtical Body by Tranſubſtantiation. Anno 1554.

Ergo, It is not his natural Body by Tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond Part of my Argument is plain, and the firſt is proved thus: As Chriſt who is the Verity, ſpake of the Bread, This is my Body, which ſhall be betrayed for you, ſpeaking there of his natural Body; even ſo *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 10. moved with the ſame Spirit of Truth, ſaid, *We though we be many, yet are we all one Bread, and one Body, which be Partakers of one Bread.* The Major proved

The fourth Argument.

We may no more believe Bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the Body of Chriſt, than the Wine into his Blood.

But the Wine is not tranſubſtantiate into his Blood:

Ergo, Neither is that Bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into his Body.

The Argument holdeth: *A deſtructione antecedentis, ad deſtructionem conſequentis.*

The firſt Part of this Argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond Part is proved out of the Authority of God's Word in *Matthew* and *Mark*, *I will not drink of the Fruit of the Vine, &c.* Now the Fruit of the Vine was Wine, which Chriſt drank and gave to his Diſciples to drink. With this Sentence agreeth plainly the Place of *Chryſoſtom* on the 20th Chapter of *Matthew*. As *Cyprian* doth alſo, affirming that there is no Blood, if Wine be not in the Cup. *Matt.* 26. *Mark* 14.

The fifth Argument.

The Words of Chriſt ſpoken upon the Cup and upon the Bread, have the like Effect and working.

But the Words ſpoken upon the Cup have not Virtue to tranſubſtantiate:

Ergo, It followeth, that the Words ſpoken upon the Bread have no ſuch Virtue.

This Argument holdeth after the ſame Rule as did the other before.

The ſecond Part of the Argument is proved, becauſe they would then tranſubſtantiate the Cup, or that which is in the Cup into the New Teſtament. But neither of theſe Things can be done, and very abſurd it is to confeſs the ſame.

The ſixth Argument.

The Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy and Proportion of the Sacraments, and the Teſtimony of the faithful Fathers, ought to rule us in taking the Meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the Sacrament.

But the Words of the Lord's Supper, the Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy of the Sacraments, and the Sayings of the Fathers, do moſt effectually and plainly prove a figurative Speech in the Words of the Lord's Supper.

Ergo, A figurative Senſe and Meaning is ſpecially to be received in theſe Words, This is my Body.

The Circumſtances of the Scripture, *Do this in Remembrance of me. As oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's Death. Let a Man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. They came together to break Bread; and they continued in breaking of Bread. The Bread which we break*, &c. *For we being many, are all one Bread and one Body*, &c. The Circumſtances and Words of Scripture.

The Analogy of the Sacraments is neceſſary: for if the Sacraments had not ſome Similitude or Likeneſs The Analogy of the Sacraments.

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Likeneſs of the Things whereof they be Sacraments, they could in no wiſe be Sacraments. And this Similitude in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is taken three Manner of Ways.

Analogy or Similitude in the Sacrament, three Mannner of Ways.

1. The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing, as ye ſhall read in *Rabana*, *Cyprian*, *Auguſtine*, *Irene*, and moſt plainly in *Iſidore* out of *Bertram*.

2. The ſecond in the uniting and joining of many into one, as *Cyprian* teacheth.

3. The third is a Similitude of unlike Things: where, like as the Bread is turned into one Body; ſo we, by the right Uſe of this Sacrament, are turned, thro' Faith, into the Body of Chriſt.

The Sayings of the Fathers for the figurative Speech.

The Sayings of the Fathers declare it to be a figurative Speech, as it appeareth in *Origin*, *Tertullian*, *Chryſoſtom in opere imperfecto*, *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, *Baſil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, and moſt plainly of all in *Bertram*. Moreover the Sayings and Places of all the Fathers, whoſe Names I have before recited againſt the Aſſertion of the firſt Propoſition, do quite overthrow Tranſubſtantiation. But of all moſt evidently and plainly, *Irene*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtom* to *Ceſarian* the Monk, *Auguſtine* againſt *Adamantus*, *Gelaſius*, *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtom* again on the 20th of *Matthew*, *Rabana*, *Damaſcene* and *Bertram*.

Commendation of *Bertram*.

Here, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to underſtand, that I do not lean to theſe Things only, which I have written in my former Anſwers and Confirmations, but that I have alſo for the Proof of that I have ſpoken, whatſoever *Betram*, a Man learned, of ſound and upright Judgment, and ever counted a Catholick for theſe ſeven hundred Years until this our Age, hath written. His Treatiſe, whoſoever ſhall read and weigh, conſidering the Time of the Writer, his Learning, Godlineſs of Life, the Allegations of the ancient Fathers, and his manifold and moſt grounded Arguments, I cannot, (doubtleſs) but much marvel, if he have any Fear of God at all, how he can with good Conſcience ſpeak againſt him in this Matter of the Sacrament. This *Bertram* was the firſt that pulled me by the Ear, and that firſt brought me from the common Error of the Romiſh Church, and cauſed me to ſearch more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the Writings of the old Eccleſiaſtical Fathers in this Matter. And this I proteſt before the Face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the Things I now ſpeak.

Dr. *Ridley* firſt brought to the Knowledge of the Sacrament by *Bertram*.

The third Propoſition.

The third Propoſition touching propitiatory Maſs.

In the Maſs is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, propitiable and available for the Sins as well of quick as of the Dead.

The Anſwer to this Propoſition.

I anſwer to this third Propoſition as I did to the firſt. And moreover I ſay, that being taken in ſuch Senſe as the Words ſeem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal ſo much to the Derogation and Defacing of the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt, that I judge it may and ought moſt worthily to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious Blood of our Saviour Chriſt.

The Explication.

Concerning the Romiſh Maſs which is uſed at this Day, or the Lively Sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the Sins of the Quick and the Dead, the Holy Scripture hath not ſo much as one Syllable.

Doubts in the third Propoſition. In the primitive Church the newly inſtructed in the Faith and unworthy were put away from the Communion.

There is Ambiguity alſo in the Name of Maſs: What it ſignifieth, and whether at this Day there be any ſuch indeed as the ancient Fathers uſed; ſeeing that now there be neither Catechiſts nor Pœnitentes to be ſent away.

Again, touching theſe Words [*the lively Sacrifice of the Church*] there is Doubt whether they are to be underſtood figuratively and ſacramentally, for the Sacrament of the lively Sacrifice (after which Sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's Supper) or properly and without any Figure: of the which Manner there was but one only Sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the Altar of the Croſs.

The third Doubt.

Moreover, in theſe Words [As well as] it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in Mockage, as Men are wont to ſay in Sport, of a fooliſh and ignorant Perſon, that he is apt as well in Conditions as in Knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

The fourth Doubt.

There is alſo a Doubt in the Word [Propitiable] whether it ſignify here that which taketh away Sin, or that which may be made available for the Taking away of Sin; that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the paſſive Signification.

The Falſeneſs of the third Propoſition reproved.

Now the Falſeneſs of the Propoſition, after the Meaning of the Schoolmen and the Romiſh Church, and impiety in that Senſe which the Words ſeem to import, is this: that they leaning to the Foundation of their fond Tranſubſtantiation, would make the quick and lively Body of Chriſt's Fleſh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the Accidents, and outward Shews of Bread and Wine. Which is very falſe, as I have ſaid afore: and they, building upon this Foundation, do hold that the ſame Body is offered unto God by the Prieſt in his daily maſſings to put away the Sins of the Quick and the Dead; whereas by the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* it is evident, that there is but one Oblation, and one true and lively Sacrifice of the Church offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, which was, is, and ſhall be for ever the Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World: and where there is Remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſaith the Apoſtle) no more offering for Sin.

But one Sacrifice in the Scripture.

Arguments confirming this Anſwer.

The firſt Argument Heb. 5.

No Sacrifice ought to be done, but where the Prieſt is meet to offer the ſame.
All other Prieſts be unmeet to offer Sacrifice propitiatory for Sin, ſave only Chriſt.

Argument

Ergo, No other Prieſts ought to ſacrifice for Sin, but Chriſt alone.

The ſecond Part of my Argument is thus proved.

No Honour in God's Church ought to be taken where a Man is not called, as *Aaron*.
It is a great Honour in God's Church to Sacrifice for Sin:

Ergo, No Man ought to Sacrifice for Sin, but only they which are called.

But only Chriſt is called to that Honour.

Heb. 7.

Ergo, No other Prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for Sin. That no Man is called to this Degree of Honour but Chriſt alone, it is evident. For there are but two only Orders of Prieſthood allowed in the Word of God: namely, the Order of *Aaron*, and the Order of *Melchiſedech*. But now the Order of *Aaron* is come to an End, by Reaſon that it was unprofitable, and weak; and of the Order of *Melcheſedeck* there is but

one Prieſt alone, even Chriſt the Lord, which hath a Prieſthood that cannot paſs to any other.

An Argument.

That Thing is in vain, and to no Effect, where no Neceſſity is wherefore it is done.
To offer up any more Sacrifice propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead there is no Neceſſity, for Chriſt our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.
Ergo, To do the ſame in the Maſs it is in vain.

Heb. 9. *Ab una cauſa veritatis ad propoſitionem habentem illam cauſam valet conſequentia.*

Another Argument.

After that eternal Redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the ſame.
But Chriſt coming an high Biſhop, *&c.* found and obtained for us eternal Redemption.
Ergo, There needeth now no more daily Oblation for the Sins of the Quick and the Dead.

Another Argument.

All Remiſſion of Sins cometh only by ſhedding of Blood.
In the Maſs there is no ſhedding of Blood.
Ergo, In the Maſs there is no Remiſſion of Sins; and ſo it followeth alſo that there is no propitiatory Sacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Maſs the Paſſion of Chriſt is not in Verity, but in a Myſtery repreſenting the ſame: Yea, even there where the Lord's Supper is duly miniſtred.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is he not offered in Verity: For the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.* 9. *Not that he might offer up himſelf often-times (for then muſt he have ſuffered often times ſince the Beginning of the World.)* Now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory Sacrifice:

Ergo, In the Maſs there is no propitiatory Sacrifice: *For Chriſt appeared once in the latter End of the World, to put Sin to Flight by the offering up of himſelf. And as it is appointed to all Men that they ſhall once die, and then cometh the Judgment: Even ſo Chriſt was once offered to take away the Sins of many. And unto them that look for him ſhall he appear again without Sin unto Salvation.*

Another Argument.

Where there is any Sacrifice that can make the Comers thereunto perfect, there ought Men to ceaſe from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory Sacrifices.
But in the new Teſtament there is one only Sacrifice now already long ſince offered, which is able to make the Comers thereto perfect for ever.
Ergo, In the New Teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any more propitiatory Sacrifices.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the ſame End and Purpoſe, out of which alſo may be gathered other manifeſt Arguments for more Confirmation thereof.

By the which Will (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 10.) *we are ſanctified, by the offering up of the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt *once for all.* And in the ſame Place, *But this Man, after that he had offered one Sacrifice for Sin, ſitteth for ever at the Right Hand of God*, &c. *For with one Offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified, and by himſelf hath he purged our Sins.* I beſeech you to mark theſe Words [*by himſelf*] the which well weighed, will without doubt ceaſe all Controverſy. Anno 1554.

The Apoſtle plainly denieth any other Sacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his Feet the Blood of the Teſtament, by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not be crucified again, he will not his Death to be had in Deriſion.

He hath reconciled us in the Body of his Fleſh. Mark I beſeech you, he ſaith not, in the Myſtery of his Body; but in the Body of his Fleſh. *Coloſſ.* 1.

If any Man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt *the righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins, not for ours only, but for the Sins of the whole World.* 1 *John* 2.

I know that all theſe Places of the Scripture are avoided by two Manner of ſubtle Shifts; the one is by the Diſtinction of the bloody and unbloody Sacrifice, as though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, than a Commemoration, a ſhewing forth, and a Sacramental Repreſentation of that one only bloody Sacrifice, offered up once for all. The popiſh Diſtinction between bloody and unbloody Sacrifice.

The other is by depraving and wreſting the Sayings of the antient Fathers unto ſuch a ſtrange Kind of Senſe, as the Fathers themſelves indeed never meant. For what the Meaning of the Fathers was, is evident by that which St. *Auguſtine* writeth in his Epiſtle to *Boniface*, and in the 83d Chapter of his ninth Book againſt *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, beſides many other Places; likewiſe by *Euſebius*, *Emiſene*, *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Fulgentius*, *Bertram*, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this Unity in the Lord, that the Redemption, once made in Verity for the Salvation of Man, continueth in full Effect for ever, and worketh without ceaſing unto the End of the World, that the Sacrifice once offered cannot be conſumed; that the Lord's Death and Paſſion is as effectual, the Virtue of that Blood once ſhed, as freſh at this Day for the waſhing away of Sins, as it was even the ſame Day that it flowed out of the bleſſed Side of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole Subſtance of our Sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lord's Supper, conſiſteth in Prayers, Praiſe, and giving of Thanks, and in remembring and ſhewing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the Altar of the Croſs: That the ſame might continually be had in Reverence by Myſtery, which one only, and no more, was offered for the Price of our Redemption. The Papiſts maintain their Sacrifice propitiatory, by the old Doctors falſly wreſted. The whole Subſtance of Sacrifice, wherein it conſiſteth.

Theſe are the Things (right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the anſwering of your three aforeſaid Propoſitions, being deſtitute of all Help in this Shortneſs of Time, ſudden Warning, and Want of Books. Wherefore I appeal to my firſt Proteſtation, moſt humbly deſiring the Help of the ſame (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And becauſe ye have lately given moſt unjuſt and cruel Sentence againſt me, I do here appeal (ſo far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and juſt Cenſure and Judgment of ſome other ſuperior, competent, Biſhop *Ridley* appealeth from the unjuſt Sentence of his Adverſaries, to ſome other ſuperior competent Judge.

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tent, and lawful Judge, and that according to the approved State of the Church of *England*. Howbeit, I confeſs, that I am ignorant what that is at this preſent, through the Trouble and Alteration of the State of the Realm. But if this Appeal may not be granted to me upon Earth, then do I fly (even as to my only Refuge and alone Haven of Health) to the Sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whoſe moſt merciful Juſtice towards us, and moſt juſt Mercifulneſs, I do wholly commit myſelf and all my Cauſe, nothing at all deſpairing of the Defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, to whom, with the everlaſting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all Honour and Glory, *Amen*.

Biſhop *Ridley* for lack of equal Indifferency, appealeth to Almighty God

Albeit, this learned Biſhop was not ſuffered to read all that is above prefixed before the Diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it up to the Prolocutor after the Diſputations and Sentence pronounced; I thought here the Place not unmeet to annex the ſame, together with the reſt. Now let us hear the Arguments and Anſwers between Dr. *Smith* and him.

Dr. Smith *beginneth to oppoſe.*

Smith. You have occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me ſeemed you did in your Suppoſitions abuſe the Teſtimonies of Scripture concerning the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away his Preſence in the Sacrament, as though this were a ſtrong Argument to enforce your Matter withal.

Smith's Argument.

Chriſt did aſcend into Heaven.

Ergo, He is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to diſprove this Reaſon of yours.

Chriſt's Aſcenſion is no Let to his real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived, whereas you do ground yourſelf upon theſe Places.

Anſwer.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrong Argument by Chriſt's going up into Heaven. But howſoever mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only ſtay upon his Aſcenſion, but upon his Aſcenſion and his * abiding there alſo.

* The Verity of Mr. *Ridley*'s Anſwer touching the real Being of Chriſt on Earth, to be reſtrained by his aſcending and abiding in Heaven, ſtandeth upon the Neceſſity, which we call (*Neceſſitas conſequentiæ*) by this Demonſtration.

Every natural Body muſt neceſſarily be continued in his peculiar and certain Place.

Chriſt's Body is a natural Body.

Ergo, Chriſt's Body not to be in one certain Place at once contained, it is impoſſible, according to the Rule, *omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili & de neceſſe æquipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habenti, & modo ſimiliter.*

Smith. Chriſt's going up to Heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. Of Chriſt's real Preſence there may be a double Underſtanding: If you take the real Preſence of Chriſt according to the real and corporal Subſtance which he took of the Virgin, that Preſence being in Heaven, cannot be on the Earth alſo. But if you mean a real Preſence, according to ſome Thing that appertaineth to Chriſt's Body, certainly the Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven are no Let at all to that Preſence. Wherefore Chriſt's Body after that ſort is here preſent to us in the Lord's Supper; by Grace I ſay, as *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of it.

Weſt. I will cut off from henceforth all Equivocation and Doubt. For whenſoever we ſpeak of Chriſt's Body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin.

Rid. Chriſt's Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven cannot ſtand with his Preſence.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the Earth, for all his Aſcenſion and continual Abode in Heaven unto the Day of Doom.

Ergo, His Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven, is no Let to his real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, this Argument is nothing worth. I do not ſtraightly tye Chriſt up in Heaven, that he may not come into the Earth at his Pleaſure. For when he will he may come down from Heaven, and be on the Earth, as it liketh himſelf. Howbeit I do affirm, That it is not poſſible for him to be both in Heaven and Earth at one Time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you, my Maſters that be here, diligently, what he anſwereth. Firſt, he ſaith, That the ſitting of Chriſt at the Right Hand of his Father, is a Let to the real Preſence of his Body in the Sacrament, and then afterwards he flieth from it again.

Chriſt's Abode in Heaven is no Let for him to appear on Earth when he will: But whether he will, that muſt be proved. Again, It is one thing to appear on Earth, another ſtill in the Sacrament, and to be preſent the ſame Time with his Body in Heaven, when he is bodily preſent in Earth.

Rid. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any ſuch Manner of ſitting, as theſe Men here ſit in the School.

Smith. Ergo, It is lawful for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the Earth, when he will himſelf.

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. Ergo, He aſcending into Heaven, doth not reſtrain his real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Rid. I do not gainſay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the Earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your Anſwer dependeth upon the Will of Chriſt, I perceive: Therefore I will join again with you in that ſhort Argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abide in Heaven after his Aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally on Earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and continual ſitting at the Right Hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. If the Notaries ſhould ſo record your Argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be aſhamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally upon the Earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. I grant the Antecedent, but I deny the Conſequence.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent?

Rid. Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certain antient Fathers of that Opinion. I am well content to let you uſe that Propoſition as true. And I will frame the Argument for you.

He was ſeen on Earth after his Aſcenſion: *Ergo*, &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myſelf.

Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally on Earth, albeit he do abide in Heaven continually:

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and continual abiding at the Right Hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally upon the Earth.

Chriſt continually ſitting in Heaven expounded.

Rid. Let us firſt agree about the continual ſitting at the Right Hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he so sit at the Right Hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?

Rid. Nay, I do not bind Christ in Heaven so straightly. I see you go about to beguile me with your Equivocations. Such Equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in Heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in Heaven and also in Earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal Manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in Heaven. For Christ to be corporal here on Earth, when corporally he is resident in Heaven, is clean contrary to the holy Scriptures, as *Augustine* saith; *The Body of Christ is in Heaven, but his Truth is dispersed in every Place.*

Christ cannot be both corporally here, and corporally also in Heaven at one Time.

Now if continually he abide in Heaven after the Manner of his corporal Presence, then his perpetual abiding there stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal Presence of him cannot be in the Sacrament.

Smith. Acts 3. we read that Christ shall sit perpetually at the Right Hand of God, unto the Consumption of the World.

West. I perceive you are come here to this Issue, whether the Body of Christ may be together both in Earth and in Heaven. I will tell you, that Christ in very deed is both in Earth and in Heaven together, and at one Time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the Verity and Substance of his very Body: *Ergo*, &c.

Rid. I deny the antecedent.

West. I prove it by two Witnesses. First by *Chrysostom: Do we not offer every Day? we do so indeed, but doing it for the Remembrance of his Death. And this Offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was offered in the holy Place: This Sacrifice is a Pattern of that: The self same we always offer; not now as offering one Lamb to Day, and another to Morrow, but always one and the same Lamb. Wherefore here is but one Sacrifice; for else by this Means, seeing there be many Sacrifices in many Places, be there many Christs? Not so, but one Christ in all Places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only Body.* Now thus I argue.

Chrys. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

We offer one Thing at all Times.

Argument. There is one Christ in all Places, both here compleat and there compleat.

Ergo, By *Chrysostom* there is one Body both in Heaven and Earth.

Answer. *Rid.* I remember the Place well. These Things make nothing against me.

West. One Christ is in all Places, here full and there full.

Rid. One Christ is in all Places; but not one Body in all Places.

One Christ, but not one Body, nor after one bodily Substance in all Places. Answer to *Chrysostom.*

West. One Body, saith *Chrysostom.*

Rid. But not after the Manner of bodily Substance he is in all Places, nor by Circumscription of Place. For [*hic* and *illic*] *here* and *there*, in *Chrysostom*, do assign no Place, as *Augustine* saith; *The Lord is above, but the Truth of the Lord is in all Places.*

West. You cannot so escape. He saith not the Verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all Places, both here and there.

One Christ and one Sacrifice in all Places, and how? to wit, Christ by Verity, the Sacrifice by Signification.

Rid. One Sacrifice is in all Places, because of the Unity of him whom the Sacrifice doth signify: Not that the Sacrifices be all one and the same.

West. Ergo, By your Saying, it is not Christ, but the Sacrifice of Christ.

But *Chrysostom* saith, One Body and one Christ is there, and not one Sacrifice.

Rid. I say, that both Christ and the Sacrifice of Christ is there: Christ by Spirit, Grace, and Verity; the Sacrifice by Signification. Anno 1554.

* Thus I grant with *Chrysostom*, that there is one Host or Sacrifice, and not many: And this our Host is called one, by reason of the Unity of that one, which one only all our Hosts do represent. That only Host was never other, but that which was once offered on the Altar of the Cross, of which Host all our Hosts are but sacramental Examples.

* *Ex libre* Ridlei *ip. sius manu descripto.*

Sacrifice, why it is called one

And where you alledge out of *Chrysostom*, that Christ is offered in many Places at once, both here full Christ, and there full Christ: I grant it to be true, that is, that Christ is offered in many Places at once, in a Mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those Places, but not after the corporal Substance of our Flesh which he took, but after the Benediction which giveth Life; and he is given to the godly Receivers in Bread and Wine, as *Cyril* speaketh; concerning the Oblation of Christ, whereof *Chrysostom* here speaketh, he himself doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the Way of Correction, *We always do the self same howbeit by the Recordation or Remembrance of his Sacrifice.*

How one Christ is offered in many Places at once.

West. The second Witness *Bernard* in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who saith; *How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we silly Worms creeping on the Face of the Earth, that we, I say, which are but Dust and Ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our Hands, and before our Eyes, who both together, full and whole, doth sit at the Right Hand of the Father, and who also in the Moment of one Hour, from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, are present one and the self same in many and divers Places.*

Rid. These Words of *Bernard* make for you nothing at all. But I know that *Bernard* was in such a Time, that in this Matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful Sayings; as also in the same foresaid Place by you alledged. But yet he followed in such an Age, when as the Doctrine of the holy Supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a Mystery, in a Sacrament, under a Veil or Cover, but hereafter shall have him without Veil or Cover. In the mean Time, here now he saith, That the Verity of Christ is every where. The Verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all Places.

Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

West. What do you call Verity? He saith not the Verity of Christ, but the Verity of the Body of Christ.

Rid. The Verity of the Body of Christ is the true Faith of the Body of Christ: After that Verity he is with them which truly believe upon him.

What is the Verity of the Body of Christ.

West. Christ is one and the same in divers Places. I urge the Words [*in divers Places*,] and yet I am not satisfied.

Smith. Christ was seen really and corporally on the Earth after his Ascension, and continually sitting at the Right Hand of the Father.

Ergo, The Ascension and perpetual sitting in Heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. If by perpetual sitting you mean the Residence of his Body in Heaven, your Reason containeth manifest Contradiction.

To be resident and not resident, import Contradiction.

Smith. These two have no Contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Fa-

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ther's Right Hand, and alſo to be ſeen here really in Earth after his Aſcenſion. Firſt, You will give me that Chriſt ſitteth in Heaven at the Right Hand of his Father. For ſo it is written, *Acts* v. *Heaven muſt needs receive him unto the Time of the reſtoring of all*, &c. Secondly, He was alſo ſeen of *Paul* here corporally on Earth.

Wherefore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no Contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe him, and when it pleaſeth him, may be in Heaven and in Earth, and appear to whom he will? And yet notwithſtanding you have not yet proved that he will do ſo. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in Heaven unto the Judgment, yet there may be ſome Intermiſſion, that notwithſtanding. But this Controverſy, as I ſaid, is amongſt all the antient Doctors and Writers. And that Chriſt hath been here ſeen, that they grant all: But whether then he being in Earth or in Heaven, that is doubtful.

To be here and not here, importeth Contradiction in reſpect of ſundry Times.

Smith. I will prove that he would appear in Earth.

He ſõ would, and alſo did appear here in Earth after his Aſcenſion: *Ergo*, &c.

Rid. He appeared I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in Heaven or in Earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to *Stephen*, being then corporally ſitting in Heaven. For, ſpeaking after the true Manner of Man's Body, when he is in Heaven, he is not the ſame Time in Earth; and when he is in Earth, he is not the ſame Time corporally in Heaven.

Chriſt's appearing on the Earth ſometime, taketh not away his Reſidence in Heaven. How Chriſt appeared in Earth.

Smith. Chriſt hath been both in Heaven and in Earth all at one Time.

Ergo, You are deceived in denying that.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Chriſt here to have been ſeen in Earth. Of uncertain Things I ſpeak uncertainly.

This Argument holdeth rather *materiæ* than *ratione formæ*.

Smith. He was ſeen of *Paul*, as being born before his Time, after his aſcending up to Heaven, 1 *Cor.* 15.

But his Viſion was a corporal Viſion:

Ergo, He was ſeen corporally upon the Earth after his aſcending into Heaven.

Rid. He was ſeen really and corporally indeed: But whether being in Heaven or Earth, is a Doubt. And of doubtful Things we muſt judge doubtfully. Howbeit you muſt prove that he was in Heaven at the ſame Time, when he was corporally on Earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this Viſion may inforce the Reſurrection of Chriſt?

Whether *Paul* ſaw Chriſt in Heaven or in Earth, all is one to prove his Reſurrection.

Rid. I account this a ſound and firm Argument to prove the Reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in Heaven or in Earth, I am in Doubt: And to ſay the Truth, it maketh no great Matter. Both ways the Argument is of like Strength. For whether he were ſeen in Heaven, or whether he were ſeen on Earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the Matter. Certain it is, he roſe again: For he could not have been ſeen, unleſs he had riſen again.

Smith. *Paul* ſaw him as he was here converſant on Earth, and not out of Heaven, as you affirm.

Rid. You run to the Beginning again: That you take for granted, which you ſhould have proved.

Smith. You make Delays for the nonce.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that hear us be learned: They can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I anſwer well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſeen after ſuch ſort, as that he might be heard.

Ergo, He was corporally on the Earth, or elſe how could he be heard? Argument

Rid. He that found the Means for *Stephen* to behold him in Heaven, even he could bring to paſs well enough, that *Paul* might hear him out of Heaven. Anſwer.

Smith. As other ſaw him, ſo *Paul* ſaw him.

Other did ſee him viſibly and corporally on Earth. Argument

Ergo, *Paul* ſaw him viſibly and corporally on Earth.

Rid. I grant he was ſeen viſibly and corporally: But yet have you not proved that he was ſeen in Earth. Anſwer.

Smith. He was ſeen of him as of other:

But he was ſeen of other being on Earth, and appeared viſibly to them on Earth:

Ergo, He was ſeen of *Paul* on Earth.

Rid. Your Controverſy is about [*exiſtens in Terra*] that is, *being on Earth*: If [*exiſtere*] *to be*, be referred as unto the Place, I deny that Chriſt after that Sort was on Earth. But if it be referred as to the Verity of the Body, then I grant it. Moreover, I ſay that Chriſt was ſeen of Men in Earth after his Aſcenſion, it is certain: For he was ſeen of *Stephen*; he was ſeen alſo of *Paul*. But whether he deſcended unto the Earth, or whether he being in Heaven did reveal or manifeſt himſelf to *Paul*, when *Paul* was wrapt into the third Heaven, I know that ſome contend about it: And the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of thoſe Things which be uncertain.

Smith. We have *Egeſippus* and *Linus* againſt you, which teſtify that Chriſt appeared corporally on the Earth to *Peter* after his Aſcenſion. *Peter overcome with the Requeſts and Mournings of the People, which deſired him to get him out of the City, becauſe of* Nero's *lying in wait for him, began without Company to convey himſelf away from thence: And when he was come to the Gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meet him, and worſhipping him, he ſaid, Maſter, whether walk you? Chriſt anſwered, I am come again to be crucified.* *Egeſippus*, l. 3. c. 3. *Linus* writing of the Paſſion of *Peter*, hath the ſelf ſame Story. St. *Ambroſe* hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo *Abdias*, Scholar to the Apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his aſcending into Heaven. With what Face therefore dare you affirm it to be a Thing uncertain, which theſe Men do manifeſtly witneſs to have been done? *Linus de paſſione Petri. Ambroſius. Abdias.*

Rid. I ſaid before that the Doctors in that Matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this Story is not certain, being approved by ſo antient and probable Authority?

Rid. I do ſo think, becauſe I take and eſteem not their Words for the Words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that Story to be certain, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such Things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as Things uncertain.

Rid. The Story of *Linus* is not of ſo great Authority; altho' I am not ignorant that * *Euſebius* ſo writeth alſo in the Story of the Church. And yet I account not theſe Men's Reports ſo ſure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if at any Time he had to any Man appeared here on the Earth after his Aſcenſion, that doth not diſprove my Saying. For I go not about to tye Chriſt up in Fetters (as ſome do untruly report of us) but that he may be ſeen upon the Earth according to his divine Pleaſure, whenſoever it liketh him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the Nature of his Manhood, and the true

* This Addition is taken out of the Copy of Biſhop *Ridley*'s own Writing.

Manner of his Body, that he ſhould be together and at one Inſtant both in Heaven and Earth, according to his corporal Subſtance. And the perpetual ſitting at the Right Hand of the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the Stability of Chriſt's Kingdom, and his continual or everlaſting Equality with his Father in the Glory of Heaven.

Smith. Now whereas you boaſt that your Faith is the very Faith of the antient Church; I will ſhew here that it is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtrive againſt the Faith of the old Fathers, I will bring in *Chryſoſtom* for this Point. Eliſeus *received the Mantle, as a right great Inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent Inheritance, and more precious than any Gold beſide. And the ſame was a double* Helias: *He was both* Helias *above, and* Helias *beneath. I know well you think that juſt Man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as he is. What will you then ſay if I ſhall declare unto you a certain other Thing, which all we that are indued with theſe holy Myſteries do receive much more than that?* Helias *indeed left his Mantle to his Scholar: But the Son of God aſcending did leave here his Fleſh unto us.* Helias *left it, putting off the ſame: But Chriſt both left it to us, and aſcended alſo to Heaven, having it with him.*

Chryſoſtom alledged. *Hom. 2. ad populum Antioch.*

Rid. I grant that Chriſt did both; that is, both took up his Fleſh with him aſcending up, and alſo did leave the ſame behind him with us, but after a divers Manner and Reſpect. For he took his Fleſh with him, after the true and corporal Subſtance of his Body and Fleſh: Again, he left the ſame in Myſtery to the Faithful in the Supper, to be received after a ſpiritual Communication, and by Grace. Neither is the ſame received in the Supper only, but alſo at other Times, by hearing the Goſpel, and by Faith. For, The Bread which we break, is the Communication of the Body of Chriſt: And generally, Unleſs ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye ſhall have no Life in you.

Here at this Anſwer great Cartfuls of taunting, and ſpiteful, and reproachful Words were caſt upon this good Biſhop.

Smith. Chryſoſtom ſaith: *O Miracle, O Good will of God! He that ſitteth above at the Sacrifice Time, is contained in the Hands of Men.* Or elſe as other have tranſlated it, thus: *O Miracle, O Gentleneſs of God? He that ſitteth above with the Father, is handled with the Hands of all Men at the very ſame Moment of Time, and doth himſelf deliver himſelf to them that are deſirous to take him and embrace him.*

Chryſoſt. de dignitate ſacerdotii. Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Rid. He that ſitteth there is here preſent in Myſtery and by Grace, and is holden of the Godly, ſuch as communicate him, not only ſacramentally with the Hand of the Body, but much more wholſomely with the Hand of the Heart, and by inward Drinking is received; but by the ſacramental Signification he is holden of all Men.

Seton. Where is then the Miracle if he be only preſent through his Grace and Myſtery only?

Rid. Yes, there is a Miracle, good Sir, Chriſt is not idle in the Sacraments. Is not the Miracle great, when Bread, which is wont to ſuſtain the Body, becometh Food to the Soul? he that underſtandeth not that Miracle, he underſtandeth not the Force of that Myſtery. God grant we may every one of us underſtand his Truth and obey the ſame.

The Miracle in the Sacrament, wherein it conſiſteth.

Smith. Chryſoſtom calleth it a Miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the Right Hand of God in Heaven, and at the ſame Time is held in the Hands of Men: Not that he is handled with the Hands of Men: Only in a Myſtery, and is with them through Grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and ſtray far from the Truth. Anno 1554.

Harpſ. The former Part of *Chryſoſtom* is not to be let ſlip. Let me, before I begin, aſk this one Queſtion of you. Is it not a great Matter that *Elias* left his Cloak or Mantle, and the Gift of his Prophecy to his Scholar?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great Matter.

Harpſ. Did not *Elias* then leave great Grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a far greater Grace than *Elias*: For he could not both leave his Cloak and take it with him; Chriſt doth both in his Fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Chriſt left much greater Things to us than *Elias* to *Eliſeus*, albeit he be ſaid to have left his double Spirit with him: For that the Strength and Grace of the Body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcending up here left with us, is the only Salvation and Life of all Men which ſhall be ſaved: Which Life Chriſt hath here left unto us, to be received by Faith through the hearing of the Word, and the right Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. This Virtue and Grace *Chryſoſtom*, after the Phraſe and Manner of *John* the Evangeliſt, calleth Chriſt's Fleſh.

How Chriſt took up his Body, and left it with us.

The Phraſe of *Chryſoſtom* conſidered.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a great Matter. He carried up, and left behind. You underſtand not the Compariſon. The Compariſon is in this, That *Elias* left his Mantle, and carried it not with him; Chriſt left his Fleſh behind him, and carried it with him alſo.

Compariſon between *Elias*'s Mantle and Chriſt's Fleſh.

Rid. True it is, and I myſelf did affirm no leſs before. Now where you ſeem to ſpeak many Things, indeed you bring no new Things at all. Let there be a Compariſon between Grace and Grace, then Chriſt gave the far greater Grace, when he did inſert or graft us into his Fleſh.

Elias took his Mantle, and left neither Mantle, nor Sacrament of his Mantle behind him. Chriſt took his Fleſh, and left a Sacrament of his Fleſh, which was more than *Elias* did: and yet the ſaid *Elias* afterward caſt down his Mantle.

Harpſ. If you will give me leave, I will aſk you this Queſtion. If *Chryſoſtom* would have meant ſo, that Chriſt left his Body in the Euchariſt, what plainer Words think you, or more evident could he have uſed than theſe?

Rid. Theſe Things be not of ſo great Force as they bear a great Shew outwardly. He might alſo have uſed groſſer Words, if he had liſted to have uttered his Mind ſo groſly: For he was an eloquent Man. Now he ſpeaketh after the Manner of other Doctors, which of myſtical Matters ſpeak myſtically, and of Sacraments ſacramentally.

Harpſ. The Compariſon lieth in this; That which was impoſſible to *Elias*, is poſſible with Chriſt.

Rid. I grant it was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible, *Elias* left his Cloak; Chriſt both left his Fleſh, and took it with him.

Harpſ. Elias left behind him; and could not take with him: Chriſt both left behind him, and alſo took with him: Except you will ſay the Compariſon here made to be nothing.

Rid. He took up his Fleſh with him to Heaven, and left here the Communion of his Fleſh in Earth.

Weſt. You underſtand in the firſt Place his Fleſh for very true Fleſh; and in the ſecond Place for Grace, and Communion of his Fleſh; and why do you not underſtand it in the ſecond Place alſo for his true Fleſh? I will make it evident how blockiſh and groſs your Anſwer is.

Quam ſit ſtupida & craſſa reſponſio tua.

Rid. Theſe be Taunts and Reproaches, not beſeem-

Anno 1554. beſeeming, as I think, the Modeſty of this School.

Weſt. Elias left his Cloak to his Diſciples; but the Son of God going up to Heaven, left his Fleſh. But *Elias* certainly left his Cloak behind, and Chriſt likewiſe his Fleſh, and yet aſcending he carried the ſame with him too. By which Words we make this Reaſon:

Chriſt left his Fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he took the ſame up with him:

Ergo, He is preſent here with us.

Dr. *Weſton* ſpeaketh to the Audience in *Engliſh*.

Here Dr. *Weſton* crying to the People, ſaid unto them; Mr. Doctor anſwereth it after this Faſhion.

He carried his Fleſh into Heaven, and he left here the Communion of his Fleſh behind. Aſſuredly the Anſwer is too unlearned.

Rid. I am glad you ſpeak in *Engliſh*. Surely, I wiſh that all the whole World might underſtand your Reaſons and my Anſwers. He left his Fleſh. This you underſtand of his Fleſh, and I underſtand the ſame of Grace. He carried his Fleſh into Heaven, and left behind the Communion of his Fleſh unto us.

But were theſe Judges in King *Edward*'s Time?

Weſt. Ye judges, what think you of this Anſwer?

Judges. It is ridiculous and a very fond Anſwer.

Rid. Well, I take your Words patiently for Chriſt's Cauſe.

Weſt. (*Weſton* here citeth the Place) We are ſprinkled with the Blood of Chriſt.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the ſame Blood, but yet ſpiritually received, and indeed all the Prophets were ſprinkled with the ſame Blood, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by Grace. And whatſoever they be that are not ſprinkled with this Blood, they cannot be Partakers of the everlaſting Salvation.

* This he repeated in *Engliſh* to the People alſo.

Weſt. * Here I bring *Bernard* unto you again, *Even from the Weſt unto the Eaſt, from the North unto the South, there is one and the ſelf ſame Chriſt in many and divers Places.*

Rid. The Anſwer is ſoon made, that one Chriſt is here and in divers places. For God according to his Majeſty, and according to his Providence, as St. *Auſtin* ſaith, is every where with the Godly, according to his indiviſible and unſpeakable Grace. Or elſe, if ye would underſtand *Bernard* according to the corporal Preſence, how monſtrous, or huge and giant-like a Body would you then make Chriſt's Body to be, which would reach even from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt?

The Papiſts make Chriſt to have a monſtrous Body.

Weſt. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous Anſwer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe Reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor's Argument, by which you being brought into the Briars, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſt's Preſence on the Earth. To the Proof of which Matter I will bring nothing elſe, than that which was agreed upon in the Catechiſm of the Synod of *London*, ſet out not long ago by you.

Here they returned again to *Latin*.

Biſhop *Ridley* falſly charged to ſet forth the Catechiſm.

Rid. Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did ſet out no Catechiſm.

Dr. *Weſton* in K. *Edward*'s Days ſubſcribed.

Weſt. Yes, you made one ſubſcribe to it, when you were a Biſhop in your Ruff.

Rid. I compelled no Man to ſubſcribe.

Ward. Yes, by the Rood, you are the very Author of that Hereſy.

Rid. I put forth no Catechiſm.

Cole. Did you never conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe Things which you allowed?

Rid. I grant that I ſaw the Book: but I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many Things for it. So I conſented to the Book: I was not the Author of it.

Of this Catechiſm read before.

Judges. * The Catechiſm is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole convocation Houſe hath agreed to it. *Cranmer* ſaid Yeſterday, that you made it.

* The Judges give an untrue Verdict: For Dr. *Cranmer*, meaning by the Council, ſpake no Word of *Ridley*.

Rid. I think ſurely, that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſm hath this Clauſe; If viſibly on the Earth.

Rid. I anſwer, That thoſe Articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Mine own Hand will teſtify the ſame, and Mr. *Cranmer* put his Hand to them likewiſe, and gave them to other afterward. Now, as for the Place which you alledged out of it, that may eaſily be expounded, and without any Inconvenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the Power and Virtue of his Father.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Ergo, He was not of ſo little Strength, that he could not bring to paſs, whatſoever he would himſelf.

Rid. I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was the Wiſdom of the Father.

Ergo, That he ſpake he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as every Man might underſtand: neither was it his Mind to ſpeak one Thing inſtead of another.

Rid. All this I grant.

Argument of the Wiſdom and Truth of Chriſt.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very Truth: *Ergo*, He made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewiſe it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others.

Hilar. in Pſal. 118.

Weſt. Hillarius, hath theſe Words: *All God's Words or Sayings are true, and neither idly placed, or unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful Fiery, without all Doubtfulneſs of ſuperfluous Vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.*

Ward. He is the Truth of the Father: *Ergo*, He can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; eſpecially I mean, when he ſpake at his latter End, and his Teſtament.

Anſwer to Mr. *Ward*'s Argument.

Rid. Chriſt is the very Truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what Scope you drive your Reaſon. This is but a far fetcht Compaſs of Words. If that theſe Words of Chriſt, This is my Body, which you mean be rightly underſtood, they are moſt true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, *&c.* What took he?

Rid. Bread, his Body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. Gave he Bread made of Wheat, and material Bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gave Bread of Wheat, but he gave true and material Bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

This Argument is not formal in the ſecond Figure.

He delivered to them that which he bad them take.

But he bad not them take material Bread, but his own Body.

Ergo, He gave not material Bread but his own Body.

Anſwer.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bad them take his Body ſacramentally in material Bread: and after that Sort it was both Bread which he bad them take, becauſe the Subſtance was Bread,

and it was alſo his Body, becauſe it was the Sacrament of his Body, for the ſanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which is always aſſiſtant to thoſe Myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtred.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſaith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?

Theophylact. in Mat. 26. *Rid.* I have *Theophylact*, for mine Author for this Manner of ſpeaking. And here I bring him that ye may underſtand that Phraſe not to be mine, upon *Matthew* 26. Furthermore, the ſaid *Theophylact* writing upon theſe Words, *This is my Body*, ſheweth that the Body of the Lord is Bread, which is ſanctified on the Altar.

Ogle. That Place of *Theophylact* maketh openly againſt you. For he ſaith in that Place, that Chriſt ſaid not, This is the Figure of my Body, but my Body. For, ſaith he, by an unſpeakable Operation it is transformed, although it ſeem to us to be Bread.

The Words of *Theophylact* (who ſaid not this is a Figure of my Body) anſwered.

Rid. It is not a Figure, that is to ſay, *Non tantum eſt figura*; that is, It is not only a Figure of his Body.

Weſt. Where have you that Word [*Tantum*] only?

Rid. It is not in that Place, but he hath it in another, and *Auguſtine* doth ſo ſpeak many Times, and other Doctors more.

Weſt. Here *Weſton* repeating the Words of *Theophylact* in *Engliſh*, ſaid, He ſaith it is no Figure, and you ſay it is a Figure.

And the ſame *Theophylact* ſaith moreover, that the converting or turning of the Bread is made into the Lord's Fleſh.

* This Argument is without perfect Mood and Form, having the Minor Negative in the ſecond Figure.

* That which Chriſt gave, we do give.
But that which he gave was not a Figure of his Body.
Ergo, We give no Figure, but his Body.

As concerning the Authority of *Theophylact*, what he thought and might have ſpoken of that Author, Dr. *Ridley* did not then ſpeak, nor could conveniently (as he himſelf afterward declared, writing with his own Hand the Diſputations in the Priſon) becauſe of the Uproars and Clamours, which were ſo great, and he by ſo many called upon, that he could not anſwer as he would, and what he thought touching the Authority of *Theophylact*, but anſwered ſimply to that which is brought out of that Author on this Sort.

Converſion after what Sort in the Sacrament.

I grant, quoth he, the Bread to be converted and turned into the Fleſh of Chriſt, but not by Tranſubſtantiation, but by a ſacramental Converſion or turning. It is transformed, ſaith *Theophylact*, in the ſame Place, by a myſtical Benediction, and by the Acceſſion or Coming of the Holy Ghoſt unto the Fleſh of Chriſt. He ſaith not, by Expulſion or driving away the Subſtance of Bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in his Place the corporal Subſtance of Chriſt's Fleſh. And where he ſaith, It is not a Figure of the Body, we ſhould underſtand that Saying, as he himſelf doth elſewhere add [*only*,] that is, it is no naked or bare Figure only. For Chriſt is preſent in his Myſteries, neither at any Time, as *Cyprian* ſaith, doth the Divine Majeſty abſent himſelf from the Divine Myſteries.

Weſt. You put in [*only*], and that is one Lye. And I tell you farther, *Peter Martyr* was fain to deny the Author, becauſe the Place was ſo plain againſt him. But mark his Words, how he ſaith, It is no Figure, but his Fleſh.

Rid. To take his Words, and not his Meaning, is to do Injury to the Author. Anno 1554.

Hard. No other Doctor maketh more againſt you: for the Words are, *Tranſelementatur*; that is, turned from one Element into another. And ſhewing the Cauſe why it is in Form of Bread, he ſaith, *Becauſe we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw Fleſh, ſpecially the Fleſh of Man; therefore it appeareth Bread, but it is Fleſh.* This *Harding* ſat at the Table among the Notaries. *Theoph.* in 6 *Cap. Joan.*

Rid. That Word hath not that Strength which you ſeem to give it. You ſtrain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your Purpoſe. For the ſame Author hath in another Place, *We are tranſelemented, or transformed, and changed into the Body of Chriſt.* And ſo by that Word, in ſuch Meaning as you ſpeak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very Body of Chriſt. *Theophylact* expounded.

Ward. Learned Mr. Doctor, thus you expound the Place, This is my Body; that is, a Figure of my Body.

Rid. Although I know there be ſome that ſo expound it, yet that Expoſition is not full to expreſs the Whole.

Argument in the third Figure.

Ward. My Sheep hear my Voice, and follow me.
But all the Sheep of Chriſt hear his Voice,
This is my Body, without a Figure:
Ergo, The Voice of Chriſt here hath no Figure.

Rid. The Sheep of Chriſt follow the Voice of Chriſt, unleſs they be ſeduced and deceived through Ignorance.

Ward. But the Fathers took this Place for no figurative Speech.

Rid. Yet they do all number this Place among figurative and tropical Speeches.

Juſtin Martyr, *Apol.* 2.

Ward. Juſtin Martyr in his Second Apology hath thus, ὃ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν διὰ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατ' μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ ἡ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

This Place *Cranmer* hath corrupted: thus it is engliſhed. *For we do not take this for common Bread and Drink, but like as Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour incarnate by the Word of God, had Fleſh and Blood for our Salvation; even ſo we be taught the Food wherewith our Fleſh and Blood is nouriſhed by Alteration, when it is conſecrated by the Prayer of his Word, to be the Fleſh and Blood of the ſame Jeſus incarnate.*

Dr. *Cranmer* charged with miſ-tranſlating a Place in *Juſtin.* Read his Anſwer to this before Page 47.

Dr. *Cranmer* hath thus tranſlated it: *Bread, Water, and Wine, are not to be taken as other common Meats and Drinks be, but they be ordained purpoſely to give Thanks to God, and therefore be called* Euchariſtia, *and be called the Body and Blood of Chriſt; and that is is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs Chriſt, and live according to the ſame: and yet the ſame Meat and Drink is changed into our Fleſh and Blood, and nouriſheth our Bodies.*

Rid. O good Mr. Doctor, go ſincerely to Work: I know that Place, and I know how it is uſed.

Sumptum ex exemplari domini Ridlei deſcripto.

Ward. (*Ward* here repeated the Place again out of *Juſtine*,) We are taught, &c. as above.

Rid. O what upright Dealing is this! I have the ſelf ſame Place of *Juſtine* here copied out. You know yourſelf which are ſkilful in Greek, how the Words here be removed out of the right Place, and without any juſt Cauſe.

Ward.

Anno 1554.

Ward. I ſtand ſtill upon mine Argument. What ſay you?

Rid. If you will that I ſhould anſwer to *Juſtine*, then you muſt hear. I have but one Tongue, I cannot anſwer at once to you all.

In this Argument if the Minor be a Negative, the Form is falſe: if it be Affirmative, *æquipollenter*, the Major is to be denied.

Weſt. Chriſt gave us his very and true Fleſh to be eaten:

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his laſt Supper, and in the Sacrament of the Altar:

Ergo, There is the very Fleſh of Chriſt.

Rid. If you ſpeak of the very true Fleſh of Chriſt, after the Subſtance of his Fleſh taken in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and not by Grace and ſpiritually, I then do deny the firſt Part of your Reaſon. But if you underſtand it of the true Fleſh, after Grace and ſpiritual Communication, I then grant the firſt Part, and deny the ſecond. For he giveth unto us truly his Fleſh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true Meat of the Soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlaſting Life, according to his Saying; My Fleſh is Meat indeed, *&c.*

Ward. I have deſired with my hearty Deſire to eat this Paſchal with you. What Paſchal, I pray you, deſired he to eat? If you ſtand in Doubt, you have *Tertullian* againſt *Marcion: He there-*

Tertul. contra Marcion, lib. 4. *fore proteſting a great Deſire to eat his Paſchal, his own Paſchal, I ſay, (for it was not meet that he ſhould deſire any other than his own) taking Bread and diſtributing it to his Diſciples, made it his Body, ſaying, This is my Body*, &c.

What ſay you? Did he underſtand by this Paſchal the Judaical Lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his Supper?

Rid. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he underſtood of the Judaical Paſſover, and afterward of the Euchariſt.

Argument *Ward.* Nay then *Tertullian* is againſt you, which ſaith:

He deſired to eat his Paſſover.

But the Judaical Paſſover was not his, but ſtrange from Chriſt.

Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical Paſſover.

Anſwer. *Rid.* The Judaical Paſſover was not ſtrange from Chriſt, but his own: Inſomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical Paſſover, as of his own Supper.

Ward. What anſwer you then to *Tertullian*, the which ſaith, He deſired to eat his own Paſſover, and not the Jewiſh Paſſover, which ſtood upon Words without Fleſh?

Analogical Senſe is that which hath a high and myſtical Underſtanding, that lieth abſtruſe and profound under the external Letter.

Rid. Tertullian may here dally in Senſe analogical. I know that *Cyprian* hath theſe Words: *He began then to inſtitute the holy Euchariſt, but both were Chriſt's.*

Auguſt. in Pſal. 96. *Ward. Auguſtine* in *Pſalm* 96. writing upon theſe Words, *Worſhip his Footſtool*, &c. *I aſk (ſaith he) what is the Footſtool of his Feet? and the Scripture telleth me, The Earth is the Footſtool of my Feet. And ſo in ſearching thereof I turn myſelf to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeek him in the Earth, and find how, without Impiety, the Footſtool of his Feet may be worſhipped; for he took Earth of Earth, in that he is Fleſh and Earth; and of the Fleſh of* Mary *he took Fleſh, and becauſe that in the ſame Fleſh here he walked and alſo he gave the ſame Fleſh to us to be eaten unto Salvation. But no Man eateth that Fleſh except he have worſhipped before. And ſo it is found how ſuch a Footſtool of the Feet of the Lord is to be worſhipped, ſo that not only we ſin not in worſhipping, but alſo do ſin in not worſhipping the ſame.*

He gave to us his Fleſh to be eaten, the which he took of the Earth, in which alſo here he walked, *&c.*

But he never gave his Fleſh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his Supper, ſaying, This is my Body.

Ergo, In the Euchariſt he gave us his Fleſh.

Rid. You do alledge the Place of *Auſtin* upon the 98th *Pſalm*, where he ſaith, that Chriſt gave his Fleſh to be eaten which he took of the Earth, and in which here he walked, inferring hereupon that Chriſt never gave the ſame his Fleſh to be eaten, but only in the Euchariſt: I deny your Minor; for he gave it both in the Euchariſt to be eaten, and alſo otherwiſe, as well in the Word, as alſo upon the Croſs.

How Chriſt gave his Fleſh to be eaten, and when.

Smith. What if *Auguſtine* ſay, that Chriſt did not only give himſelf to us in a Figure, but gave his own very Fleſh indeed and really?

Rid. I never ſaid that Chriſt gave only a Figure of his Body. For indeed he gave himſelf in a real Communication, that is, he gave his Fleſh after a Communication of his Fleſh.

Weſt. (Here *Weſton* read the Place of *Auguſtine* in *Engliſh*, and afterward ſaid; Ye ſay, Chriſt gave not his Body, but a Figure of his Body.

Rid. I ſay not ſo, I ſay he gave his own Body verily. But he gave it by a real, effectual, and ſpiritual Communication.

Chriſt gave himſelf not only in a Figure, but indeed by real and effectual Communication of his Fleſh.

After this, Dr. *Glin* began to reaſon, who (notwithſtanding Mr. *Ridley* had always taken him for his old Friend) made a very contumelious Preface againſt him. This Preface Mr. *Ridley* therefore did the more take to Heart, becauſe it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought that Dr. *Glin*'s Mind was to ſerve the Time. For afterward he came to the Houſe wherein Mr. *Ridley* was kept, and as far as Mr. *Ridley* could call to Remembrance, before Dr. *Young* and Dr. *Oglethorp* he deſired him to pardon his Words. Which Mr. *Ridley* did even form the very Heart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident Knowledge of God's evangelical Sincerity, that all Offences put a-part, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the Houſe of the heavenly Father.

Glin. I ſee that you elude or ſhift away all Scriptures and Fathers, I will go to work with you after another Sort.

Chriſt hath here his Church known in Earth, of which you were once a Child, although now you ſpeak contumeliouſly of the Sacraments.

Rid. This is a grievous Contumely, that you call me a Shifter away of the Scripture, and of the Doctors: as touching the Sacraments, I never yet ſpake contumeliouſly of them. I grant that Chriſt hath here his Church in Earth: but that Church did ever receive and acknowledge the Euchariſt to be a Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, yet not the Body of Chriſt really, but the Body of Chriſt by Grace.

Glin. Then I aſk this Queſtion; whether the catholick Church hath ever or at any Time been idolatrous?

Rid. The Church is the Pillar and Stay of the Truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in Reſpect of the whole: but peradventure in Reſpect of ſome Part thereof, which ſometimes may be ſeduced by evil Paſtors, and through Ignorance.

Glin. * That Church ever hath worshipped the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist.

* This Argument having the Minor a negative, neither is formable in the third Figure, neither doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus: *Ergo*, To worship the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist is no Idolatry. *Sumpium ab autographo* Ridlei *manu descripto.*

But the Church hath never been idolatrous:

Ergo, It hath always judged the Flesh of Christ to be in the Eucharist.

Rid. And I also worship Christ in the Sacrament, but not because he is included in the Sacrament, like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his Grace giving Life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his Benediction giving Life.

Furthermore, I acknowldge gladly the true Body of Christ to be in the Lord's Supper, in such Sort as the Church of Christ (which is the Spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's Word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a Presence of Christ's Body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the Godly by Grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental Signification, but not by the corporal Presence of the Body of his Flesh.

August. contra Faust. lib. 20. *cap.* 13.

Glin. Austin saith: *Some there were which thought us instead of Bread and of the Cup, to worship* Ceres *and* Bacchus.

Upon this Place I gather, that there was an Adoration of the Sacrament among the Fathers; and *Erasmus*, in an Epistle to the Brethren of *Low-Germany*, saith, that the worshipping of the Sacrament was before *Austin* and *Cyprian.*

Rid. We do handle the Signs reverently: but we worship the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a Thing signified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbol or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, We worship Bread.

Equivocation of this Word *Worship*, distinguished.

Rid. There is a Deceit in this Word [*Adoramus.*] We worship the Symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ whersoever we perceive his Benefits. But we understand his Benefit to be greatest in the Sacrament.

Glin. So I may fall down before the Bench here, and worship Christ: And if any Man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ.

We worship Christ in the Eucharist: But we worship not the Eucharist for Christ.

Rid. We adore and worship Christ in the Eucharist. And if you mean the external Sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the Faith of the primitive Church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the Faith of that Church.

Glin. Think you that Christ hath now his Church?

Rid. I do so.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Christ, verily, and really in the Sacrament.

This Council of *Florence* was but of late Years in the Time of the Council of *Basil.*

Rid. You know yourself that the Eastern Church would not acknowledge Transubstantiation, as appeareth in the Council of *Florence.*

Cole. That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge Transubstantiation, altho' they would not intreat of the Matter, for that they had not in their Commission so to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of the Matter, when the Article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no Commission so to do.

Curtop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the Body of Christ is truly and really in the Eucharist: And whereas the holy Fathers, both of the West and East Church, have written both many Things and no less manifest of the same Matter, yet will I bring forth only *Chrysostom.* Anno 1554.

Chrys. in Cap. 10. *Cor.* 1. *Hom.* 24.

* That which is in the Cup, is the same that flowed from the Side of Christ.

But true and pure Blood did flow from the Side of Christ.

Ergo, His true and pure Blood is in the Cup.

* The Major should be thus: Whatsoever did flow from the Side of Christ is in the Cup, &c. or else the Argument being in the second Figure is affirmatively, and false.

Rid. It is his true Blood which is in the Chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the Side of Christ. But how? It is Blood indeed, but not after the same Manner, after which Manner it sprang from his Side. For here is the Blood, but by Way of a Sacrament.

Again, I say, like as the Bread of the Sacrament and of Thanksgiving is called the Body of Christ given for us; so the Cup of the Lord is called the Blood which sprang from the Side of Christ. But that sacramental Bread is called the Body, because it is the Sacrament of his Body: Even so likewise the Cup is called the Blood also which flowed out of Christ's Side, because it is the Sacrament of that Blood which flowed out of his Side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular Commodity; namely, for our spiritual Nourishment: Like as Baptism is ordained in Water to spiritual Regeneration.

Cur. The Sacrament of the Blood is not the Blood.

Rid. The Sacrament of the Blood is the Blood, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is spoken of the Thing of the Sacrament.

West. Here *Weston* repeateth *Curtop*'s Argument in *English.*

* That which is in the Chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's Side.

* This Argument concludeth not directly, and being in the second Figure affirmative, it is not formal.

But there came out very Blood:

Ergo, There is Blood in the Chalice.

Rid. The Blood of Christ is in the Chalice indeed, but not in the real Presence, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

West. That is very well. Then we have Blood in the Chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

Here the People hissed at him.

Rid. O my Masters! I take this for no Judgment: I will stand to God's Judgment.

Wat. Good Sir, I have determined to have respect the Time, and to abstain from all those Things which may hinder the Entrance of our Disceptation: And therefore first I ask this Question; when Christ said in the Sixth of *John*, *He that eateth my Flesh*, &c. doth he signify in these Words the eating of his true and natural Flesh, or else of the Bread and Symbol?

Spiritual eating of the Flesh of Christ.

Rid. I understand that Place of the very Flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: And further I say, that the Sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual Manducation. For without the Spirit to eat the Sacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For whoso eateth eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own Condemnation.

Wat. I ask then whether the Eucharist be a Sacrament?

Rid. The Eucharist, taken for a Sign or Symbol, is a Sacrament.

Wat. Is it instituted of God?

Rid. It is instituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what Words is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the Words and Deeds which Christ

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said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same.

Wat. It is a Thing commonly received of all, that the Sacraments of the new Law give Grace to them that worthily receive.

The Sacraments give no Grace, but are Instruments.

Rid. True it is, that Grace is given by the Sacrament, but as by an Instrument. The inward Virtue and Christ give the Grace through the Sacrament.

Wat. What is a Sacrament?

Sacrament defined.

Rid. I remember there be many Definitions of a Sacrament in *Augustine:* But I will take that which seemeth most fit for this present Purpose. A Sacrament is a visible Sign of invisible Grace.

Wat. Ergo, Grace is given to the Receivers.

Rid. The Society or Conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is Grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the Members of the mystical Body of Christ, for that by the Sacrament the Part of the Body is grafted in the Head.

Wat. But there is Difference between the mystical Body, and natural Body.

Rid. There is (I grant you) a Difference, but the Head of them both is one.

† The Syllogysm is thus to be formed: The Sacrament of the New Testament hath a Promise of Grace annexed: Bread and Wine have no Promise of Grace annexed: *Ergo,* Bread and Wine is no Sacrament of the New Testament.

Wat. † The Eucharist is a Sacrament of the New Testament.

Ergo, It hath a Promise of Grace.

But no Promise of Grace is made to Bread and Wine:

Ergo, Bread and Wine be not the Sacraments of the New Testament.

Rid. I grant that Grace pertaineth to the Eucharist, according to this Saying, *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communication or partaking of the Body of Christ?* And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation: Even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth Life, and drinketh Life. I grant also that there is no * Promise made to Bread and Wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified and made the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord, they have a Promise of Grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the Body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the Bread and Wine, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament.

* No Promise made to Bread and Wine as they be common Bread and common Wine: But as they be sanctified and made Sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood, they are not now called Bread and Wine, but have a Promise annexed to them: Or rather (to say the Truth) annexed to the Receivers of them.

Wat. If the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain, then the Society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take Bread and Wine.

But that Society is not promised to Bread and Wine, but to the Receivers of the Flesh and Blood. *John* 6. *He that eateth my Flesh,* &c.

Ergo, The Substance of Bread and Wine remaineth not.

Rid. The Promise undoubtedly is made to the Flesh and Blood, but the same is to be received in the Sacrament through Faith.

Wat. Every Sacrament hath a Promise of Grace annexed unto it.

Ergo, The Bread and Wine are not Sacraments.

Sacraments, how they have a Promise of Grace annexed, not absolutely, but instrumentally. Promise made not to the Symbols, but to the Thing of the Sacrament.

Rid. True it is, every Sacrament hath Grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this Word [*Habet*] hath. For the Sacrament hath not Grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to Grace. After that Manner the Water in Baptism hath Grace promised, and by that the Holy Spirit is given, not that Grace is included in Water, but that Grace cometh by Water.

Wat. This Promise is made to the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and not to the Bread and Wine.

Ergo, The Sacrament is not Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ.

Rid. There is no Promise made to him that taketh common Bread and common Wine, but to him which receiveth the sanctified Bread, and Bread of the Communion, there is a large Promise of Grace made; neither is the Promise given to the Symbols, but to the Thing of the Sacrament. But the Thing of the Sacrament is the Flesh and Blood.

Wat. Every Sacrament of the New Testament giveth Grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it.

Rid. This Sacrament hath a Promise of Grace made to those that receive it worthily, because Grace is given by it, as by an Instrument, not that Christ hath transfused Grace into the Bread and Wine.

Wat. But this Promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the Flesh and Blood; not the Bread and Wine.

Rid. That Proposition of yours hath a divers Understanding. There is no Promise made to them that receive common Bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified Bread, there is a Promise of Grace made, like as *Origen* doth testify.

Wat. Where is that Promise made?

Rid. *The Bread which we break, is it not a Communion of the Body of Christ?* And *we being many are one Bread, one Body of Christ?* 1 Cor. 12.

Wat. What doth he mean by Bread in that Place?

Rid. The Bread of the Lord's Table, the Communion of the Body of Christ.

Wat. Hearken what *Chrysostom* saith upon that Place; *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of Christ's Body? Wherefore did he not say, Participation? Because he would signify some great Matter, and that he would declare a great Convenience and Conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by Participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For likewise as that Body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same Bread are conjoined and united to him.* *Chrys. in* 1 *Cor. Cap.* 10.

Rid. Let *Chrysostom* have his Manner of speaking, and his Sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true Bread. Answer to *Chrysostom.*

Wat. *All* (saith Chrysostom) *which sit together at one Board, do communicate together of one true Body. What do I call* (saith he) *this communicating? We are all the self same Body. What doth Bread signify? The Body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The Body of Christ. For many are but one Body.* *Chrysostom* doth interpret this Place against you. *All we be one Bread, and one mystical Body, which do participate together one Bread of Christ.* In 1 *Cor. cap.* 10.

Bread signifieth the Body after *Chrysost.*

One Bread one mystical Body.

Rid. All we be one mystical Body, which do communicate of one Bread in Christ, after the Efficacy of Regeneration or quickening.

Wat. Of what Manner of Bread speaketh he?

Rid. Of the Bread of the Lord's Table.

Wat. Is that Bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church being one, because one Bread is set forth upon the Table: And so of one Bread all together do participate which communicate at the Table of the Lord.

Wat. See how absurdly you speak. Do you say all which be from the Beginning to the End of the World?

Rid. All, I say, which at one Table together have communicated in the Mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial

Bread

Bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the ſacramental Bread is a Myſtery: The which being one, all we together do participate.

Watſon cavilleth about the Word [*All.*]

Wat. A perverſe Anſwer. Which all? Mean you all Chriſtian Men.

Rid. I do diſtribute this Word [*All:*] For all were wont together to communicate of the one Bread divided into Parts. All, I ſay, which were one Congregation, and which all did communicate together at one Table.

Wat. What? Do you exclude then from the Body of Chriſt all them which did not communicate, being preſent?

Cyprian de Cœna Dom.

Feck. But *Cyprian* ſaith, *Bread which no Multitude doth conſume.* Which cannot be underſtood but only of the Body of Chriſt.

Rid. Alſo *Cyprian* in this Place did ſpeak of the true Body of Chriſt, and not of material Bread.

Mr. *Feckenam*'s Reaſon.

Feck. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the Sacrament in that Tract *De Cœna Domini*, writing upon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I grant he treateth there of the Sacrament: But alſo he doth admix ſomething therewithal of the ſpiritual Manducation.

Smith. When the Lord ſaith, *This is my Body*, he uſeth no tropical Speech.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. I deny your Antecedent.

Auguſt. in *Pſal.* 33. Conc. 1.

Smith. I bring here *Auguſtine* in *Pſal.* 33. expounding theſe Words. *Ferebatur in manibus ſuis*, He was carried in his own Hands. *How may this be underſtood to be done in Man? For no Man is carried in his own Hands, but in the Hands of others. How this may be underſtood of* David *after the Letter, we do not find; Of Chriſt we find it. For Chriſt was born in his own Hands, when he ſaith, This is my Body, for he carried that ſame Body in his own Hands*, &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this Place after the Letter could be underſtood of *David*, becauſe no Man can carry himſelf in his own Hands. Therefore, ſaith he, this Place is to be underſtood of Chriſt after the Letter. For Chriſt carried himſelf in his own Hands in his Supper, when he gave the Sacrament to his Diſciples, ſaying, *This is my Body.*

The Place of *Auguſtine* anſwered.

Rid. I deny your Argument, and I explicate the ſame. *Auſtin* could not find after his own Underſtanding how this could be underſtood of *David* after the Letter. *Auſtin* goeth here from other in this Expoſition, but I go not from him. But let this Expoſition of *Auſtin* be granted to you; although I know this Place of Scripture be otherwiſe read of other Men, after the Verity of the *Hebrew* Text, and it is alſo otherwiſe to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this Expoſition of *Auſtin*, I ſay yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothing againſt my Aſſertion: For Chriſt did bear himſelf in his own Hands, when he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be eaten of his Diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, It is true of Chriſt after the Letter, that he was born in his own Hands.

Rid. He was born literally, and after that Letter which was ſpoken of *David:* But not after the Letter of theſe Words, *Hoc eſt Corpus meum.*

The Place of *Auſtin*, how Chriſt was carried in his own Hands, *ad literam*, that is, literally.

I grant that St. *Auſtin* ſaith, that it is not found literally of *David*, that he carried himſelf in his own Hands, but that it is found of Chriſt. But this Word [*ad literam,*] literally, you do not well refer to that which was born, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. *Auguſtine*'s Meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal *David*, the Son of *Jeſſe* did bear himſelf in his Hands, but of that ſpiritual *David* that overthrew *Goliah* the Devil; that is, of Chriſt our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bare himſelf in his own Hands after a certain Manner, namely, in carrying the Sacrament of himſelf. And note, that St. *Auſtin* hath theſe Words, *Quodam modo*, after a certain Manner; which manifeſtly declare how the Doctor's Meaning is to be taken. Anno 1554.

Chriſt was born in his own Hands ſacramentally.

Smith. When then was he born in his own Hands, and after what Letter?

Rid. He was born in the Supper ſacramentally, when he ſaid, *This is my Body.*

Smith. Every Man may bear in his own Hands a * Figure of his Body.

* A Figure he may bear but not a Sacrament.

But *Auguſtine* denieth that *David* could carry himſelf in his Hands.

Ergo, He ſpeaketh of no Figure of his Body.

Rid. If *Auſtin* could have found in all the Scripture, that *David* had carried the Sacrament of his Body, then he would never have uſed that Expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. Bnt he did bear himſelf in his own Hands:

Ergo, He did not bear a Figure only.

Rid. He did bear himſelf, but in a Sacrament: And *Auſtin* afterward addeth, *Quodam modo*, that is, ſacramentally.

Quodam modo.

Smith. You underſtand not what *Auſtin* meant when he ſaid, *Quodam modo*; for he meant that he did bear his very true Body in that Supper, not in Figure and Form of a Body, but in Form and Figure of Bread.

Ergo, You are holden faſt, neither are you able to eſcape out of this Labyrinth.

Dr. *Weſton* repeateth this Place again in *Engliſh.* Which done, then Dr. *Treſham* began thus to ſpeak, moved (as it ſeemed to Mr. *Ridley*) with great Zeal, and deſired that he might be in ſtead of *John Baptiſt*, in converting the Hearts of the Fathers, and in reducing the ſaid Biſhop *Ridley* again to the Mother Church. Now at the firſt, not knowing the Perſon, he thought he had been ſome good old Man, which had the Zeal of God, although not according to Knowledge, and began to anſwer him with Meekneſs and Reverence. But afterward he ſmelled a Fox under a Sheep's Cloathing.

Dr. *Treſham* prayeth for the converting *Ridley.*

God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was ſpoken by the Prophet Malachi *of* John Baptiſt, *which may turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to their Fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wiſe Man ſaith, Son, honour thy Father, and reverence thy Mother. But you diſhonour your Father in Heaven, and pollute your Mother the holy Church here on Earth, while ye ſet not by it.*

Rid. Theſe by-Words do pollute your School.

Treſh. If there were an Arian which had that ſubtle Wit that you have, he might ſoon ſhift off the Authorities of the Scripture and Fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or elſe hold your Peace, I pray you.

The Decree of the *Lateran* Council alledged for Tranſubſtantiation.

Treſh. I bring a Place here out of the Council of *Lateran*, which Council repreſenting the univerſal Church, wherein were congregated three hundred Biſhops, and ſeventy Metropolitans, beſides a great Multitude of others, decreed that Bread and Wine, by the Power of God's Word, was tranſubſtantiate into the Body

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and Blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a Child of the Church, but an Heretick.

Rid. Good Sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the Council of *Lateran*, and remember that there was a great Multitude of Bishops and Metropolitans, as you said: But yet you have not numbred how many Abbots, Priors, and Friars were in that Council, who were to the Number of eight hundred.

One of the Scribes carpeth against Bp. *Ridley.*

One of the Scribes. What, will you deny then the Authority of that Council for the Multitude of those Priors?

Rid. No Sir, not so much for that Cause, as for that especially, because the Doctrine of that Council agreed not with the Word of God, as it may well appear by the Acts of that Council, which was holden under *Innocent* the third, a Man (if we believe the Histories) most pernicious to the Church and Common-wealth of Christ.

Tresh. What, do you not receive the Council of *Lateran?* Whereupon he with certain others cried, Write, write.

Bishop *Ridley* rejecteth the Council of *Lateran.*

Rid. No Sir, I receive not that Council; Write, and write again.

Good Men do eat the very true Body of Christ, both sacramentally and spiritually

Tresh. Evil Men do eat the natural Body of Christ.

Ergo, The true and natural Body of Christ is on the Altar.

Rid. Evil Men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally, and no further, as St. *Augustine* saith: But good Men do eat the very true Body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by Grace.

Aug. lib. 5. contra Donatistas, cap. 8.

Tresh. I prove the contrary by *Augustine*, *Like as* Judas, *to whom the Lord gave the Morsel, did offend; not in taking a Thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner, &c.* And a little after, *Because some do not eat unto Salvation, it followeth not therefore that it is not his Body.*

Rid. It is the Body to them, that is, the Sacrament of the Body: and *Judas* took the Sacrament of the Lord to his Condemnation. *Austin* hath distinguished these Things well in another Place, where he saith, *The Bread of the Lord, the Bread the Lord. Evil Men eat the Bread of the Lord, but not Bread the Lord. But good Men eat both the Bread of the Lord, and Bread the Lord.*

This *Weston* spake in *English.*

West. Paul saith the Body, and you say, the Sacrament of the Body.

Rid. Paul meaneth so indeed.

Wat. You understand it evil concerning the Sign: For the Fathers say, that evil Men do eat him which descended from Heaven.

The old Doctors do use many Times the Sacrament for the Matter of the Sacrament.

Rid. They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The Fathers use many Times the Sacrament for the Matter of the Sacrament, and all that same Place maketh against you; and so here he cited the Place.

West. I bring *Theophylact*, which saith: *That* Judas *did taste the Body of the Lord. The Lord did shew the Cruelty of* Judas, *who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's Flesh, &c.*

Rid. This Phrase to Divines is well known, and used by the Doctors. He tasted the Flesh of the Lord, [*Insensibly*,] that is, the Sacrament of the Lord's Flesh.

West. Chrysostom saith, That the same Punishment remaineth to them which receive the Body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him.

Rid. That is, because they defile the Lord's Body: for evil Men do eat the Body of Christ sacramentally, but good Men eat both the Sacrament and the Matter of the Sacrament.

Wat. You reject the Council of *Lateran*, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's Word. What say you then to the Council of *Nice?* The Words of the Council be these, *Let us not look a-low by the ground upon the Bread and the Drink set before us, but lifting up our Mind let us faithfully believe, there upon the holy Table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the Sins of the World, being sacrificed of the Priests.*

Rid. That Council was collected out of ancient Fathers, and is to me a great Authority; for it saith, *That Bread is set upon the Altar, and having our Minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in Heaven.* The Words of the Council make for me.

Wat. [*Exaltata mente*] with a Mind exalted: that is, not as brute Beasts at the Rack or Manger, having an Eye only upon the Thing that is set before them. The * Lamb of God lieth on the Table, saith the Council.

* If the Lamb of God lie really upon the Table, then why doth the Council bid us lift up our Minds, which rather should bid us let down our Minds to the Altar? The Place of the *Nicene* Council expounded

Rid. The Lamb of God is in Heaven, according to the Verity of the Body: and here he is with us in a Mystery, according to his Power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lamb of God lyeth on the Table.

Rid. It is a figurative Speech, for in our Mind we understand him which is in Heaven.

Wat. But he lyeth there, the *Greek* Word is κεῖται.

Rid. He lyeth there, that is, he is here present, not corporally, but he lyeth there in his Operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but his Operation lyeth not.

Rid. You think very grosly of the Sitting or Lying of the celestial Lamb on the Table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any such Sitting or Lying upon the Table, as the Reason of Man would judge: but all Things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the Table, but by a spiritual Presence, by Grace, and not after any corporal Substance of his Flesh taken of the Virgin *Mary.*

De consecrat. dist. 2.

And indeed the same Canon doth plainly teach, that the Bread which is set on the Table is material Bread; and therefore it (the Canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the Ground in our Cogitation, to those Things which are set before us; as who should say, what other Things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true Substance) than Bread and Wine? but rather, saith the Canon, lifting up our Minds into Heaven, let us consider with Faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World, sitting or lying upon the Table. For a lifted up Faith, saith he, seeth him which sitteth on the right Hand of God the Father, after the true Manner of a Body set by Grace on the Lord's Table, and taking away the Sins of the World. For I think you mean not so, as tho' the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his Members spread upon the Table.

Another Place of the *Nicene* council alledged.

Smith. I bring another Place out of the Council of *Nice*: *None of the Apostles said, this is a Figure of the Body of Christ: None of the reverend Elders said, the unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar to be a Figure.*

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. This Canon is not in the Council of *Nice.* For I have read over this Council many Times.

Then came in another whom Mr. *Ridley*

Out of Dr. *Ridley's* Copy.

knew not, and ſaid, The univerſal Church both of the *Greeks* and *Latines*, of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, have agreed in the Council of *Florence* uniformly in the Doctrine of the Sacrament, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true and real Body.

The Council of *Florence* alledged.

Rid. I deny the *Greek* and the Eaſt Church to have agreed either in the Council at *Florence* or at any Time elſe with the Romiſh Church, in the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of Bread into the Body of Chriſt. For there was nothing in the Council of *Florence*, wherein the *Greeks* would agree with the *Romaniſts*; albeit hitherto I confeſs it was left for every Church to uſe, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened Bread.

Here cried out Dr. *Cole*, and ſaid, they agreed together concerning Tranſubſtantiation of Bread into the Body of Chriſt. Mr. *Ridley* ſaid that could not be.

One of the Scribes.

Here ſtarted up another unknown to Mr. *Ridley*, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning Tranſubſtantiation; the Council left that as a Matter not meet nor worthy to diſturb the Peace and Concord of the Church. To whom Mr. *Ridley* anſwered again, ſaying, that he ſaid the Truth.

Mr. *Pie* diſputeth againſt Biſhop *Ridley*.

Pie. What ſay you to that Council, where it is ſaid, that the Prieſt doth offer an unbloody Sacrifice of the Body of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay, it is well ſaid, if it be rightly underſtood.

Sacrifice called unbloody is nothing elſe but a Repreſentation of the bloody Sacrifice of Chriſt.

Pie. But he offereth an unbloody Sacrifice.

Rid. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain Manner, and in a Myſtery, and as a Repreſentation of that bloody Sacrifice, and he doth not lye which ſaith Chriſt to be offered.

Weſt. I with one Argument will throw down to the Ground your Opinion out of *Chryſoſtom*, *Hom.* 24. in 1. *ad Cor.* And I will teach, not only a Figure and a Sign, or Grace only, but the very ſame Body, which was here converſant on the Earth to be in the Euchariſt.

This Argument after the Diſpoſition and Terms, as it ſtandeth, is not formal.

We worſhip the ſelf ſame Body in the Euchariſt which the wiſe Men did worſhip in the Manger.

But that was his natural and real Body, not ſpiritual.

Ergo, The real Body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Again, the ſame *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *We have not here the Lord in the Manger, but on the Altar. Here a Woman holdeth him not in her Hands, but a Prieſt.*

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſs, the ſame true Lord and Saviour of the World, which the wiſe Men worſhipped in the Manger, howbeit we do it in a Myſtery, and in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that in ſpiritual Liberty, as ſaith St. *Auſt. l.* 3. *De Doctrina Chriſtiana:* not in carnal Servitude; that is, we do not worſhip ſervilely the Signs for the Things: For that ſhould be, as he alſo ſaith, a Part of a ſervile Infirmity. But we behold with the Eyes of Faith him preſent after Grace, and ſpiritually ſet upon the Table; and we worſhip him which ſitteth above, and is worſhipped of the Angels. For Chriſt is always aſſiſtant to his Myſteries, as the ſaid *Auguſtine* ſaith. And the Divine Majeſty, as *Cyprian* ſaith, doth never abſent itſelf from the divine Myſteries; but this Aſſiſtance and Preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſm it is wholly ſpiritual, and by Grace, and not by any corporal Subſtance of the Fleſh: even ſo it is here in the Lord's Supper, being rightly and according to the Word of God duly miniſtred.

Weſt. That which the Woman did hold in her Womb, the ſame Thing holdeth the Prieſt. Anno 1554.

Rid. I grant the Prieſt holdeth the ſame Thing but after another Manner. She did hold the natural Body; the Prieſt holdeth the Myſtery of the Body. The ſame Thing, but the Manner divers.

Weſt. Weſton repeateth again his Argument out of *Chryſoſtom* in *Engliſh.*

Rid. I ſay that the Author meant it ſpiritually.

Dr. *Weſton* here diſſolving the Diſputations, had theſe Words: Here you ſee the ſtubborn, the boaſting, the crafty, the unconſtant Mind of this Man. Here you ſee, this Day, that the Strength of the Truth is without Foil. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the Note; and he began, and they followed, *Verity hath the Victory, Verity hath the Victory.* Dr. *Weſton* bloweth up the Triumph.

The Diſputation had at Oxford, April 18, 1554. *between Mr.* Hugh Latimer, *Anſwerer; and Mr.* Smith *and others, Oppoſers.*

AFTER theſe Diſputations of Biſhop *Ridley* were ended, Mr. *Hugh Latimer* was next brought out to diſpute, upon *Wedneſday April* 18. Which Diſputation began at eight of the Clock, in ſuch Form as before: But it was moſt in *Engliſh.* For Mr. *Latimer* alledged, that he was out of Uſe with the *Latin*, and unfit for that Place.

There replied unto him Mr. *Smith* of *Oriel* College, Dr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Harpsfield*, and ſeveral others had Snatches at him, and gave him bitter Taunts. He eſcaped no Hiſſings and ſcornful Laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and deſired that he might not long tarry. He durſt not drink for fear of vomiting. The Diſputation ended before eleven of the Clock. Mr. *Latimer* was not ſuffered to read what he had, as he ſaid, painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the Prolocutor read Part thereof, and ſo proceeded unto the Diſputation. Mr. *Latimer* not permitted to read what he had painfully written.

The Preface of Dr. Weſton *unto the following Diſputation.*

Men and Brethren, we are come together this Day (by the Help of God) to vanquiſh the Strength of the Arguments, and diſperſed Opinions of Adverſaries, againſt the Truth of the real Preſence of the Lord's Body in the Sacrament. And therefore, you Father, if you have any Thing to anſwer, I do admoniſh that you anſwer in ſhort and few Words.

Latimer. I pray you good Maſter Prolocutor, do not exact that of me which is not in me, I have not theſe twenty Years much uſed the *Latin* Tongue. Mr. *Latimer* requireth to diſpute in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Weſt. Take your Eaſe, Father.

Lat. I thank you Sir, I am well; let me here proteſt my Faith, for I am not able to diſpute: and afterwards do your Pleaſure with me.

The Proteſtation of Mr. Hugh Latimer, *given up in Writing to Doctor* Weſton.

The Concluſions whereunto I muſt anſwer, are theſe:

1. The firſt is, That in the Sacrament of the Altar by the Virtue of God's Word pronounced

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nounced by the Prieſt, there is really preſent the natural Body of Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, under the Kinds of the Appearance of Bread and Wine; in like manner his Blood.

2. The ſecond is, That after Conſecration there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, nor any other Subſtance, but the Subſtance of God and Man.

3. The third is, That in the Maſs there is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, which is propitiable, as well for the Sins of the Quick, as of the Dead.

The Anſwer of Mr. *Latimer*, given up in Writing concerning the Queſtions aforeſaid.

Concerning the firſt Concluſions, me thinketh it is ſet forth with certain new found Terms that be obſcure, and do not ſound according to the Speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howſoever I underſtand it, this I do anſwer plainly, tho' not without Peril; I anſwer, I ſay, that to the right Celebration of the Lord's Supper, there is no other Preſence of Chriſt required, than a ſpiritual Preſence: and this Preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian Man, as a Preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal Life, if we perſevere. And this ſame Preſence, may be called moſt fitly a real Preſence, that is, a Preſence not feigned, but a true and a faithful Preſence. Which Thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome Sycophant or Scorner ſhould ſuppoſe me, with the Anabaptiſts, to make nothing elſe of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare Sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal Preſence, I for my Part take it but for a papiſtical Invention; therefore think it utterly to be jected.

The Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, how it is a real Preſence.

Anſwer to the ſecond Concluſion

Concerning the ſecond Concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay, that it hath no Stay or Ground in God's Word, but is a Thing invented and found out by Man; and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſaid, as the Mother and Nurſe of the other Errors. It were good for my Lords and Maſters of the Tranſubſtantiation, to take Heed leſt they conſpire with the *Neſtorians*, for I do not ſee how they can avoid it.

Anſwer to the third Concluſion

The third Concluſion, (as I do underſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtily to ſow Sedition againſt the Offering which Chriſt himſelf offered for us in his own proper Perſon, according to that pithy Place of *Paul*, *Heb.* 1. Where he ſaith, *That Chriſt his own ſelf, hath made Purgation of our Sins.* And afterward, *That he might*, ſaith he, *be a merciful and faithful Biſhop, concerning thoſe Things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our Sins.* So that the Expiation or Taking away of our Sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Chriſt was an offering Biſhop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelf: and therefore it is needleſs that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeak nothing of the wonderful Preſumption of Man, to dare to attempt this Thing without a manifeſt Vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to the Overthrowing and making fruitleſs (if not wholly, yet partly) of the Croſs of Chriſt; for truly it is no baſe or mean Thing to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthily a Man may ſay to my Lords and Maſters the Offerers, By what Authority do ye this? And who gave you this Authority? Where? When? A Man cannot (ſaith the Baptiſt) take any Thing except it be given him from above: Much leſs then may any Man preſume to uſurp any Honour, before he be thereto called. Again, If any Man

The taking away of Sins dependeth rather in the Perſon of the Offerer, than in the Thing offered, but that he that was the Offerer was offered himſelf.

ſin (ſaith St. *John*) we have (ſaith he) not a Maſter or Offerer at home, which can ſacrifice for us at Maſs, but we have (ſaith he) an Advocate Jeſus Chriſt, which once offered himſelf long ago; of which Offering the Efficacy and Effect is perdurable for ever, ſo that it is needleſs to have ſuch Offerers.

What meaneth *Paul*, when he ſaith, *They that ſerve at the Altar, are Partakers of the Altar?* and ſo addeth, *So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the Goſpel, ſhall live of the Goſpel.* Whereas he ſhould have ſaid, The Lord hath ordained, that they that ſacrifice at Maſs, ſhould live of their Sacrificing, that there might be a Living aſſigned to our Sacrificers now, as was before Chriſt's coming to the Jewiſh Prieſts. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be Preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing Prieſthood is changed by God's Ordinance into a preaching Prieſthood, and the ſacrificing Prieſthood ſhould ceaſe utterly, ſaying in as much as all Chriſtian Men are ſacrificing Prieſts.

1 *John* 2.

The ſacrificing Prieſthood changed into a preaching Prieſthood

The Supper of the Lord was inſtituted to provoke us to Thankſgiving for the Offering which the Lord himſelf did offer for us, much rather than that our Offerers ſhould do there as they do. *Feed* (ſaith *Peter*) *as much as ye may the Flock of Chriſt:* Nay rather let us ſacrifice as much as we may for the Flock of Chriſt. If ſo be the Matter be as now Men make it, I can never wonder enough, that *Peter* would or could forget this Office of ſacrificing, which at this Day is in ſuch a Price and Eſtimation, that to feed is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the Flock, how ſhalt thou be taken? Truly catholick enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, how will that be taken? at the leaſt, I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an Heretick.

The final Cauſe why the Lord's Supper was chiefly ordained.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

And whence, I pray you, come theſe papiſtical Judgments? Except perchance they think a Man feedeth the Flock in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned Paſtors? For no Man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoon may he learn to ſacrifice and Maſs it.

Prepoſterous judgment of Papiſts.

Thus lo, I have taken the more Pains to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in Conſideration of my Debility thereunto: that all Men may know, how that I have ſo done not without great Pains, having not any Man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to this Age and Weakneſs that I am of. I have ſpoken in my Time before two Kings more than once, two or three Hours together, without Interruption: But now, that I may ſpeak the Truth (by your Leave) I could not be ſuffered to declare my Mind before you, no, not by the Space of a Quarter of an Hour, without Snatches, Revilings, Checks, Rebukes, Taunts, ſuch as I have not felt the like, in ſuch an Audience, all my Life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous Offence that I have given. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the four Marrow Bones of the Maſs. Which Kind of ſpeaking I never read to be a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

Mr *Latimer* found more Audience with Kings and Princes, than with ruſtical Divines.

I could not be allowed to ſhew what I meant by my Metaphor: But Sir, now by your Favour I will tell your Maſterſhip what I mean.

The firſt is the Popiſh Conſecration, which hath been call a God's Body-making.

The ſecond is Tranſubſtantiation.

The third is maſſal Oblation.

The fourth Adoration.

The four Marrow Bones of the Maſs expounded by Mr. *Latimer*.

Theſe

Conſecration, Tranſubſtantiation, Oblation, Adoration.

Theſe chief and principal Portions, Parts and Points belonging or incident to the Maſs, and moſt eſteemed and had in Price in the ſame, I call the Marow-bones of the Maſs; which indeed you, by Force, Might, and Violence intrude in Sound of Words in ſome of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the ſame: But elſe indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly perſuaded, although in Diſputation I now could nothing do to perſuade the ſame to others, being both unapt to ſtudy, and alſo to make a Shew of my former Study in ſuch Readineſs as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame.

I have heard much Talk of Mr. Doctor *Weſton* to and fro in my Time: But I never knew your Perſon to my Knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queen's Majeſty's Commiſſioner. I pray God ſend you ſo right Judgment, as I perceive you have a great Wit, great Learning, with many other Qualities. God give you Grace ever well to uſe them, and ever to have in Remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low Things on the Earth; and that there is no Council againſt the Lord; and alſo that this World hath been, and yet is a tottering World. And yet again, that tho' we muſt obey the Princes, yet that hath this Limitation, namely, in the Lord. For who ſo doth obey them againſt the Lord, they be moſt pernicious to them, and the greateſt Adverſaries that they have: For they ſo procure God's Vengeance upon them, if God be only the Ruler of Things.

Obedience to Princes hath its Limitation.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in Mind, the Truth being taken from them, that they think Gain to be Godlineſs; great learned Men, and yet Men of no Learning, but of railing, and raging about Queſtions and Strife of Words. I call them Men of no Learning, becauſe they know not Chriſt, how much elſe ſoever they know. And on this Sort we are wont to call great learned Clerks, being ignorant of Chriſt, unlearned Men; for it is nothing but plain Ignorance, to know any Thing without Chriſt: Whereas who ſo knoweth Chriſt, the ſame hath Knowledge enough, although in other Knowledge he be to ſeek. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* confeſſeth of himſelf to the *Corinthians*, that *he did know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt crucified.* Many Men babble many Things of Chriſt which yet know not Chriſt; but pretending Chriſt, do craftily colour and darken his Glory. Depart from ſuch Men, ſaith the Apoſtle St. *Paul* to *Timothy*.

Knowledge without Chriſt is mere Ignorance.

Many there be which under Pretence of Chriſt darken the Glory of Chriſt.

It is not out of the Way to remember what St. *Auguſtine* ſaith. The Place where, I now now well remember not, except it be againſt the Epiſtles of *Petitian*; *Whoſoever*, ſaith he, *teacheth any Thing neceſſarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Teſtament, the ſame is accurſed.* Oh! beware of this Curſe if you be wiſe. I am much deceived if *Baſilius* have not ſuch like Words; *Whoſoever*, ſaith he, *is beſides the holy Scripture, if the ſame be taught as neceſſarily to be believed, that is Sin.* Oh therefore take Heed of this Sin!

There be ſome that ſpeak many falſe Things more probable, and more like to the Truth, than the Truth itſelf. Therefore *Paul* giveth a Watch-word; *Let no Man*, ſaith he, *deceive you with Probability and Perſuaſions of Words.* But what mean you, ſaith one, by this Talk ſo far from the Matter? Well, I hope, good Maſters, you will ſuffer an old Man a little to play the Child, and to ſpeak one Thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the moſt holy Communion into a private Action; and you deny to the Laity the Lord's Cup, contrary to Chriſt's Commandment: And you do blemiſh the Annunciation of the Lord's Death till he come: For you have changed the Common Prayer, called the Divine Service, with the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, from the vulgar and known Language, into a ſtrange Tongue, contrary to the Will of the Lord revealed in his Word. God open the Door of your Heart, to ſee the Things you ſhould ſee herein. I would as fain obey my Sovereign as any in this Realm: But in theſe Things I can never do it with an upright Conſcience. God be merciful unto us. *Amen.*

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The Abſurdities of the Papiſts opened in abaſing the Lord's Supper.

Weſt. Then refuſe you to diſpute? Will you here then ſubſcribe?

Lat. No, good Maſter, I pray be good to an old Man. You may, if it pleaſe God, be once old, as I am: You may come to this Age, and to this Debility.

But God ſaw it good that Dr. *Weſton* never came to this Age.

Weſt. Ye ſaid upon Saturday laſt, that ye could not find the Maſs, nor the Marrow-bones thereof in your Book: But we will find a Maſs in that Book.

Lat. No, good Mr. Doctor, ye cannot.

Weſt. What find you then there?

Lat. Forſooth a Communion I find there.

Weſt. Which Communion, * the firſt or the laſt?

* By this firſt and ſecond Communion, he meaneth the two Books of publick Order ſet forth in King *Edward's* Days, the one in the Beginning, the other in the latter End of his Reign.

Lat. I find no great Diverſity in them; they are one Supper of the Lord: But I like the laſt very well.

Weſt. The firſt was naught belike.

Lat. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Weſt. Then Cake Bread and Loaf Bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: For they had done the Supper before, and therefore the Scripture ſaith, After they had ſupped. For ye know that St. *Paul* findeth Fault with the *Corinthians*, for that ſome of them were drunken at this Suppper; and ye know no Man can be drunken at your Communion.

Dr. *Weſton* cavilleth againſt the Name of the Lord's Supper.

Lat. The Firſt were called [*Cæna Judaica*] The *Jewiſh* Supper, when they did eat the Paſchal Lamb together; the other was called [*Cæna Dominica*] The Lord's Supper.

Weſt. That is falſe; for *Chryſoſtom* denieth that. And St. *Ambroſe* in Cap. 10. *Prioris ad Corinthios*, ſaith, that *The Myſtery of the Sacrament, given as they were at Supper, is not the Supper of the Lord.*

And *Gregory Nazianzene* ſaith the ſame, *Again he kept the holy Feaſt of Paſſover with his Diſciples in the dining Chamber after the Supper, and one Day before his Paſſion. But we keep it both in the Churches and Houſes of Prayer, both before the Supper, and alſo after the Reſurrection.*

And that firſt Supper was called ἀγάπη: Can you tell what that is?

So were the Feaſts called wont to be given to the Poor.

Lat. I underſtand no *Greek*. Yet I think it meaneth Charity.

Weſt. Will you have all Things done that Chriſt did then? Why, then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the Morrow? And where find you, I pray you, that a Woman ſhould receive the Sacrament?

Lat. Will you give me leave to turn my Book? I find it in the 11 Chapter to the *Corinthians*. I trow theſe be his Words, *Probet autem ſeipſum homo*, &c.

Weſton oppoſed in his Grammar.

I pray you, good Maſter, what Gender is *Homo*.

Weſt.

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West. Marry the common Gender.

Cole. It is in the *Greek*, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Harps. It is ἄνηρ, that is, *Vir.*

Lat. It is in my Book of *Erasmus*'s Translation, *Probet seipsum homo.*

Feck. It is *Probet seipsum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the Masculine Gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the Woman touched Christ, he said, *Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit*; that is, *Who touched me? I know that some Man touched me.*

West. I will be at Host with you anon. When Christ was at his Supper, none were with him but his Apostles only.

Ergo, He meant no Woman, if you will have his Institution kept.

Lat. In the twelve Apostles was represented the whole Church, in which you will grant both Men and Women to be.

West. So through the whole heretical translated Bible ye never make Mention of Priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to Death. Where find you then that a Priest or Minister (a Minstrel I may call him well enough) should do it of Necessity?

Lat. A Minister is a more fit Name for that Office; for the Name of a Priest importeth a Sacrifice.

West. Well, remember that ye cannot find that a Woman may receive by Scripture. Mr. Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Because I perceive that this Charge is laid upon my Neck to dispute with you: To the End that the same may go forward after a right Manner and Order, I will propose three Questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this Question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in Question: But such is the Condition of the Church, that it is always vexed of the wicked Sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's Body be really in the Sacrament?

Mr. *Latimer* modestly maketh himself unable to dispute.

Lat. I trust I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no Man shall exact that Thing of me which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful Audience should be deceived of their Expectation for my Sake. I have given up my Mind in Writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registred among the Acts.

Lat. Disputation requireth a good Memory; my Memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better for the Prison.

West. How long have ye been in Prison?

Lat. This three Quarters of this Year.

West. And I was in Prison six Years.

Lat. The more Pity, Sir.

West. How long have you been of this Opinion.

Lat. It is not long, Sir, that I have been of this Opinion.

West. The Time hath been when you said Mass full devoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God Mercy heartily for it.

Then they hiss'd and clap'd their Hands at him.

West. Where learned you this new Fanglenes.

Lat. I have long sought for the Truth in this Matter of the Sacrament, and have not been of this Mind past seven Years: And my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book hath especially confirmed my Judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any Man in this Matter.

Mr. *Latimer* confirmed by Dr. *Cranmer*'s Book.

Tresh. There are in that Book six hundred Errors.

West. You were once a *Lutheran.*

Lat. No, I was a Papist: For I never could perceive how *Luther* could defend his Opinion without Transubstantiation. The *Tygurines* once did write a Book against *Luther*, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them Answer.

The Zeal of Mr. *Latimer* sometimes in Popery against the *Tygurines.*

West. Luther in his Book, *De privata missa*, said, That the Devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the Mass was not good; Fol. 14. *Contigit me*, &c. Whereof it may appear, that *Luther* said Mass, and the Devil dissuaded him from it.

In that Book the Devil doth not dissuade him so much from saying Mass, as he laboureth to bring him to Desparation for Mass: Such Temptations many Times happen to good Men.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend *Luther*'s Sayings or Doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for Disputations. I pray you read mine Answer, wherein I have declared my Faith.

West. Do you believe this as you have written?

Lat. Yea, Sir.

West. Then have you no Faith.

Lat. Then would I be sorry, Sir.

Tresh. It is written, *Except ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye shall have no Life in you.* Which when the *Capernaites*, and many of Christ's Disciples heard, they said, This is a hard Saying, *&c.* Now that the Truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, Whether Christ speaking these Words, did mean of his Flesh to be eaten with the Mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?

John 6. Here Dr. *Tresham* began to dispute in *Latin.*

Lat. I answer (as *Augustine* understandeth) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his Flesh.

Tresh. Of what Flesh meant Christ, his true Flesh, or no?

Lat. Of his true Flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the Supper by Faith, and not corporally.

Tresh. Of what Flesh mean the *Capernaites?*

Lat. Of his true Flesh also; but to be eaten with the Mouth.

Tresh. They, as ye confess, did mean his true Flesh to be eaten with the Mouth. And Christ also (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his Flesh with the Mouth.

Dr. *Tresham*'s Argument without Form or Mood, concluding affirmatively in the second Figure.

Ergo, They both did understand it of the eating of one Thing, which is done by the Mouth of the Body.

Lat. I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily Mouth; but of the Mouth of the Spirit, Mind, and Heart.

Tresh. I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily Mouth. For whereas Custom is a right good Mistress and Interpreter of Things, and whereas the Acts put in Practice by Christ, do certainly declare those Things which he first spake: Christ's Deeds in his Supper, where he gave his Body to be taken with the Mouth, together with the Custom which hath been ever since that Time of that eating which is done with the Mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his Words, here cited of me out of the Sixth of *John*, of the eating with the Mouth.

Dr. *Tresham* flieth to Custom.

Lat. He gave not his Body to be received with the Mouth, but he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be received with the Mouth: He gave the Sacrament to the Mouth, his Body to the Mind.

The Sacrament given to the Mouth, the Body to Faith.

Tresh. But my Reason doth conclude, That Christ spake concerning his Flesh to be received with the corporal Mouth; for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a Deceiver, and had been offensive to the *Capernaites* and his Disci-

ples, if he had not meant in this Point as they thought he meant: For if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an eaſy Matter for him to have ſaid, * You ſhall not eat my Fleſh with your Mouth, but the Sacrament of my Fleſh; that is to ſay, Ye ſhall receive with your Mouth not the Thing itſelf, but the Figure of the Thing, and thus he might have ſatisfied them: But ſo he ſaid not, but continued in the Truth of his Words, as he was wont. Therefore Chriſt meant the ſelf ſame Thing that the *Capernaites* did, I mean concerning the Thing itſelf to be received with the Mouth, *videlicet*, that his true Fleſh is truly to be eaten with the Mouth. Moreover, foraſmuch as you do expound for [*Corpus Chriſti*] the Body of Chriſt [*Sacramentum corporis Chriſti*] the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, and hereby do ſuppoſe that we obtain but a ſpiritual Union, or Union of the Mind between us and Chriſt, plain it is, that you are deceived in this Thing, and do err from the Mind of the Fathers: For they affirm by plain and expreſs Words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And theſe be the Words of *Hilary*, *Therefore if Chriſt did truly take the Fleſh of our Body upon him, and the ſame Man be Chriſt indeed which was born of* Mary; *then we alſo do receive under a Myſtery the Fleſh of his Body indeed, and thereby ſhall become one, becauſe the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the Unity of Will affirmed, when a natural Propriety by the Sacrament is a perfect Sacrament of Unity?*

* And what doth Chriſt elſe mean by theſe Words where he ſaith, *My Words be Spirit and Life, the Fleſh profiteth nothing?*

Mr. *Latimer* charged to preach the contrary Doctrine before King *Henry* VIII. at *Greenwich.*

Thus far hath *Hilary*. Lo here you ſee how manifeſtly theſe Words confound your Aſſertion. To be ſhort, I myſelf have heard you preaching at *Greenwich* before King *Henry* the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, That no Chriſtian Man ought to doubt of the true and real Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, foraſmuch as he had the Word of Scripture on his Side, [*videlicet*,] *Hoc eſt Corpus meum, This is my Body*: Whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the ſame Truth: The Word of Scripture hath the ſelf ſame Thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this preſent that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before when you taught it.

Lat. Will you give me leave to ſpeak?

Treſh. Speak *Latin*, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot ſpeak *Latin* ſo long and ſo largely. Mr. Prolocutor hath given me leave to ſpeak *Engliſh*. And as for the Words of *Hilary*, I think they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhall anſwer the Doctors had not need to be in my Caſe, but ſhould have them in a Readineſs, and know their Purpoſe. *Melanctbon* ſaith, If the Doctors had foreſeen that they ſhould have been ſo taken in this Controverſy, they would have written more plainly.

Melanctbon's Judgment of the old Doctors.

Smith. I will reduce the Words of *Hilary* into the Form of a Syllogiſm.

Such as is the Unity of our Fleſh with Chriſt's Fleſh, ſuch (yea greater) is the Unity of Chriſt with the Father.

But the Unity of Chriſt's Fleſh with ours is true and ſubſtantial.

Ergo, The Unity of Chriſt with the Father is true and ſubſtantial.

Lat. I underſtand you not.

Dr. *Seaton* reaſoneth againſt Mr. *Latimer* out of *Cyprian.*

Seaton. I know your Learning well enough and how ſubtle ye be: I will uſe a few Words with you, and that out of *Cyprian*, *De cœna Domini*. The Old Teſtament doth forbid the drinking of Blood; The New Teſtament doth command the drinking and taſting of Blood: But where doth it command the drinking of Blood? Anno 1554.

Lat. In theſe Words, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*; that is, *Drink ye all of this.*

Seat. Then we taſte true Blood.

Lat. We do taſte true Blood, but ſpiritually; and this is enough.

Seat. Nay, the Old and New Teſtament in this do * differ; for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drink Blood.

* By that Reaſon the New and Old Teſtament ſhould not differ, but ſhould be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in natural or moral Precepts.

Lat. It is true as touching the Matter, but not as touching the Manner of the Thing.

Seat. Then there is no Difference between the drinking of Blood in the New Teſtament, and that of the Old; for they alſo drank ſpiritually.

Lat. And we drink ſpiritually alſo, but a more precious Blood.

Weſt. Auguſtine upon the 45th Pſalm, ſaith, *Drink boldly the Blood which ye have poured out.*

Ergo, It is Blood.

Lat. I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very Blood of Chriſt indeed, but ſpiritually: For the ſame St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Believe, and thou haſt eaten.*

Weſt. Nay, to believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not ſay, I pledge you, when I ſay, I believe in God.

Lat. Is not [*Manducare*] To eat, in your Learning put for [*Credere*] To believe?

Weſt. I remember my Lord Chancellor demanded of Mr. *Hooper* theſe Queſtions, Whether [* *Edere*] *To eat*, where [*Credere*] *To believe*, and [*Altare*] *an Altar*, were Chriſt in all the Scripture, *&c.* And he anſwered, Yea.

* *Edere* in ſome Places is taken for *Credere*; but that in all Places it is ſo taken, it followeth not.

Then ſaid my Lord Chancellor, Why then [† *Habemus altare de quo non licet edere*] that is, We have an Altar, of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to ſay, as [*Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere*] We have a Chriſt, in whom we may not believe.

† This Place of the *Hebrews* alludeth to the old Sacrifice of the *Jews*, who, in the Feaſt of Propitiation the tenth Day, uſed to carry the Fleſh of the Sacrifice out of the Tents to be burned on an Altar without, becauſe none of them which ſerved in the Tabercle ſhould eat thereof: only the Blood was carried by the High Prieſt into the Holy Place.

Treſh. Believe, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpiritual eating.

Lat. It is true, I do allow your Saying; I take it ſo alſo.

Weſt. We are commanded to drink Blood in the new Law.

Ergo, It is very Blood.

Lat. We drink Blood ſo as appertaineth to us to drink to our Comfort, in ſacramental Wine. We drink Blood ſacramentally: He gave us his Blood to drink ſpiritually, he went about to ſhew, that as certainly as we drink Wine, ſo certainly we drink his Blood ſpiritually.

Weſt. Do not you ſeem to be a Papiſt, which do bring in new Words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that [*Sacramentaliter*] *Sacramentally*, in God's Book?

Lat. It is neceſſarily gathered upon Scripture.

Weſt. The Old Teſtament doth forbid the taſting of Blood, but the New doth command it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the Thing, but as touching the Manner thereof.

Weſt. Hear ye People, this is the Argument:

That which was forbidden in the Old Teſtament, is commanded in the New.

To drink Blood was forbidden in the Old Teſtament, and commanded in the New.

This Argument becauſe the Major thereof is not univerſal, is not formal, and may well be retorted againſt *Weſton* thus.

No natural or moral Thing, forbidden materially in the Old Teſtament, is commanded in the New.

Weſton's Argument retorted againſt himſelf.

Anno 1554.

To drink Man's natural Blood is forbidden materially in the Old Teſtament.

Ergo, To drink Man's natural Blood materially is not commanded in the New.

Lat. It is commanded ſpiritually to be drank, I grant it is Blood drank in the New Teſtament, but we receive it ſpiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden ſpiritually in the Old Law.

Lat. The Subſtance of Blood is drank, but not in one Manner.

Pie. It doth not require the ſame Manner of drinking.

Lat. It is the ſame Thing, not the ſame Manner. I have no more to ſay.

Weſt. Here *Weſton* cited the Place of *Chryſoſtom*, of *Judas*'s Treaſon: *O the Madneſs of* Judas! *He made Bargain with the* Jews *for thirty Pence to ſell Chriſt, and Chriſt offered him his Blood which he ſold.* *Chryſoſtom.*

Lat. I grant he offered to *Judas* his Blood which he ſold, but in a Sacrament.

Weſt. Becauſe ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee what worſhipful Men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your Mind ſhall diſpute with you. Mr. *Cartwright*, I pray you diſpute.

Dr. *Cartwright* urged to diſpute.

Cart. Reverend Father, becauſe it is given me in Commandment to diſpute with you, I will do it gladly. But firſt underſtand e'er we go any further, that I was in the ſame Error that you are in: But I am ſorry for it, and do confeſs myſelf to have erred, I acknowledge mine Offence, and I wiſh and deſire God that you may alſo repent with me.

Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath cauſed Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is *Pœna Legis*, *The pain of the Law*, which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; which hindereth many to confeſs God. And this is a great Argument, there are few here can diſſolve it.

Cart. That is not my Caſe, but I will make you this ſhort Argument, by which I was converted from mine Errors.

If the true Body of Chriſt be not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apoſtles Time.

But Chriſt would not ſuffer his Church to err:

Ergo, It is the true Body of Chriſt.

No Mention made of any eating, but ſpiritually, in the Church, for 700 Years.

Lat. The Popiſh Church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the Space of ſix or ſeven hundred Years, there was no Mention made of any eating but ſpiritually: For, before theſe five hundred Years, the Church did ever confeſs a ſpiritual Manducation. But the *Romiſh* Church begat the Error of Tranſubſtantiation. My Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book handleth that very well, and by him I could anſwer you if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſs the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament: And St. *Auguſtine* alſo upon the 99 Pſalm, upon this Place, *Worſhip his Footſtool*, &c. granteth that it is to be worſhipped.

Lat. We do worſhip Chriſt in the Heavens, and we do worſhip him in the Sacrament: But the maſſing Worſhip is not to be uſed.

Smith. Do you think that *Cyril* was of the antient Church?

Lat. I do think ſo.

Cyril in Joan. l. 10. c. 13.

Smith. He ſaith, That Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally: Theſe be *Cyril*'s Words of the myſtical Benediction.

Lat. That [*corporally*] hath another Underſtanding than you do groſly take it.

Cyril ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in us, but he ſaith not that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in the Bread. Which Dwelling of Chriſt in us, is as our Dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not local or corporal, but ſpiritual and heavenly. Corporally therefore is to be taken here in the ſame Senſe as St. *Paul* ſaith the Fullneſs of Divinity to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his Virtue and Power, *&c.* And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in us alſo.

Smith. Here *Smith* repeateth theſe Words of *Cyril*, *By the communicating of the Body of Chriſt, Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally.*

Lat. The Solution of this is in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book.

Smith. Cyril was no Papiſt and yet theſe be his Words, *Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally:* But you ſay he dwelleth in us ſpiritually.

Lat. I ſay both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally and ſpiritually, according to his Meaning: Spiritually by Faith, and corporally by taking our Fleſh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book.

Weſt. Becauſe your Learning is let out to farm, and ſhut up in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book, I will recite unto you a Place of St. *Ambroſe*, *De apparatione ad miſſam*, where he ſaith, *We ſee the chief Prieſt coming unto us, and offering Blood*, &c.

Likewiſe both *Auguſtine* in the 38th Pſalm, and *Chryſoſtom* concerning the incomprehenſible Nature of God, Tom. 3. ſay, *non ſolum homines*, &c.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge mine Ignorance, and theſe Teſtimonies are more than I can bear away.

Weſt. Then you muſt leave ſome behind you for lack of Carriage.

Chryſoſtom full of figurative Speeches and emphatical Locutions.

Lat. But of *Chryſoſtom*, he hath many figurative Speeches, and emphatical Locutions in many Places; as in that which you have now recited: But he ſaith not, For the Quick and the Dead; he taketh the Celebration for the Sacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall hear *Chryſoſtom* again, upon the Ninth Chapter of the *Acts*, *Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis*, &c. He doth not call it a Cup of Wine.

Lat. Ye have mine Anſwer there with you in a Paper; and yet he calleth it not, a propitiatory Sacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall hear it to be ſo: And I bring another Place of *Chryſoſtom* out of the ſame Treatiſe, *Non temere ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum*, &c.

Lat. He is too precious a Thing for us to offer; he offereth himſelf.

Weſt. Here in another Place of *Chryſoſtom* to the People of *Antioch*, and alſo to the *Philippians*, he ſaith, *There ſhould be a Memory and Sacrifice for the Dead.* Hom. 69.

Lat. I do ſay, that the holy Communion beareth the Name of a Sacrifice, becauſe it is a Sacrifice memorative.

Weſt. How ſay you to the Sacrifice of the Dead?

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, and it booteth not.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his Enchiridion, ſaith, *We muſt not deny that the Souls of the Dead are relieved by the Devotion of their Friends which are living, when the Sacrifice of the Mediator is* *Auguſt.* Enchirid. c. 110.

offered

offered for them. Where he proveth the Verity of Chriſt's Body, and praying for the Dead. And it is ſaid, that the ſame *Auguſtine* ſaid Maſs for his Mother.

Auguſtine falſly belied to ſay Maſs for his Mother.

Lat. But that Maſs was not like yours, which Thing doth manifeſtly appear in his Writings, which are againſt it in every Place. And *Auguſtine* is a reaſonable Man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his Proof, and agreeth with God's Word.

Weſt. In the ſame Place he proveth a propitiatory Sacrifice, and that upon an Altar, and no Oyſter Board.

The blaſphemous Mouth of Dr. *Weſton* calling the Lord's Table an Oyſter Board.

Lat. It is the Lord's Table, and no Oyſter Board. It may be called an Altar, and ſo the Doctors call it in many Places: But there is no propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Chriſt. The Doctors might be deceived in ſome Points, tho' not in all Things, I believe them when they ſay well.

Cole. Is is not a Shame for an old Man to lie? You ſay, you are of the old Fathers Faith where they ſay well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their Faith when they ſay well, I refer myſelf to my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of *Chryſoſtom*'s Faith, nor of St. *Auguſtine*'s Faith.

Lat. I have ſaid, when they ſay well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their Faith; and further *Auguſtine* requireth not to be believed.

Weſt. Origen, Hom. 13. upon *Leviticus.*

Lat. I have but one Word to ſay, The ſacramental Bread is called a Propitiation, becauſe it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your Vocation?

Weſton. My Vocation is at this Time to diſpute; otherwiſe I am a Prieſt, and my Vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where have you that Authority given you to offer?

Facere for *Sacrificare* with Dr. *Weſton.*

Weſt. Hoc facite, Do this; for *Facite* in that Place is taken for *Offerte*, that is, Offer you.

Lat. Is *Facere* nothing but *Sacrificare*, to ſacrifice? Why, then no Man muſt receive the Sacrament but Prieſts only: For there may none other offer but Prieſts.

Ergo, There may none receive but Prieſts.

Weſt. Your Argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer himſelf at his Supper?

If Chriſt offered himſelf at the Supper, and the next Day upon the Croſs, then was Chriſt twice Offered.

Pie. Yea, he offered himſelf for the whole World.

Lat. Then if this Word [*Facite*] Do ye, ſignify [*Sacrificate*] Sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I ſaid, that none but Prieſts only ought to receive the Sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to ſacrifice: And where find you that I pray you?

Weſt. Forty Year agon whither could you have gone to have found your Doctrine?

Lat. The more Cauſe we have to thank God, that hath now ſent the Light into the World.

Weſton's railing.

Weſt. The Light? Nay light and lewd Preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed ſo often your Communions and Altars, and all for this one End, to ſpoil and rob the Church.

Lat. Theſe Things pertain nothing to me, I muſt not anſwer other Mens Deeds, but only for mine own.

Weſt. Well, Mr. *Latimer*, this is our Intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to your ſelf, and remember, that without *Noah*'s Ark there is no Health. Remember what they have been, that were the Beginners of your Doctrine: None but a few flying Apoſtates, running out of *Germany* for Fear of the Faggot. Remember what they have been which have ſet forth the ſame in this Realm: A Sort of Flingbrains and light Heads, which were never conſtant in any one Thing, as it was to be ſeen in the turning of the Table, where like a Sort of Apes, they could not tell which Way to turn their Tails, looking one Day Weſt, and another Day Eaſt; one that Way, and another this Way. They will be like (they ſay) to the Apoſtles, they will have no Churches; a Hovel is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no Reverence. They get them a Tankard, and one ſaith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more Joy of thee, ſaith another. And in them was it true that *Hilary* ſaith, *We make every Year and every Month a Faith.* A runnagate *Scot* did take away the Adoration or worſhipping of Chriſt in the Sacrament, by whoſe Procurement that Hereſy was put into the laſt Communion Book; ſo much prevailed that one Man's Authority at that Time. You never agreed with the *Tygurians* or *Germans*, or with the Church, or with yourſelf. Your Stubbornneſs cometh of a vain Glory, which is to no Purpoſe; for it will do you no good when a Faggot is in your Beard. And we ſee all, by your own Confeſſion, how little Cauſe you have to be ſtubborn, for your Learning is in Feoffers hold. The Queen's Grace is merciful, if ye will turn.

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Dr. *Weſton*'s Apes have Tails.

Who be theſe, or where be they Mr. Oblocutor, that will be like the Apoſtles, that will have no Churches? that be Runagates out of *Germany?* that get them Tankards? that make monthly Faiths? that worſhip not Chriſt in all his Sacraments? Speak Truth Man and ſhame the Devil.

Lat. You ſhall have no Hope in me to turn; I pray for the Queen daily, even from the Bottom of my Heart, that ſhe may turn from this Religion.

Weſt. Here you all ſee the Weakneſs of Hereſy againſt the Truth: He denieth all Truth, and all the old Fathers,

Here all good Readers may ſee how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth; but whether he hath the Victory or no, that I ſuppoſe they have yet neither heard nor ſeen. And grant that he had the Victory, yet what great Marvel was it, diſputing as he did, *Non ſine ſuo Theſeo*, that is, not without his tipling Cup ſtanding at his Elbow all the Time of his Diſputation; not without a privy Noting and Smiling of them that beheld the Matter; but eſpecially at that Time, when Dr. *Ridley* diſputing with one of the Opponents, the ſaid Prolocutor took the Cup, and holding it in his Hand, ſaid to the Opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis.* In which Words, as he moved the Beholders thereof to Laughter, ſo I thought it proper to mention here, to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious Wearineſs in reading the Story thereof.

Urge hoc, quoth *Weſton* with his Beer Pot.

And thus haſt thou (loving Reader) the whole Action and Stage of this Diſputation ſhewed forth unto thee againſt theſe three worthy Confeſſors and Martyrs of the Lord; wherein thou may'ſt behold the diſordered Uſage of the Univerſity Men, the unmannerly Manner of the School, the rude Tumult of the Multitude, the Fierceneſs and Interruption of the Doctors, the full Pith and Ground of all their Arguments the Cenſures of the Judges, the railing Language of the Oblocutor, with his Blaſt of Triumph in the latter End, being both the Actor, the Moderator, and alſo Judge himſelf. And what Marvel then, if the Courage of this victorious Conqueror, having the Law in his own Hands,

Anno 1554. to do and say what he pleased, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true Word, nor ever made a true Conclusion, almost in all that Disputation.

It furthermore followed, after Disputation of these three Days being ended, that Mr. *Harps-*
April 19. *field*, the next Day after, which was *April* 19. should dispute for his Form, to be made Doctor. To which Disputation the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought forth, and permitted among the rest to utter an Argument or two in Defence of his Cause: as in Sequel hereof may appear.

The Disputation of Mr. Harpsfield, *Batchelor of Divinity, answering for his Form to be made Doctor.*

Mr. Harpsfield.

The Judgment of Mr. *Harpsfield* for the best Way to understand the Scriptures. If Mr. *Harpsfield* had willed us to submit our Senses to the Holy Ghost, he had said much better.

I Am not ignorant what a weighty Matter it is to intreat of the whole Order and Trade of the Scriptures: And most hard it is too, in the great Contention of Religion, to shew the ready Way whereby the Scriptures may best be understood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true Understanding of them. What other Thing is there then? Verily this is the ready Way, not to follow our own Heads and Senses, but to give over our Judgment unto the Holy Catholick Church, who hath had of old Years the Truth, and always delivered the same to their Posterity: but if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of Places should bring the true Understanding, then divers Hereticks might prevail even against whole general Councils. The * *Jews* did greatly brag of the Knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers Places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what Fruit doth thereby follow; as, *Search the Scriptures, for they do bear Witness of me*, &c. *The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turn Souls.* And that Saying of St. *Paul*, *All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a Man may be instructed to all good Works.* Howbeit doth the Law of the *Jews* convert their Souls? Are they by reading instructed to every good Work? The Letter of the *Old Testament* is the same that we have.

* No, but those *Jews*, sticking so much to the old Custom and Face of their Church, and not seeking for Knowledge by Ignorance of the Scriptures were deceived and so be you.

The Hereticks also have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be Catholicks. But they are served as *Tantalus* that the Poets speak of, who in the Plenty of Things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with Hunger and Thirst. The swifter that Men do seek the Scriptures without the Catholick Church, the deeper they fall, and find Hell for their Labour. St. *Cyprian* never swerving from the Catholick Church, saith, *He that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his Mother, shall not have God to his Father.* Therefore it is true Divinity to be wise with the Church, where Christ saith, *Unless ye eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, ye have no Life in you.*

If he had meant of only eating Bread and drinking Wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the *Capernaites*, neither would they have forsaken him. The Flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the *Capernaites* did imagine Christ to be given in such Sort as he lived. But Christ spake high Things: not that they should have him as Flesh in the Market, but to consider his Presence with the Spirit under the Forms whereby it is given. As there is an Alteration of Bodies by Courses and Times of Ages, so there is no less † Variety in eating of Bodies.

** Under the Forms, that is, under the Properties of Bread and Wine, and so all this is true.

These Things which I have recited briefly, Mr. *Harpsfield* did set out with many more Words; and hereupon Dr. *Weston* disputed against him.

† In the material Eating of Man's Body there is no Variety: For to eat Man's Flesh either under Accidents, or not Accidents, both is against the Scripture and against Nature.

West. Christ's real Body is not in the Sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Harps. I deny the Antecedent.

West. John 16. *I speak the Truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come*, &c.

Upon this I will make this Argument.

Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the World:

Ergo, Christ is verily gone.

Harps. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

This Answer doth not satisfy the Argument: For the Conclusion speaketh of a bodily Absence, the Answer speaking of a spiritual Remaining.

West. St. *Augustine* saith, that these Words, *I will be with you even to the End of the World*, are accomplished, [*Secundum Majestatem*] According to his Majesty: But *Secundum præsentiam carnis non est hic*] By the Presence of the Flesh he is not here. The Church hath him not in Flesh, but by Belief.

Harps. We must diligently weigh that there are two Natures in Christ: the divine Nature, and human Nature. The divine Nature is of such Sort that it cannot choose but be in all Places. The human Nature is not such, that of Force it must be in all Places, although it be in divers after a divers Manner. So where the Doctors do intreat of his Presence by Majesty, they do commend the Majesty of the divine Nature, not to hinder us of the * natural Presence here in the Sacrament.

* If the natural Presence is here, then is it false that St. *Augustine* saith, By the Presence of his Flesh he is not here.

West. He saith further, *Ye shall not have me always with you*, is to be understood in the Flesh.

Harps. The Presence of the Flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in Conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such Sort as a Man may give him † any Thing: after that Sort he is not present.

†And how can we then give Honour to him, to whom we can shew no Charity, nor give any thing else unto? What manner soever ye give to the Body, if the substantial Body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it must needs be false that St. *Augustine* saith, He is

West. But what say you to this of *Augustine*, *He is not here.*

Harps. I do answer out of St. *Augustine* upon *John*, *Tractat.* 25. upon these Words, *I go to the Father, ye shall not see me*; that is, *Such as I am now.* Therefore I do deny the Manner of his Presence.

West. I will overthrow St. *Augustine*, with St. *Augustine*; who saith this also, *How may a Man hold Christ? Send thy Faith, and thou holdest him.*

So he sheweth, that by sending our Faith, we do hold Christ.

Harps. Indeed no Man holdeth Christ unless he believe in him; but it is another Thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the Sacrament.

There St. *Augustine* speaketh of holding him by Faith, as he is favourable unto us.

West. Nay, he speaketh there how the Fathers had him in the Flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the Flesh, as they had him long Time, saying, *Your Fathers did hold Christ present in the Flesh: Do you hold him in your Heart:* What Words can be more plain?

not here, or elſe Chriſt muſt have two Bodies in two places together, preſent here after one manner, and in Heaven after another manner.

Further he ſaith, *He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forſaken us. He is here in Majeſty, and gone touching the Fleſh.*

Harpſ. I do underſtand *Auguſtine* * thus, that Chriſt is here in the Fleſh to them that receive him worthily: to ſuch as do worthily receive him, to them he is not preſent in the Fleſh. I judge St. *Auguſtine* meaneth ſo. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily, otherwiſe not.

Weſt. Nay, *Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ.* I will proſecute another Argument. *Cyril* doth ſay, *By the Majeſty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the Preſence of his Fleſh hath he taken away.*

* Note what *Harpſfield* here holdeth; that the Body of Chriſt is not preſent in the Sacrament but only to them that receive him worthily.

Harpſ. The Senſe of *Cyril* is thus to be underſtood: the moſt true Fleſh of Chriſt is at the right Hand of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and ſo they believed. Thus ſaid *Cyril:* Thus ſaid *Auguſtine*; and becauſe this is the Foundation of our Faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the Body to be in Heaven) they do not make againſt the Preſence in the Sacrament.

If the Preſence of his Fleſh be taken away, as *Cyril* ſaith, how then can the Preſence of his Fleſh be in the Sacrament? *Vigilius* ſaith his Body is taken up, how then doth the ſame Body remain ſtill? unleſs either ye make him to have two Bodies; or elſe make two contradictories true in one Propoſition.

So unleſs ye can plainly ſhew, that the Fathers do directly ſay he is not in the Sacrament, you make nothing againſt me: for I have ſhewed why the Fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great Difference between the divine Nature, and the human Nature, as I have before ſaid.

Weſt. I will then prove, that he is not in the Sacrament. *Vigilius* againſt the Heretick *Eutiches*, upon theſe Words, *Ye ſhall not have me always with you, ſaith, The Son of God, as touching his Humanity, he is gone from us, by his Divinity he remaineth with us.*" And the ſame *Vigillius* in his fourth Book ſaith, *He that is in the Heaven, is not in the Earth; ſpeaking of Chriſt.*

Harpſ. I will ſhew you the Reaſon of theſe Words. The Heretick *Eutiches* did believe that the divine Nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the Croſs, and believed that Chriſt had no natural Body. To this *Vigilius* ſaid, That the human Nature was taken up and aſcended, which could not have ſo done, unleſs he had a Body. This he ſaid not, to take away the Preſence in the Sacrament.

For what had he to refer this Sentence to the Sacrament? He never did ſo much as dream of the Sacrament.

Weſt. Cyril ſaith, *Although he be abſent from us in Body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.*

The Body of Chriſt is here to feed our Bellies, but not to be lived withal.

Harpſ. By theſe Words he gave us a Chearfulneſs to aſpire upwards, ſeeking there hence our Help. For as touching his Converſation, he is not ſo in the Sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not there to feed us; for after that Sort he is here.

Weſt. You have ſatisfied me with your Anſwers, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholickly. But now to another Argument.

* The Argument holdeth *e proportione.*

* Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the Earth by his Body; as he was abſent from Heaven when he lived here.

But when he did live bodily on Earth; the ſame natural Body was out of Heaven.

Ergo, Now whilſt this natural Body is in Heaven, it is not in the Earth.

Harpſ. I deny the Major.

Weſt. Fulgentius ad Thraſimundum regem, lib 2. ſaith, *Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat cælo, cum deſcendit de cælo.* Theſe are *Fulgentius*'s Words touching his human Subſtance. *He was abſent from Heaven, when he deſcended from Heaven; and touching the ſame Subſtance, now he is in Heaven he is not on the Earth: but concerning the divine Nature, he never forſook, neither Heaven nor Earth.* Anno 1554.

After theſe Words, not waiting *Harpsfield*'s Anſwer, he offered Mr. *Cranmer* to diſpute; who began in this wiſe.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently intreat of the Dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myſelf. But whereas you refer the true Senſe and Judgment of the Scriptures to the catholick Church as Judge thereof, you are much deceived; ſpecially for that under the Name of the Church you appoint ſuch Judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the Senſe of the Scriptures. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo little to the diligent Reading of the Scriptures and conferring of Places; ſeeing the Scriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, as well in divers other Places, as alſo in thoſe which you yourſelf have already alledged. And as touching your Opinion of theſe Queſtions, it ſeemeth to me neither to have any Ground of the Word of God, nor of the primitive Church. And to ſay the Truth, the Schoolmen have ſpoken diverſly of them, and do not agree thereof among themſelves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to ſhew my Judgment alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to anſwer to me a few Queſtions which I ſhall demand of you. Which being done, we ſhall the better proceed in our Diſputation. Moreover, I muſt deſire you to bear alſo with my Rudeneſs in the *Latin* Tongue, which thro' long Diſuſe is not now ſo prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now all other Things ſet apart, I mind chiefly to have Regard to the Truth. My firſt Queſtion is this, How Chriſt's Body is in the Sacrament, according to your Mind or Determination?

The Opinion of Mr. *Harpſfield* reproved, referring the Senſe of the Scripture rather to the Judgment of the Church, than to the diligent Reading and Conferring of Places.

Then anſwered a Doctor, he is there as touching his Subſtance, but not after the Manner of his Subſtance.

Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament in Subſtance, but not after the Manner of Subſtance.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch Sort and Manner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next Queſtion is, Whether he hath his Quantity and Qualities, Form, Figure, and ſuch like Properties.

Harpſ. Are theſe your Queſtions, ſaid Mr. *Harpsfield?* I may likewiſe ask you, When Chriſt paſſed thro' the Virgin's Womb, *An ruperit necne?* When they had thus a while contended, there were divers Opinions in this Matter.

The Rabbins could not agree among themſelves.

All the Doctors fell in a Buzzing, uncertain what to anſwer; ſome thought one Way, ſome another; and thus Mr. Doctors could not agree.

Then Mr. *Cranmer* ſaid thus; You put off Queſtions with Queſtions, and not with Anſwers, I ask one Thing of you, and you anſwer another. Once again I ask, Whether he have thoſe Properties which he had on the Earth?

Chriſt's Body without his Properties in the Sament.

Treſh. No, he hath not all the Quantities and Qualities belonging to a Body.

Smith. Stay you Mr. *Treſham.* I will anſwer you Mr. Doctor, with the Words of *Damaſcene*, [*Transformatur panis, &c*] The Bread is transformed, *&c.* But if thou wilt inquire how, [*Modus impoſſibilis,*] The manner is impoſſible.

Then two or three others added their Anſwers to

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to this Question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one Thing, some another.

Cran. Do you appoint me a Body, and cannot tell what Manner of Body? Either he hath not his Quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it.

Harps. These are vain Questions, and it is not meet to spend the Time on them.

West. Hear me a while, *Lanfrancus*, sometime Bishop of *Canterbury*, doth answer in this wise unto *Berengarius*, upon such like Questions, *They may well be believed, but never faithfully asked.*

Cran. If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it.

Harps. He is there as pleaseth him to be there.

Cran. I would be best contented with that Answer, if that your appointing of a carnal Presence had not driven me of Necessity to have inquired for Disputation's Sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural Body.

The Papists would have Christ's Body in the Sacrament, but they cannot tell how.

When again he was answered of divers at one Time, some denying it to be a [*Quantum*] some saying it to be [*Quantitativum,*] some affirming it to have [*Modum quanti,*] some denying it, some one Thing, some another: Up starts Dr. *Weston*, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the Matter, saying, It is a Body having Quantity, but not according to the Manner of Quantity.

Mr. *Ward* in the misty Clouds of *Duns*'s *Quiddities.*

Whereunto Mr. *Ward*, a great Sophister, thinking the Matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his Sentence: How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself neither, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, That far better learned than he, laid as good Ear to him as they could, and yet could by no Means perceive to what End all his Talk tended. Indeed he told a formal Tale to clout up the Matter. He was full of [*Quantum & quantitativum.*] This that follows was, as it is thought, the Effect, yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearse the Sum of his Words, as it is thought he spake then.

Ward. We must consider, saith he, that there are two Positions. The one standeth by the Order of Parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth Christ, is in the Sacrament in respect of the whole. This Proposition is in one of *Aristotle*'s Predicaments, called *Situs.* I remember I did intreat these Matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical Disputations in the publick Schools. This Position is [*Sine modo quantitativo,*] as by an Ensample, you can never bring Heaven to a Quantity. So I conclude that he is in the Sacrament [*Quantum, sine modo quantitativo.*]

Aristotle must help to tell us how Christ is in the Sacrament. Christ, [*sine modo quantitativo*] in the Sacrament.

These Words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the Heavens with *Dun*'s Ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Mr. *Cranmer* said, Then thus do I make my Argument.

Dr. *Cranmer*'s Argument.

Cran. In Heaven his Body had Quantity, in Earth it hath none by your Saying.

Ergo, He hath two Bodies, the one in Heaven, the other in Earth.

Here some would have answered him, that he had Quantity in both, and so put off the Antecedent: But thus said Mr. *Harpsfield:*

Harps. I deny your Argument, though some would not have had him say so,

Cran. The Argument is good. It standeth upon Contradictories, which is the most sure Hold.

Harps. I deny that there are Contradictions.

Cran. I thus prove it. *Habere modum quantitativum & non habere, sunt contradictoria.*

Sed Christus in Cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum, in Terra non habet:

Aristotle 4. *Metaph. Impossibile est, idem simul esse & non esse.*

Ergo, Duo sunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; nam in idem cadere non possunt.

West. I deny the Minor.

Harps. I answer that the Major is not true. For *Habere quantum, & non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi sic considerentur, ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo & simpliciter.*

West. I confirm the same; for one Body may have *Modum quantitativum*, and not have; and the same Body was passible and impassible; one Body may have Wounds and not Wounds.

* Passible and impassible cannot stand together in one Subject. *Simul & ejusdem respectu & eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam.*

Cran. This cannot be at one Time.

West. The Ensample of the Potter doth prove that which I say; who, of that which is Clay now, maketh a Pot or Cup forthwith.

Cran. But I say again that it is so, but at divers Times: As one Piece of Meat to be raw and sodden cannot be at one Time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in Heaven at one Time, and should have *Modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be but by such Argument as I have shewed you.

Christ's Body to be passible and not passible at the Supper, it appeareth by these Words, *That shall be given for you.*

West. But I say Christ's Body was passible and not * passible at one Instant.

Seaton. You may ask as well other Questions, how he is in Heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

† That remaineth yet unproved: *Harpsfield* seemed a little before to note the contrary, where he said, That the Flesh of Christ to them that receive him not worthily is not present, pag. 73.

Cran. You yourself, by putting a natural Presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore next I do ask this Question, Whether good and evil Men do eat the Body in the Sacrament?

Harps. Yea, they do so †, even as the Sun doth shine upon King's Palaces, and on Dung-heaps.

Cran. Then do I inquire how long Christ tarrieth in the Eater?

Harps. These are curious Questions, unmeet to be asked.

Cran. I have taken them out of your Schools and Schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use: And there also do I learn to ask how far he goeth into the Body.

** *Sed species non progreditur usque ad animam: Ergo, nec Corpus Christi non pascit Corpus & animam.*

Harps. We know that the Body of Christ is received to nourish the whole Man, both Body and Soul, *Eousque progreditur Corpus quousque* ** *species.*

Cran. How long doth he abide in the Body?

Seaton. St. *Augustine* saith, our Flesh goeth into his Flesh. But after he is once received into the Stomach, it maketh no Matter for us to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed.

These Men would needs have a bodily Presence, yet would they not, or else could not bring any Reason how.

Here Mr. *Tresham* and one Mr. *London* answered, that Christ being given there under such Form and Quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the Body.

Harps. You were wont to lay to our Charge, that we added to the Scripture, saying always that we should fetch the Truth out of the Scripture, and now you yourself bring Questions out of the Schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us.

Cran. I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these Questions, because of this

this carnal Preſence which you imagine: And yet I know right well that theſe Queſtions be anſwered out of the Scripture. As to my laſt Queſtion, How long he abideth in the Body, *&c.* the Scripture anſwereth plainly, that Chriſt doth ſo long dwell in his People, as they are his Members. Whereupon I make this Argument.

Dr. *Cranmer*'s Argument in the ſecond Figure and ſecond Mood.

They which eat the Fleſh of Chriſt do dwell in him, and he in them.
But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:
Ergo. The Wicked do not eat his Fleſh nor drink his Blood.

Anſwer inſufficient.

Harpſ. I will anſwer unto you as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, not that howſoever a Man do eat, he eateth the Body; but he that eateth after a certain Manner.

Cran. I cannot tell what Manner ye appoint, but I am ſure that evil Men do not eat the Fleſh and drink the Blood of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Sixth of *John*.

Harpſ. In the Sixth of *John* ſome Things are to be referred to the Godly, and ſome to the Ungodly.

Cran. Whatſoever he doth intreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good Men.

Harpſ. If you do mean only of the Word of eating, it is true; if concerning the Thing, it is not ſo; and if your Meaning be of that which is contained under the Word of eating, it may be ſo taken, I grant.

Evil Men do not eat the Body of Chriſt.

Cran. Now to the Argument, He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove ſufficiently, that evil Men do not eat that the good do?

Treſh. You muſt add, He that eateth worthily.

Cran. I ſpeak of the ſame Manner of eating that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

Weſt. *Auguſtinus ad Fratres in Eremo, Serm.* 28. ſays, There is a certain Manner of eating. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of two Manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

The Sixth Chapter of *John* is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to Faith, after the Papiſts.

Harpſ. All Things in the Sixth of *John* are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiving of Chriſt by Faith. The Fathers do agree, that there is not Intreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto, *The Bread which I give, is my Fleſh*, &c.

Cran. There is intreating of Manna both before and after.

Harpſ. I will apply another Anſwer. This Argument hath a Kind of Poiſon in it, which muſt be thus bitten away; that Manna and this Sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his Efficacy of himſelf, but of God.

Compariſon between eating of Manna, and eating the Body of Chriſt.

Cran. But they that did take Manna worthily had Fruit thereby; and ſo by your Aſſertion, he that doth eat the Fleſh of Chriſt worthily, hath his Fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and ſo there ſhould be no Difference between Manna and this Sacrament, by your Reaſon.

Harpſ. When it is ſaid, that they which did eat Manna are dead, it is to be underſtood, that they did want the Virtue of Manna.

If Mr. *Harpsfield* do mean of bodily Life, they which eat the Sacrament do die as well as they which did eat the Manna. If he mean of ſpiritual Life, neither be they all damned that did eat Manna, nor all ſaved that do eat the Sacrament. Wherefore the Truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringeth Death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth Salvation: But only the ſpiritual believing upon Chriſt's bodily Paſſion, which only juſtifieth both them and us. And therefore as the Effect is ſpiritual, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of in this Chapter; ſo is the Cauſe of that Effect ſpiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our ſpiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.

Cran. They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live,

Harpſ. They do live which do eat Manna worthily, not by Manna, but by the Power of God given by it. The other which do eat this Sacrament, do live by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſt did not intreat of the Cauſe, but the Effect which followed: He doth not ſpeak of the Cauſe whereof the Effect proceedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay, the Effects are divers, Life, and Death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an Addition to it, we muſt uſe both in Manna and in the Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily. Chriſt ſpake abſolutely of Manna and of the Supper, ſo that after that abſolute ſpeaking of the Supper, wicked Men can in no wiſe eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his Blood.

Further, *Auguſtine* upon *John*, Tractat. 26. upon theſe Words, *He that eateth*, &c. ſaith, *There is no ſuch Reſpects in common Meats, as in the Lord's Body. For who that eateth other Meats hath ſtill Hunger, and needeth to be ſatisfied daily; but he that doth eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his Blood, doth live for ever.* But you know wicked Men do not ſo.

Ergo, Wicked Men do not receive.

Harpſ. St. *Auguſtine* meaneth, That he who eateth Chriſt's Fleſh, *&c.* after a certain Manner, ſhould live for ever. Wicked Men do eat, but not after that Manner.

Argument in the ſecond Figure and ſecond Mood.

Cran. Only they which participate Chriſt be of the myſtical Body
But the evil Men are not of the myſtical Body.
Ergo, They do not participate Chriſt.

Weſt. Your wonderful gentle Behaviour and Modeſty, good Mr. Doctor *Cranmer*, is worthy much Commendation: And that I may not deprive you of your right and juſt Deſerving, I give you moſt hearty Thanks in my own Name, and in the Name of all my Brethren. At which Saying all the Doctors gently put off their Caps. Then Dr. *Weſton* did oppoſe the Reſpondent on this wiſe.

Tertul. cont. Marcion.

Weſt. Tertullian doth call the Sacrament the Sign and Figure of the Lord.

St. *Auguſtine ad Dardanum* ſaith, *The Lord did not ſtick to ſay, this is my Body, when he gave a Sign of his Body.*

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana

Beſides this, he gave Rules how to underſtand the Scriptures, ſaying: If the Scriptures ſeem to command ſome heinous Thing, then it is figurative, as by Example; *To eat the Fleſh, and drink the Blood, is a tropical Speech.*

Harpſ. Tertullian did write in that Place againſt *Marcion*, an Heretick, who denied Chriſt to have a true Body, and ſaid, He had only a fantaſtical Body. He went about to ſhew, that we had Chriſt both in Heaven and in Earth; and though we have the true Body in the Sacrament, yet he would not go about ſo to confound him, as to ſay, That Chriſt was truly in the Sacrament: For that Heretick would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he ſhewed him, that it was the Figure of Chriſt: And a Figure cannot be but of a Thing that is or hath been extant.

To the next of *Auguſtine*, the Church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward Thing in the Sacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundry Names. For it may be called a Figure in this Declaration, That Body which is in the Sacrament, is a Figure of Chriſt dwelling in Heaven.

To the third, That which is brought by

Anno 1554. *Augustine* for Example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general Manner of eating; so, To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, may be a figurative Speech to exclude Anthropophagiam, that is, the eating of Man's Flesh. The which is, when we eat Man's Flesh cut in Morsels, as we eat common Meat? so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the Sacrament.

West. I understand your short and learned Answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second Question, which is of Transubstantiation.

The second Question.

The Scripture calleth it Bread.

Ergo, It is Bread.

Harps. In the Name of Bread all is signified which we do eat.

West. *Theodoret* an antient Writer, in his first Dialogue, saith; *That Christ changed not the Nature, but called it his Body.*

Harps. He doth there speak *De Symbolo*, which is the outward Form of the Sacrament. He meaneth that that doth tarry in his own Nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his Answer *Augustinum in sententiis prosperi.*

West. *Theodoret* also in his second Dialogue of those Kinds of Bread and Wine, saith, *They go not out of their own Nature, but they tarry in their own Substance.*

Harps. They are understood to be of the same Substance wherein they are * turned.

* And how are they turned if they remain in their former Substance.

West. But what say you to this? *They remain in their former Substance.*

Harps. *Symbola manent*, that is, The outward Signs do tarry.

West. But what is meant here by this Word *Symbolum?*

Harps. The outward Form or Shape only of the Nature.

West. Then you cannot call them a Substance.

Harps. Yes, Sir, every Thing hath a certain Substance in his Kind.

West. That is true, but Accidents are not Substances in their Kind.

Harps. *Sunt quid in suo genere.* Of this they contended much.

West. *Chrysostom* to *Cæsareus* the Monk, saith, *Like as before it is consecrated, it is Bread; so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the Name of Bread, and is indued with the Name of the Lord's Body, whereas the Nature doth remain.*

Harps. Where read you this Place, I pray you?

West. Here in *Peter Martyr* I find it; I have his Book in my Hand.

Harps. The Author shall be of more Credit before that I make so much of him as to frame an Answer unto it.

West. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But *Gelasius* saith, That the Nature of Bread and Wine do tarry.

Harps. What is that *Gelasius?*

West. A Bishop of *Rome.*

Harps. Then he allowed the Mass.

West. Yea, and oftentimes said it; and Purgatory he also allowed, and so Prayer for the Dead, Relicks, and Invocation to Saints.

Harps. Belike then he meant nothing against Transubstantiation.

Origen. in Mat. c. 15.

West. It doth appear so indeed. But *Origen* saith, *That the material Bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the Privy, and is eaten of Worms.*

Harps. Tush, tush, this Place appertaineth unto holy Bread.

West. What, doth it appertain to holy Bread?

Harps. Yea, unto holy Bread.

West. By what Means can you shew how this miraculous Work bringeth Christ into the Sacrament?

Harps. By the Scriptures I prove that, which saith, *This is my Body.*

West. It doth rejoice us all not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the Catholick Church, as an only Stay of our Religion; by which Means you have proved yourself meet to be authorised further towards the practising of the Scripture.

And here, I do openly witness, that I do throughly consent with you, and have for Disputation's Sake only, brought these Arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: And now all Things being done, after our Form and Manner, we will end this Disputation, saying, *In oppositum est sacra theologia, In oppositum est, &c.*

Thus have ye heard in the aforesaid Disputations about the holy Supper of the Lord, the Reasons and Arguments of the Doctors, the Answers and Resolutions of the Bishops, and the Triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the Victory, with, The Truth hath overcome; who rather in my Mind, should have exclaimed, Power have overcome; as it happeneth always, where the greater Part overcometh the better. For else if Power had not helped the Prolocutor more than Truth, there had been a small Victory. But so it is where Judgments be partial, there all Things turn to Victory, though it be never so mean and simple, as in this Disputation doth well appear.

For first, of the Opponents Part, there was scarce any Argument rightly framed in true Mood and Figure; neither could the Answerers be permitted to speak for themselves: And if they answered any Thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such Disturbance and Confusion (more like a Conspiration than any Disputation, without all Form and Order) was in the Schools during the Time of their answering, that the Answerers could not have Place to utter their Minds, neither would the Opponents be satisfied with any Reasons. Concerning which Disturbance of that misruled Disputation, you shall hear what Doctor *Ridley* himself reporteth by his own Description, in the following Narration.

The Report of Mr. Ridley, *concerning the mis-ordered Disputation against him and his Fellow-Prisoners at* Oxford.

I Never yet since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the Disputation which was with me in the Schools at *Oxford.* Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst Men accounted to be of Knowledge and Learning in this Realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like Stage-Players in Interludes to set forth a Pageant, than to grave Divines in Schools to dispute. The sorbonical Clamours (which at *Paris* I have seen in Times past, when Popery most

reigned) might be worthily thought (in Compariſon of this thraſonical Oſtentation) to have had much Modeſty. And no great Marvel, ſeeing they which ſhould have been Moderators, and Overſeers of others, and which ſhould have given good Examples in Words and Gravity; they themſelves, above all other, gave worſt Example, and did as it were, blow the Trump to the reſt, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By Reaſon whereof, good Chriſtian Reader. manifeſtly it may appear, that they never ſought for any Truth or Verity, but only for the Glory of the World, and their own bragging Victory. But leſt by the innumerable Railings and reproachful Taunts, wherewith I was baited on every Side, our Cauſe, yea rather God's Cauſe and his Churches, ſhould be evil ſpoken of, and ſlandered to the World through falſe Reports, and untrue Examples given out of our Diſputation, and ſo the Verity might ſuſtain ſome Damage, I thought it no leſs than my Duty to write mine Anſwers; to the Intent, that whoſoever is deſirous to know the Truth thereof, may by this perceive as well thoſe Things which were chiefly objected, as ſummarily that which was anſwered of me unto every of them. However (good Reader) I confeſs this to be moſt true, that it is impoſſible to ſet forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuouſly and confuſedly objected of their Parts, being ſo many, ſpeaking many Times altogether ſo thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was anſwered on my Behalf to them ſo ſundry and divers Opponents.

No Verity but Glory ſought for in this Diſputation.

Moreover a great Part of the Time appointed for the Diſputations was vainly conſumed in opprobrious Checks and reviling Taunts, with hiſſing and clapping of Hands, and that in the *Engliſh* Tongue, to procure the Peoples Favour withal. All which Things, when I with great Grief of Heart did behold, proteſting openly, that ſuch exceſſive and outragious Diſorder was unſeemly for thoſe Schools, and Men of Learning and Gravity, and that they which were the Doers and Stirrers of ſuch Things, did nothing elſe but betray the Slenderneſs of their Cauſe, and their own Vanities: I was ſo far off by this my humble Complaint, from doing any Good at all, that I was inforced to hear ſuch Rebukes, Checks, and Taunts for my Labour, as no Perſon of any Honeſty, without bluſhing, could abide to hear the like ſpoken of a moſt vile Varlet, againſt a moſt wretched Ruffian.

Taunts and Revilings uſed in this Diſputation.

At the firſt Beginning of the Diſputation, when I would have confirmed mine Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition in few Words, and that (after the Manner and Law of Schools) afore I could make an End of my firſt Probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themſelves cried out, He ſpeaketh Blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh Blaſphemies. And when I on my Knees beſought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchſafe to hear me to the End, (whereat the Prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, Let him read it, let him read it) Yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately ſuch Shouting, ſuch a Noiſe and Tumult, ſuch Confuſion of Voices, crying Blaſphemies, Blaſphemies, as I to my Remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſtirred up of *Demetrius* the Silverſmith, and other of his Occupation, crying out againſt *Paul*, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians*, *Great is Diana of the Epheſians:* And except it be a certain Diſputation which the *Arians* had againſt the Orthodox, and ſuch as were of godly Judgment in *Africa*, where it is ſaid, that ſuch as the Preſident and Rulers of the Diſputations were, ſuch was the End of the Diſputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and ſo great were the Slanders which the *Arians* caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth *Victor* in the ſecond Book of his Hiſtory. Anno 1554.

Dr. *Ridley* could not be ſuffered to read forth his Proteſtation.

The Cries and Tumults of them againſt me ſo prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was inforced to leave off reading of my Probations, although they were ſhort. If any Man doubt of the Truth hereof, let the ſame aſk any one that was there, and utterly perverted in Popery, and I am aſſured, he will ſay, I ſpeak the leaſt. But to complain of theſe Things further, I will ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of this Diſputation, he concludeth with theſe Words: And thus was ended this moſt glorious Diſputation of the moſt holy Fathers, Sacrificers, Doctors and Maſters, which fought moſt manfully, as ye may ſee, for their God and Goods, for their Faith and Felicity,, for their Country and Kitchin, for their Beauty and Belly, with triumphant Applauſes and Favour of the whole Univerſity.

After the Diſputation of Mr. *Latimer* was ended, on the *Friday* following, *April* 20. the Commiſſioners ſat in St. *Mary*'s Church, and Dr. *Weſton* uſed particular Diſſuaſions with every one of them, and would not ſuffer them to anſwer in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, as his Words were, to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe or no. And firſt to Dr. *Cranmer* he ſaid, He was overcome in Diſputations. To whom the Biſhop anſwered, That whereas Dr. *Weſton* ſaid, he hath anſwered and oppoſed, and could neither maintain his own Errors, nor impugn the Verity; all that he ſaid was falſe: For he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was required, unleſs he would have brawled with them, ſo thick their Reaſons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupring him, that he could not ſpeak. Mr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* were aſked what they would do: They replied, that they would ſtand to that they had ſaid. Then were they all called together, and Sentence read over them, that they were no Members of the Church: And therefore they, their Favourers and Patrons, were condemned as Hereticks. And in reading of it, they were aſked, Whether they would turn or no. But they bade them read on in the Name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned.

The three Priſoners at *Oxford* called before the Commiſſioners.

Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer* condemned.

After which Sentence of Condemnation being awarded againſt them, they anſwered again each in his Turn, in Manner and Effect of Words as followeth: The Archbiſhop ſpeaking firſt.

Dr. Cranmer. *From this your Judgment and Sentence I appeal to the juſt Judgment of God Almighty, truſting to be preſent with him in Heaven, for whoſe Preſence in the Altar I am thus condemned.*

Dr. Ridley. *Although I be not of your Company, yet doubt I not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this Sentence will ſend us ſooner, than we ſhould by the Courſe of Nature have come.*

Mr. Latimer, *I thank God moſt heartily that he hath prolonged my Life to this End, that I may in this Caſe glorify God by that Kind of Death.*

Dr. *Weſton*'s Anſwer unto *Latimer*. *If you*

go

Anno 1554.

go to Heaven in this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſuaded.

After Sentence was pronounced, they were ſeparated one from another, namely, the Arch-Biſhop was returned to * *Bocardo*, Dr. *Ridley* to the Sheriff's Houſe, Mr. *Latimer* to the Bailiff's. On *Saturday* following, they had a Maſs with a general Proceſſion and great Solemnity. Dr. *Cranmer* was cauſed to behold the Proceſſion out of *Bocardo*, Dr. *Ridley* out of the Sheriff's Houſe. *Latimer* alſo being brought to ſee it from the Bailiff's Houſe, thought that he ſhould have gone to burning, and ſpake to one *Auguſtine Cooper*, a Catch-pole, to make a quick Fire. But when he came to † *Carfox*, and ſaw the Matter, he ran as faſt as his old Bones would carry him, to one *Spencer*'s Shop, and would not look towards it. Laſt of all Dr. *Weſton* carried the Sacrament, and four Doctors carried the Canopy over him.

* The Name of a Priſon in *Oxford*.

† *Oxford* Market-place, where four Ways meet.

Immediately after the Sentence was given, Dr. *Ridley* writeth to the Prolocutor in the following Manner:

Dr. *Ridley*'s Letter to the Prolocutor.

MR. Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, how you promiſed me openly in the Schools, after my Proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee how my Anſwers were there taken and written by the Notaries whom ye appointed (Me fateor neminem recuſare) *to write what ſhould be ſaid, and to have had Licenſe to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more Deliberation ſhould have ſeemed me beſt. Ye granted me alſo, at the Delivery of my Anſwer unto your firſt Propoſition, a Copy of the ſame. Theſe Promiſes are not performed. If your ſudden Departure be any Part of the Cauſe thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for Performance of Promiſe is to be looked for at a righteous Judge's Hands. Now I ſend you here my Anſwers in Writing, to your ſecond and third Propoſitions, and do deſire and require earneſtly a Copy of the ſame, and I ſhall by God's Grace procure the Pains of the Writer to be paid for, and ſatisfied accordingly. Maſter Prolocutor, in the Time of my anſwering in the Schools, when I would have confirmed my Sayings with Authorities and Reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I ſhould have Time and Place to ſay and bring whatſoever I could, another Time, and the ſame your Saying was then and there confirmed by others of the Commiſſioners: Yea, and (I dare ſay) the Audience alſo thought then that I ſhould have had another Day, to have brought and ſaid what I could for the Declaration and Confirmation of mine Aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſuddenly Sentence given before the Cauſe was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel,* &c.

Papiſts have ſmall Conſcience in performing of Promiſes.

April 23. On *Monday* next enſuing, *April* 23. Dr. *Weſton* took his Journey up to *London*, with the Letters certificatory from the Univerſity to the Queen, by whom the Archbiſhop directed his Letters ſupplicatory unto the Council; which Letters after the Prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near Half-way to *London*, by the Way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the Contents thereof, ſent them back again, refuſing to carry them. Likewiſe Biſhop *Ridley* hearing of the Prolocutor's going to *London*, writeth to him his Letters, wherein he deſireth him to carry his Anſwers up to certain Biſhops in *London*, the Form of which Letters followeth here in Order.

Biſhop *Ridley*'s Letter to the Prolocutor.

MR. Prolocutor, I deſire you, and in God's Name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew all mine Anſwers, written and ſubſcribed with mine own Hand, unto the higher Houſe of the Convocation, and eſpecially to my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of Durham, Ely, Worceſter, Norwich, *and* Chicheſter; *and alſo to ſhew and exhibit this my Writing unto them, which in theſe few Lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this Requeſt unto you by this my Writing, know ye, that I did take Witneſs of them by whom I ſend you this Writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent,* viz. *The two Bailiffs of* Oxford, *and of Mr.* Iriſh, *Alderman, then there called to be a Witneſs,*

By me NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
April 13, 1554.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Letter to the Council.

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth unto your honourable Lordſhips, Thomas Cranmer *late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *beſeeching the ſame to be a Means for me unto the Queen's Highneſs for her Mercy and Pardon. Some of you know by what Means I was brought and trained unto the Will of our late Sovereign Lord King* Edward *the ſixth, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I refer me to the Reports of your Honours and Worſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignify unto your Lordſhips, that upon* Monday, Tueſday *and* Wedneſday *laſt paſt, were open Diſputations here in* Oxford *againſt me, M.* Ridley, *and Mr.* Latimer, *in three Matters concerning the Sacrament: Firſt, Of the real Preſence. Secondly, Of Tranſubſtantiation. And thirdly, Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs. Upon* Monday *againſt me; upon* Tueſday *againſt Dr.* Ridley; *and upon* Wedneſday *againſt Mr.* Latimer. *How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of us knoweth what the other ſaid, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myſelf I can report: Dr.* Chedſey *was appointed to diſpute againſt me, but the Diſputation was ſo confuſed that I never knew the like, every Man bringing forth what him liked without Order: and ſuch Haſte was made, that no Anſwer could be ſuffered to be taken fully to any Argument, before another brought a new Argument. And in ſuch weighty Matters the Diſputation muſt needs be ended in one Day, which can ſcantly be ended in three Months. And when we had anſwered them, they would not appoint us one Day to bring forth our Proofs, that they might anſwer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I myſelf have more to ſay, than can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in twenty Days. The Means to reſolve the Truth, had been to have ſuffered us to anſwer fully to all that they could ſay, and then they again to anſwer as fully to all that we can ſay. But why they would not anſwer us, what other Cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their Matter, that they were not able to anſwer us, or elſe for ſome Conſideration they made ſuch Haſte, not to ſeek the Truth, but to condemn us, that it muſt be done in Poſt-haſte before the Matters could be throughly heard, for in Haſte we were all three condemned of Hereſy. Thus much I thought good*

The Arch-Biſhop not ſuffered to anſwer fully to any Argument.

Haſte made in condemning the Archbiſhop and his Fellows.

to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent Handling of Matters, leaving the Judgment thereof unto your Wisdoms. And I beseech your Lordships to remember me, a poor Prisoner, unto the Queen's Majesty, and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long Preservation of your good Lordships in all Godliness and Felicity. April 23.

Dr. *Ridley* to Dr. *Cranmer.*

I Wish ye might have seen these mine Answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I trust, in the Substance of the Matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of Truth, and both walking after one Rule of God's Word. It is reported, that Serjeant Morgan, *the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice* Hales *hath recanted, perverted by* Dr. Moreman. Item, *That Master* Rogers, Dr. Crome, *and Master* Bradford *shall be had to* Cambridge, *and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the Doctors of* Oxford *shall go likewise thither, as* Cambridge *Men came hither. When you have read mine Answers, send them again to* Austen, *except ye will put any Thing to them. I trust the Day of our Delivery out of all Miseries, and of our Entrance into perpetual Rest, and unto perpetual Joy and Felicity, draweth nigh: The Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit and Grace. If you have not to write with, you must make your Man your Friend. And this Bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do your Pleasure. My Man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any Thing to you, your Man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master* Latimer, *and yours to me. I have a Promise to see how my Answers were written in the Schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have Mercy of his Church, and lighten the Eyes of the Magistrates, that God's extream Plagues light not on this Realm of* England. TURN OR BURN.

This Justice *Morgan* gave Sentence against Lady *Jane.*

These Disputations being thus ended, now let us return again to the prosecuting of our Story, concerning other Things likewise that happened in other Parts of the Realm, in this tumultuous Time of Queen *Mary*. And because so many Things happened in that Time that it is hard to keep a perfect Order in reciting them all; to the Intent therefore to insert Things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at large, we have thought here a little to interrupt the Order of Time, returning again to the Month of *July* the Year before, *viz.* 1553, in which Month of *July* I shewed before, how the Duke of *Northumberland* was apprehended by the Guard, and brought to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel*, and other Lords and Gentlemen appointed for that Purpose, on St. *James's* Day, being *July* 25, and so to the Tower, where he remained. These be the Names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

The Names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of *Northumberland.*

The Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Lord *Ambrose* and Lord *Henry Dudley*, Lord *Hastings*, who was delivered again the same Night; Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Henry Gates*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Dr. *Sands* Chancellor of *Cambridge*.

July 26. The Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, the Bishop of *London*, Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Richard Corbet* were brought and committed to the Tower. Anno 1554.

July 27. The Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and the Lord *Mountacute* Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28. The Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *John Cheek* were committed to the Tower.

July 30. The Lord *Russel* was committed to the Sheriff of *London*'s Custody.

July 31. The Earl of *Rutland* was committed to the Fleet; and on the same Day the Duke of *Suffolk* was delivered out of the Tower again. The Duke of *Suffolk* delivered out of the Tower.

Upon *Thursday August* 3. The Queen entered into the City of *London* at *Aldgate*, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven Days, and then removed to *Richmond*.

August 4. Dr. *Day* was delivered out of the Fleet; and the Day after the Lord *Ferris* was committed to the Tower, and Dr. *Bonner* delivered out of the *Marshalsea*. *Bonner* set at Liberty The same Day at Night, Dr. *Cocks* was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Mr. *Edward Underhill* to Newgate. Also the same Day Dr. *Tonstal* and *Stephen Gardiner* were delivered out of the Tower, and *Gardiner* received into the Queen's Privy Council, and made Lord Chancellor.

On *Monday August* 7. *Dirige* in *Latin* was sung within the Tower by all the King's Chappel, and the Bishop of *Winchester* was chief Minister, the Queen being present and most of the Council.

On *Tuesday August* 8. The King's Body was brought to *Westminster*, and there buried: where Dr. *Day* Bishop of *Chichester* preached. The same Day a Mass of *Requiem* was sung within the Tower by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had on his Mitre; and did all Things as in Times past was done; the Queen being present. King *Edward*'s Body buried.

On *Wednesday August* 16. Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Beacon*, and Mr. *Vernon*, were committed to the Tower: with whom also Mr. *Sampson* should have been committed, and was sought for the same Time at Mr. *Elsing*'s House in *Fleet Street*, where Mr. *Bradford* was taken: and because he was not found, the Bishop of *Winchester* was greatly displeased with the Messenger. Mr. *Bradford* and others committed to the Tower.

August 18. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were arraigned at *Westminster*, and condemned the same Day.

August 19. Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Henry Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were arraigned at *Westminster*, and condemned the same Day.

Upon which Day a Letter was sent unto Sir *Henry Tirril*, *Anthony Brown* and *Edmund Brown*, Esquires, praying them to commit to Ward all such as shall contemn the Queen's Order of Religion, or shall keep themselves from Church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their Names to the Council.

Upon *Sunday August* 20. Dr. *Watson*, the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Chaplain preached at *Paul's Cross*, at whose Sermon was present the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Bedford* the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Rich*, and 200 of the Guards with their Halberds, lest the People should have made any Stir against the Preacher. Dr. *Watson* preached at *Paul's Cross.*

Upon *Monday*, *August* 21, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, heard a Mass within the Tower, and after Mass they all five received the Sacrament in one Kind only, as in the Popish Time was used. On which Day also Queen *Mary* set forth

Anno 1554. forth a Proclamation, ſignifying to the People, that ſhe could not hide any longer the Religion which ſhe from her Infancy had profeſſed, *&c.* inhibiting in the ſaid Proclamation, Printing, and Preaching; the Tenor whereof read before, *Page* 4.

Upon *Tueſday* Auguſt 22, the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were beheaded at *Tower Hill*, as hath been before mentioned.

Upon *Sunday Auguſt* 27. Dr. *Chedſey* preached at *Paul's Croſs*, and the ſame Day the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and the Dean of *Paul's* were cited to appear the Week following before the Queen's Commiſſioners, in the Biſhop's Conſiſtory within *Paul's*.

In the mean Time it was noiſed abroad by running Rumors falſly and craftily deviſed, either to eſtabliſh the Credit of the Maſs, or elſe to bring *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* out of Credit, that he, to curry Favour with Queen *Mary*, ſhould promiſe to ſay *Dirige* Maſs after the old Cuſtom for King *Edward*, and that he had already ſaid Maſs at *Canterbury*, &c. Wherefore to ſtop the Slanders of thoſe Rumours, the ſaid *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the ſeventh Day of *September* ſet forth a Letter, which was alſo printed, in Purgation of himſelf, the Copy of which Letter here followeth.

A Purgation of Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *againſt certain Slanders falſely raiſed upon him.*

AS the Devil, Chriſt's ancient Adverſary, is a Lyar, and the Father of Lies, even ſo hath he ſtirred up his Servants and Members to perſecute Chriſt and his true Word and Religion with lying: which he ceaſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at this preſent Time. For whereas the Prince of famous Memory King Henry *the eighth, ſeeing the great Abuſes of the* Latin *Maſs, reformed ſome Things therein in his Life Time, and after our late Sovereign Lord King* Edward *the ſixth, took the ſame wholly away, for the manifold and great Errors and Abuſes of the ſame, and reſtored in the Place thereof Chriſt's holy Supper, according to Chriſt's own Inſtitution, and as the Apoſtles uſed the ſame in the Primitive Church, the Devil goeth about now by Lying to overthrow the Lord's Supper again, and to reſtore his* Latin *ſatisfactory Maſs, a Thing of his own Invention and Device. And to bring the ſame more eaſily to paſs, ſome have abuſed the Name of me* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *bruting abroad, that I have ſet up the Maſs at* Canterbury, *and that I offered to ſay Maſs at the Burial of our late Sovereign Prince King* Edward *the ſixth, and that I offered to ſay Maſs before the Queen's Highneſs, and at* Paul's *Church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exerciſed theſe twenty Years to ſuffer and bear evil Reports and Lyes, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have born all Things quietly: yet when untrue Reports and Lies turn to the Hinderance of God's Truth, they are in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Wherefore theſe be to ſignify unto the World, that it was not I that ſet up the Maſs at* Canterbury, *but it was a falſe, flattering, lying and diſſembling Monk, which cauſed Maſs to be ſet up there without mine Advice or Council*; Reddat illi dominus in die illo. *And as for offering myſelf to ſay Maſs before the Queen's Highneſs, or in any other Place, I never did it as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me Leave, I ſhall be ready to prove, againſt all that will ſay the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy Communion, ſet out by the moſt innocent and godly Prince King* Edward *the ſixth, in his high Court of Parliament, is conformable to that Order which our Saviour Chriſt did both obſerve, and command to be obſerved, and which his Apoſtles, and the primitive Church uſed many Years; whereas the Maſs, in many Things, not only hath no Foundation of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, nor the primitive Church, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame, and containeth many horrible Abuſes in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Mr.* Peter Martyr *is unlearned, yet if the Queen's Highneſs will grant thereunto, I, with the ſaid Mr.* Peter Martyr, *and other four or five, which I ſhall chuſe, will by God's Grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common Prayers of the Church, the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but alſo all the Doctrine and Religion ſet out by our Sovereign Lord King* Edward *the ſixth, to be more pure, and according to God's Word, than any other that hath been uſed in* England *theſe* 1000 *Years: ſo that God's Word may be Judge, and that the Reaſons and Proofs of both Parties may be ſet out in Writing, to the Intent, as well that all the World may examine and judge thereon, as that no Man ſhall ſtart back from his Writing. And where they boaſt of the Faith, that hath been in the Church theſe* 1500 *Years, we will joyn with them in this Point; and that the ſame Doctrine and Uſage is to be followed, which which was in the Church* 1500 *Years paſt: And we ſhall prove, that the Order of the Church, ſet out at this preſent in this Realm by Act of Parliament, is the ſame that was uſed in the Church* 1500 *Years paſt, and ſo ſhall they be never able to prove theirs.*

This Monk was Dr. *Thornton*, of whoſe horrible End ye ſhall read hereafter, partly alſo in the Life of *Cranmer*.

On *Thurſday*, *September* 7. Lord *Mountacute*, Chief Juſtice, and Lord Chief Baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

September 13. the reverend Father Maſter *Hugh Latimer* was committed to the Tower.

September 14. the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was commited to the Tower.

September 26. one Mr. *Gray* of *Cambridge*, called before him one Mr. *Garth*, for that he would not ſuffer a Boy of *Peter-houſe* to help him to ſay Maſs in *Pembroke-hall*, which was before any Law was eſtabliſhed for that Behalf.

On *Thurſday*, *September* 28. the Queen came to the Tower of *London*, and upon the *Saturday* following, ſhe rode from the Tower thro' the City, where were made many Pageants to receive her, and ſo ſhe was triumphantly brought to *Whitehall*.

Upon *Sunday*, *October* 1. the Queen's Highneſs went from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter* Abby, accompanied with the moſt Part of the Nobility of this Realm; namely, theſe, The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Oxford*, *Suſſex*, *Devonſhire*, *Pembroke*, the Lord *Dacres* of the North, Lord *Ferris*, Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Abergavenny*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Scroope*, Lord *Rich*, Lord *Vaus*, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Conias*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Willoughby*; with other Nobles, and all the Ambaſſadors of divers Countries, the Mayor of *London*, with all the Aldermen. Alſo out of the Abby, to receive her coming, came three Silver Croſſes, and to the Number of about fourſcore Singing Men, all in very rich and gorgeous Copes.

Amongſt whom was the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and divers of the Queen's Chaplains, which bare every one ſome Enſign in their Hands, and after them followed ten Biſhops, all mitred, and their Croſier Staves in their Hands, and rich Copes upon them every one. And in this Order they returned from *Weſtminſter-hall* before the Queen to the Abbey, where ſhe was crowned by *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. At the Time of the Coronation, Dr. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, made a Sermon to the Queen's Majeſty, and to the reſt of the Nobility.

Queen *Mary* crowned Dr. *Day* preacheth.

Alſo there was a general Pardon proclaimed within the Abby at the Time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the Priſoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and 62 more; whereof Mr. *Whitchurch* and Mr. *Grafton* were two.

General Pardon at the Queen's Coronation.

October 3. the Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*, did challenge one Mr. *Pierſon*, for that he miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his own Pariſh, and did receive Strangers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay Maſs. Whereupon within two Days after, he was diſcharged from farther miniſtring in his Cure.

Upon the *Wedneſday* following, the Archbiſhop of *York* was committed to the Tower.

Upon *Thurſday*, *October* 5. 1554. the Queen rode to the Parliament in her Robes, and all the Nobility with her, and when they were ſet in the Parliament-Houſe, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made to them a ſolemn Oration, and Serjeant *Pollard* was choſen Speaker. The ſame Day the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Weſtcheſter*, were diſcharged from the Parliament and Convocation.

Queen *Mary* rideth to the Parliament-Houſe.

Alſo *October* 10. the Earl of *Huntington* was delivered out of the Tower.

The Earl of *Huntington* delivered out of the Tower.

Upon *Sunday* after, *October* 15. Mr. *Laurence Saunders* preached at *Alhallows* in *Bread-ſtreet* in the Morning; where he fully declared the Abomination of the Maſs, with divers other Matters; whereof more ſhall be heard by God's leave hereafter when we come to his Story. In which his doing, as he ſhewed himſelf to be God's faithful Miniſter, ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of God's faithful Promiſe, who ſaith, Mat. 10. *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before Men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in Heaven.* But about Noon of the ſame Day, he was ſent for by the Biſhop of *London*, and committed to the *Marſhalſea*.

Mr. *Saunders* for preaching againſt the Maſs, committed to the *Marſhalſea*.

Upon the *Sunday* following, *October* 20. Dr. *Weſton* preached at *Paul's-Croſs*. Who in the Beginning of his Sermon willed the People to pray for the Souls departed, on this wiſe: *You ſhall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in Heaven nor Hell, but in a Place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to Heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout Prayers.* He named the Lord's Table an Oyſter-board. He ſaid, that the Catechiſm in *Latin*, lately ſet out, was abominable Hereſy, and likened the Setters out of the ſame Catechiſm to *Julian* the Apoſtate, and the Book to a Dialogue ſet out by the ſaid *Julian*, wherein Chriſt and *Pilate* were the Speakers, with many other Things.

Dr. *Weſton*'s Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs*.

In the Week following the Diſputations began in the Convocation-Houſe in *Paul's* Church, whereof ſufficient hath been before declared.

October 26. the Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge* went to *Clare-Hall*, and in the Preſence of Dr. *Walker*, diſplaced Dr. *Madew*, and placed Mr. *Swyborne* in the Maſterſhip there, by Virtue of the Lord Chancellor's Letters, for that he was, as they termed it, *Uxoratus*, that is, married.

Anno 1554.

October 28. the Papiſts in the King's College in *Cambridge* (not tarrying the making of any Law, but of their blind Zeal) had their whole Service again in *Latin* Tongue, contrary to the Law then in Force.

October 31. the Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge* did ſharply reprove and threaten one Mr. *Thrackold*, for that he challenged the ſaid Vice-chancellor, who had ſuffered Mr. *Bovell* (contrary to the Statutes then in Force) to depart quietly without Puniſhment, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſwear to the Supremacy of the Queen, and the Abrogation of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

November 3. the Vice-chancellor ſent for the Curate of the round Pariſh in *Cambridge*, commanding him not to miniſter any more in the *Engliſh* Tongue, ſaying, he would have one uniform Order of Service throughout the Town, and that in *Latin*, with Maſs, which was eſtabliſhed the twelfth Day of this Month.

The Queen's Proceedings maintained in *Cambridge* before the Law.

November 6. Mr. *Pollard* preached at St. *Michael's*, and in his Sermon approved Purgatory.

November 28. the Archdeacon's Official viſited in *Hinton*, where he gave in Charge to preſent all ſuch as did diſturb the Queen's Proceedings, in hindering the *Latin* Service, the ſetting up of their Altars, and ſaying of Maſs, or any Part thereof.

December 15. there were two Proclamations at *London*; the one for the repealing of certain Acts made by King *Edward*, and for the ſetting up of Maſs the 20th of *December* then next following. The other was, that no Man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay Maſs.

King *Edward*'s Acts repealed.

The Parliament beginning about the 5th of *October*, continued till the 5th of *December*. In which Parliament were diſſolved as well all the Statutes made of Premunire in the Time of King *Henry* VIII, *&c.* as alſo other Laws and Statutes concerning Religion and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, decreed under King *Edward* VI. In which Parliament was appointed, that on *December* 20. then next enſuing the ſame Year, 1553, the old Form and Manner of Church-Service uſed in the laſt Year of King *Henry*, ſhould now again be reſtored.

On *December* 31. the Lord Marquis of *Northampton* was delivered out of the Tower.

About this Time a Prieſt of *Canterbury* ſaid Maſs on one Day, and the next Day after, he came into the Pulpit, and deſired all the People to forgive him; for he ſaid he had betrayed Chriſt, not as *Judas* did, but as *Peter* did, and there made a long Sermon againſt the Maſs.

A Prieſt of *Canterbury* repenting his ſaying of Maſs.

About this Time a great Number of new Biſhops, Deans, *&c.* were choſe, more than were made at one Time ſince the Conqueſt; namely, Dr. *Holyman*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; Dr. *Coates*, Biſhop of *Weſt-cheſter*; Dr. *Hopton*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; Dr. *Bourne*, Biſhop of *Bath*; Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Mores*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Morgan*, Biſhop of *St. David's*; Dr. *Poole*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*; Dr. *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Dr. *Moreman*, Coadjutor to the Biſhop of *Exeter*, and after his Deceaſe Biſhop of *Exeter*; Dr. *Glin*, Biſhop of *Bangor*; Mr. *Fecknam*, Dean of *Paul's*; Dr. *Reynolds*, Dean of *Briſtol*, with others.

New Biſhops made.

January 12. the Vice-chancelior of *Cambridge* called a Congregation General, wherein amongſt other Things he ſhewed, that the Queen would have there a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt upon the 18th of *February* then next following, for that

it

Anno 1554. it was her Birth-day; which was fulfilled the Day appointed, and that very ſolemnly.

Dr. *Crome* committed to the Fleet. On *Saturday*, *January* 13. Dr *Crome* was committed to the Fleet: Alſo the *Sunday* following one Mr. *Addington* was committed to the Tower. The ſame *Sunday* likewiſe the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* declared openly in the Court, that the Marriage between the Queen's Majeſty and the King of *Spain* was concluded; and the Day following, *January* 15, the Mayor with the Aldermen and certain Commons were at Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chancellor to prepare the City ready to receive the ſaid King of *Spain*.

The Marriage of Queen *Mary*.

On *Thurſday* Night following, *January* 25. the Lord Marquis of *Northampton* was again committed to the Tower, and Sir *Edward Warner* with him; who were brought to the Tower by the Mayor.

Juſtice *Hales* committed to the *Marſhalſea*, Mr. *Rogers* committed to *Newgate*.

On *Saturday* following, *January* 26. Juſtice *Hales* was committed to the Marſhalſea, and the ſame Day Mr. *Rogers* was committed to Newgate.

Strange Sights ſeen before the coming in of King *Philip*, and Subverſion of Religion.

And thus paſſing to the Month of *February*, here is to be noted, that upon the 15th Day of the ſaid Month, being *Thurſday*, within the City of *London*, about Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon ſtrange Sights were ſeen. Two Suns both ſhining at once, the one a good way diſtant from the other; at the ſame Time was alſo ſeen a Rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accuſtomed. The common Standing of the Rainbow is thus ◠ but this ſtood thus ◡ with the Head downward, and the Feet as it were upward. Both theſe Sights were ſeen as well at *Weſtminſter*, in *Cheapſide*, on the South Side of St. *Paul*'s, as in many other Places, and that by a great Number of honeſt Men. Alſo certain Aldermen went out of *Guildhall* to behold the Sight.

As touching the riſing of Mr. *Wyat*, with Sir *William Cobham*, and others in *Kent*; alſo of the Queen's coming to *Guildhall*, and her Oration there made; likewiſe of the Apprehenſion of the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Brother Lord *John Gray*; and the next Day after of the beheading of the Lord *Gilford* and Lady *Jane*, which was *February* 12. all which was in the Month of *February*; becauſe moſt of theſe Matters have been briefly touched upon before, I will ceaſe to make any further Mention of them: Having ſomewhat notwithſtanding to declare concerning the Arrraignment and Death of the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* arraigned.

Upon *Saturday*, *February* 17. the Duke of *Suffolk* was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and the ſame Day condemned to die by his Peers; the Earl of *Arundel* was chief Judge for this Day: And on the 23d of the ſame Month he was beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, the Order of whoſe Death here followeth.

The devout Behaviour of the Duke of *Suffolk* at his Death. Dr. *Weſton* the Duke's Ghoſtly Father againſt the Duke's Will.

On *Friday*, *February* 23, about Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon, the Lord *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, was brought forth of the *Tower* of *London* unto the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, with a great Company, *&c.* and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. *Weſton* as his Ghoſtly Father, notwithſtanding, as it ſeemed, againſt the Will of the ſaid Duke. For when the Duke went up to the Scaffold, the ſaid *Weſton* being on the Left Hand, preſſed to go up with him; the Duke with his Hand, put him down again off the Stairs; and *Weſton* taking hold of the Duke, forced him down likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond Time, the Duke again put him down. Then *Weſton* ſaid, that it was the Queen's Pleaſure he ſhould ſo do. Wherewith the Duke caſting his Hands abroad, aſcended up the Scaffold, and pauſed a pretty while after. And then he ſaid: *Maſters, I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and thereby am juſtly condemned to die, and am willing to die, deſiring all Men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my Death may be an Enſample to all Men, beſeeching you all to bear me Witneſs, that I die in the Faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaved by his Blood only, which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you ſee my Breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my Soul.* And then he deſired all Men to forgive him, ſaying, that the Queen had forgiven him. The Words of the Duke to the People.

Then Dr. *Weſton* declared with a loud Voice, that the Queen's Majeſty had forgiven him. With that ſeveral of the Standers by ſaid with good and audible Voices: *Such Forgiveneſs God ſend thee*, meaning Dr. *Weſton*. Then the Duke kneeled down upon his Knees, and ſaid the Pſalm, *Miſerere mei Deus* unto the End, holding up his Hands, and looking up to Heaven. And when he had ended the Pſalm, he ſaid, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*, &c. Then he aroſe and ſtood up, and delivered his Cap and his Scarf unto the Executioner. Then the ſaid Executioner kneeled down, and aſked the Duke Forgiveneſs. And the Duke ſaid, God forgive thee, and I do; and when thou doeſt thine Office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this World quickly, and God have Mercy to thee. Then ſtood there a Man and ſaid, My Lord, how ſhall I do for the Money that you do owe me? And the Duke ſaid, Alaſs, good Fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy Way to my Officers. Then he knit a Kercher about his Face, and kneeled down and ſaid, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, &c. unto the End. And then he ſaid, Chriſt have Mercy upon me, and laid down his Head on the Block, and the Executioner took the Ax, and at the firſt Chop ſtruck off his Head, and held it up to the People, *&c.* The Duke prayeth. The Duke prepareth himſelf to Death. The End of the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The ſame Day a Number of Priſoners had their Pardon, and came thro' the City with their Halters about their Necks. There were in * Number about 200.

Upon *Saturday*, *February* 24. Sir *William Stenlow* was committed as Priſoner to the Maſter of the Horſe to be kept. This Sir *William* was at this Time one of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Gentlemen.

Upon *Sunday*, *February* 25. Sir *John Rogers* was committed to the Tower.

In this Week, all ſuch Prieſts within the Dioceſs of *London* as were married, were divorced from their Livings, and commanded to bring their Wives within a Fortnight, that they might be likewiſe divorced from them. This the Biſhop did of his own Power.

Upon *Tueſday* in the ſame Week, *February* 27. certain Gentlemen of *Kent* were ſent into *Kent*, there to be executed. Their Names were theſe, the two *Mantels*, two *Knevets*, and *Bret*; with theſe Mr. *Rudſton* alſo and certain others were condemned, and ſhould have been executed, but they had their Pardon.

As concerning the foreſaid Mr. *Mantel* the elder, here is to be noted, that as he was led to Execution, and at his firſt caſting under the

* The Number of thoſe were 240. which with Halters about their Necks paſſed through the City to *Weſtminſter*, and had their Pardon. Prieſts divorced. Gentlemen ſent into *Kent* to be executed. Mr. *Rudſton* with certain others pardoned.

Gallows, the Rope brake. Then they would have had him recanted the Truth, and received the Sacrament of the Altar (as they term it) and then they ſaid he ſhould have had the Queen's Pardon: But Mr. *Mantel* refuſed their Counſel, and choſe rather to die.

March 17. every Houſholder in *London* was commanded to appear before the Aldermen of their Ward, and there were commanded, that they, their Wives and Servants, ſhould prepare themſelves to Confeſſion, and receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and that neither they, nor any of them, ſhould depart out of the City until *Eaſter* was paſt.

Lady *Elizabeth* brought to the Tower.

Upon the *Sunday* following, *March* 18. the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Queen's Siſter, of whom Mention was made before, was brought to the Tower.

Upon *Eaſter* Eve, *March* 24. the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *William Cobham* were delivered out of the Tower.

The Pyx riſen out of the Sepulchre from all the Watchmen at St. *Pancraſe* Church.

March 25. being *Eaſter*-day in the Morning, at St. *Pancraſe* in *Cheap*, the Crucifix with the Pyx [the Veſſel in which the Hoſt was kept] were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the Reſurrection: So that when after his accuſtomed Manner he put his Hand into the Sepulchre, and ſaid very devoutly, *He is riſen, He is not here*; he found his Words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon being half diſmayed, they conſulted among themſelves whom they thought to be the likelieſt to do this Thing: In which Conſultation they remembred one *Marſh*, which a little before had been put from that Parſonage becauſe he was married, to whoſe Charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the Mayor, they then burthened him to have kept Company with his Wife, ſince that they were by Commandment divorced. Whereto he anſwer'd, That he thought the Queen had done him Wrong, to take from him both his Living and his Wife; which Words were then noted, and taken very grievouſly, and he and his Wife were both committed to ſeveral Compters, notwithſtanding that he had been very ſick.

A Cat hanged with a ſhaven Crown upon the Gallows in *Cheapſide*.

The 8th of *April* there was a Cat hanged upon a Gallows at the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, apparelled like a Prieſt ready to ſay Maſs, with a ſhaven Crown: Her two fore-Feet were tied over her Head, and a round Paper like a Wafer-cake put between them; which cauſed great Anger againſt the City of *London*. For the Queen and the Biſhops were very angry; and the ſame Afternoon there was a Proclamation iſſued, that whoſoever could bring forth the Party that did hang up the Cat, ſhould have twenty Nobles, which was afterwards increaſed to twenty Marks, but none could or would earn it.

Sir *James Croft*, Mr. *Winter*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* arraign'd at *Guildhall*.

Upon *Tueſday*, *April* 17. Sir *James Croft* and Mr. *Winter* were brought to *Guildhall*, with whom alſo was brought Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, and there arraigned of Treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the Conſpiracy with the Duke of *Suffolk* and the reſt, againſt the Queen; where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaved himſelf, (as well in clearing his own Caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch Laws of the Realm as were then alledged againſt him) that the Queſt which

The Queſt troubled for acquitting Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*.

was charged with this Matter, could not in Conſcience but find him not guilty; for which, the ſaid twelve Perſons of the Queſt, being ſubſtantial Men of the City, were each bound in the Sum of 500 Pounds, to appear before the Queen's Council at a Day appointed, there to anſwer ſuch Things as ſhould be laid againſt them. Which Queſt appeared accordingly before the Council in the Star-Chamber upon *Wedneſday*, *April* 25. From whence, after certain Queſtioning, they were committed to Priſon, *Emanuel Lucar* and Mr. *Whetſtone* were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet. Anno 1554.

Lord *Thomas Gray* beheaded.

April 27. the Lord *Thomas Gray*, Brother to the late Duke of *Suffolk*, was beheaded at *Tower-hill*.

On *Saturday*, *April* 28. Sir *James Croft* and Mr. *Winter* were again brought to *Guildhall*, where Sir *James Croft* was arraigned and condemned; and becauſe the Day was far ſpent, Mr. *Winter* was not arraigned.

William Thomas condemned.

Upon *Thurſday*, *May* 17. *William Thomas* was arraigned at *Guildhall*, and the ſame Day condemned, who the next Day after was hanged, drawn and quartered. His Accuſation was, for conſpiring the Queen's Death; which how true it was I have not to ſay.

In the Month of *May* it was given out, that a ſolemn Diſputation ſhould be held at *Cambridge* (as ye heard before in Dr. *Ridley*'s Letter, page 80) between Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Saunders*, Mr. *Rogers*, and others of that Side, and the Doctors of both the Univerſities on the other Side, like as had been before in *Oxford*. Whereupon the Preachers who were in Priſon having Notice thereof, albeit they were deſtitute of their Books, and were not ignorant of the Purpoſe of their Adverſaries, and how the Cauſe was prejudiced before, alſo how the Diſputations were confuſedly handled at *Oxford*; nevertheleſs they thought not to refuſe the Offer of Diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard; and therefore wiſely pondering the Matter with themſelves, by a publick Conſent directed out of Priſon a Declaration of their Mind by Writing, the 8th of *May*, which is here inſerted.

The Preachers in Priſon refuſe not to diſpute before indifferent Judges.

A Copy of the Declaration drawn up by Mr. Bradford, *Mr.* Saunders, *and ſeveral others.*

BEcauſe we hear that it is determined of the Magiſtrates, and ſuch as be in Authority, eſpecially of the Clergy, to ſend us ſpeedily out of the Priſons of the *King's-Bench*, the *Fleet*, the *Marſhalſea*, and *Newgate*, where at this Preſent we are, and of long Time ſome of us have been, not as Rebels, Traitors, ſeditious Perſons, Thieves, or Tranſgreſſors of any Laws of this Realm, Inhibitions, Proclamations, or Commandments of the Queen's Highneſs, or of any of the Councils (God's Name be praiſed therefore) but only for the Conſcience we have to God, and his moſt holy Word and Truth, upon moſt certain Knowledge: Becauſe we ſay, we hear that it is determined, we ſhall be ſent to one of the Univerſities of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appointed in that Behalf: In that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe than by Writing, except it may be before the Queen's Highneſs and her Council, or before the Parliament-Houſes; and therefore perchance it will be bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the Truth of God's Word, and the Conſent of the true and catholick Church of Chriſt, the Doctrine we have generally and ſeverally taught, and ſome of us have written and ſet forth, where through the Godly and Simple may be offended, and ſome-

Anno 1554.

what weakened: we have thought it our bounden Duty now whilſt we may, by writing to publiſh and notify the Cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe than is aboveſaid, to prevent the Offences which might come thereby.

The Cauſes why they will not otherwiſe diſpute than before indifferent Judges.

Firſt, Becauſe it is evidently known unto the whole World; that the Determinations of both the Univerſities in Matters of Religion, eſpecially wherein we ſhould diſpute, are directly againſt God's Word, yea, againſt their own Determinations in the Time of our late Sovereign Lord and moſt godly Prince, King *Edward*: and further it is known they be our open Enemies, and have already condemned our Cauſes, before any Diſputation had of the ſame.

The ſecond Cauſe.

Secondly, Becauſe the Prelates and Clergy do not ſeek either us or the Verity, but our Deſtruction and their Glory. For if they had ſought us (as Charity requireth) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their Laws were ſo made, that frankly and without Peril we might have ſpoken our Conſciences. Again, If they had ſought for the Verity, they would not have concluded of Controverſies before they had been diſputed; ſo that it eaſily appeareth, that they ſeek their own Glory and our Deſtruction, and not us and the Verity: And therefore we have good Cauſe to refuſe Diſputation, as a Thing which ſhall not further prevail than to the ſetting forth of their Glory, and Suppreſſion of the Verity.

The third Cauſe. The Judges of the Diſputation profeſſed Enemies againſt the Truth.

Thirdly, Becauſe the Cenſors and Judges (as we hear who they be, are manifeſt Enemies to the Truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate Enemies, before whom Pearls are not to be caſt, by the Commandment of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and by his own Example. That they be ſuch, their Doings of late at *Oxford*, and in the Convocation Houſe, in *October* laſt paſt, do moſt evidently appear.

The fourth Cauſe. Want of Books neceſſary for Diſputation.

Fourthly, Becauſe ſome of us have been in Priſon theſe eight or nine Months, where we have had no Books, no Paper, no Pen, no Ink, or convenient Place for Study, we think we ſhould do evil, thus ſuddenly to deſcend into Diſputation with them, which may alledge, as they liſt, the Fathers and their Teſtimonies, becauſe our Memories have not that which we have read ſo readily, as to reprove, when they ſhall report and wreſt the Authors to their Purpoſe, or to bring forth that we may have there for our Advantage.

The fifth Cauſe.

Fifthly, Becauſe in Diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our Argument, but be ſtopt when we ſhould ſpeak; one ſaying this, another that, the third his Mind, *&c.* As was done to the learned Fathers, eſpecially Dr. *Ridley* at *Oxford*, who could not be permitted to declare his Mind and Meaning of the Propoſitions, and had oftentimes half a Dozen at once ſpeaking againſt him, always hindering him to proſecute his Argument, and to anſwer accordingly: we will not ſpeak of the hiſſing, ſcoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was uſed. If on this Sort, and much worſe, they handled theſe Fathers, much more will they be ſhameleſs bold with us, if we ſhould enter into Diſputation with them.

The ſixth Cauſe.

Sixthly, Becauſe the Notaries, that ſhall receive and write the Diſputations ſhall be of their Appointment, and ſuch as either do not or dare not favour the Truth, and therefore muſt write either to pleaſe them, or elſe they themſelves (the Cenſors and Judges we mean) at their pleaſure will put to, and take from that which is written by the Notaries; who cannot, or muſt not have in their Cuſtody that which they write, longer than the Diſputation endureth, as their Doing at *Oxford* declareth. No Copy nor Scroul could any Man have by their good Will. For the Cenſors and Judges will have all delivered into their Hands. Yea, if any Man was ſeen there to write, as the Report is, the ſame Man was ſent for, and his Writings taken from him: ſo muſt the Diſputation ſerve only for the Glory, not of God, but of the Enemies of his Truth.

For theſe Cauſes we all think it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeek, to promote the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſs (as much as may be) the Truth. We will not ſpeak of the Offence that might come to the Godly, when they ſhould hear by the Report of our Enemies, our Anſwers and Arguments framed (you may be ſure) for their Fantaſies, to the ſlandering of the Verity.

Therefore we publiſh, and by this Writing notify unto the whole Congregation and Church of *England*, that for theſe aforeſaid Cauſes we will not diſpute with them otherwiſe than with the Pen, unleſs it be before the Queen's Highneſs and her Council, or before the Houſes of the Parliament, as is above ſaid. If they will write we will anſwer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible Verity, even the very Word of God, and by the Teſtimony of the good and moſt antient Fathers in Chriſt's Church, this our Faith and every Piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a Sum do write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that our good Brethren and Siſters in the Lord may know it: and to ſeal up the ſame, we are ready through God's Help and Grace to give our Lives to the Halter or Fire, or otherwiſe, as God ſhall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the Bowels of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* beſeeching all that fear God, to behave themſelves as obedient Subjects to the Queen's Highneſs and the Superiour Powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our Example to give their Heads to the Block, than in any Point to rebel, or once to mutter againſt the Lord's anointed; we mean our Sovereign Lady Queen *Mary*, into whoſe Heart we beſeech the Lord of Mercy plentifully to pour the Wiſdon and Grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. *Amen*.

Conditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

The Confeſſion and Faith of the impriſoned Preachers.

Firſt, We confeſs and believe all the canonical Books of the Old Teſtament, and all the Books of the New Teſtament, to be the very true Word of God, and to be written by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Judge in all Controverſies and Matters of Religion.

The Catholick Church.

Secondly, We confeſs and believe, that the Catholick Church, which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and loving Wife, doth embrace and follow the Doctrine of theſe Books in all Matters of Religion, and therefore is ſhe to be heard accordingly; ſo that thoſe which will not hear this Church thus following and obeying the Word of her Husband, we account as Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, according to this Saying, *If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen.*

The Creed.

Thirdly, We believe and confeſs all the Articles of Faith and Doctrine ſet forth in the Symbol of the Apoſtles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the Symbols of the Council of *Nice*, kept in the Year 324. of *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 384. of *Epheſus*, in the Year 432.

of *Chalcedon*, in the Year 454. of *Toletum* the firſt and fourth. Alſo in the Symbols of *Athanaſius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and of *Damaſus*, which was about the Year of our Lord 376. We confeſs and believe (we ſay) the Doctrine of the Symbols generally and particularly; ſo that whoſoever doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to err from the Truth.

Juſtification by Faith only in Chriſt.

What Faith is.

Fourthly, We believe and confeſs concerning Juſtification, that as it cometh only from God's Mercy thro' Chriſt, ſo it is perceived and had of none, who be of Years of Diſcretion, otherwiſe than by Faith only: which Faith is not an Opinion, but a certain Perſwaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the Mind and Heart of Man, where-thro' as the Mind is illuminated, ſo the Heart is ſuppled to ſubmit itſelf to the Will of God unfeignedly, and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent Righteouſneſs, which is to be diſcerned in the Articles of Juſtification, from the Righteouſneſs which God endueth us withal, juſtifying us, although inſeparably they go together. And this we do not for Curioſity or Contention ſake, but for Conſcience ſake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without Diſtinction, Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Chriſt's Juſtice imputed to us, with Regeneration and inherent Righteouſneſs. By this we diſallow papiſtical Doctrine of Free-will, of Works of Supererrogation, of Merits, of the Neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion and Satisfaction to God-wards.

The Doctrine of free Juſtification defended not for Curioſity, but for Quiet of Conſcience.

Service in the vulgar Tongue.

Fifthly, We confeſs and believe concerning the exteriour Service of God, that it ought to be according to the Word of God; and therefore in the Congregation all Things publick ought to be done in ſuch a Tongue as may be moſt to edify, and not in *Latin*, where the People underſtand not the ſame.

Invocation to God alone.

Sixthly, We confeſs and believe that God only by Chriſt Jeſus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we diſallow Invocation or Prayer to Saints departed this Life.

Seventhly, We confeſs and believe, that as a Man departeth this Life, ſo ſhall he be judged in the laſt Day generally, and in the mean Seaſon is entered either into the State of the Bleſſed for ever, or Damned for ever; and therefore is either paſt all Help, or elſe needs no Help of any in this Life. By Reaſon whereof we affirm Purgatory, Maſſes of *Scala cæli*, *Trentals*, and ſuch Suffrages as the Popiſh Church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the Doctrine of the Antichriſt.

Purgatory and Maſſes ſuffragatory denied.

Two Sacraments.

Eighthly, We confeſs and believe the Sacraments of Chriſt, which be Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, concerning the ſubſtantial Parts of them: and that they be no longer Sacraments, than they be had in Uſe, and uſed to the End for which they were inſtituted.

And here we plainly confeſs, that the Mutilation of the Lord's Supper, and the Subtraction of the one Kind from the lay People, is antichriſtian. And ſo is the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental Bread and Wine after the Words of Conſecration, as they be called.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Againſt Adoration of the Sacrament.

Item, The Adoration of the Sacrament with Honour due unto God: the Reſervation and carrying about of the ſame.

The Maſs to be no propitiatory Sacrifice.

Item, The Maſs to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, or a Work that pleaſeth God.

All theſe we believe and confeſs to be Antichriſt's Doctrine: as is the Inhibition of Marriage as unlawful to any State. And we doubt not by God's Grace, but we ſhall be able to prove all our Confeſſions here to be moſt true by the Verity of God's Word, and Conſent of the Catholick Church, which followeth and hath followed the Governance of God's Spirit, and the Judgment of his Word. Anno 1554.

And this thro' the Lord's Help we will do, either in Diſputation by Word before the Queen's Highneſs and her Council, either before the Parliament Houſes, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or elſe with our Pens, whenſoever we ſhall be thereto by them that have Authority, required and commanded.

In the mean Seaſon, as obedient Subjects, we ſhall behave ourſelves towards all that be in Authority, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of Wiſdom and Grace, and ſo we heartily deſire and humbly pray all Men to do, in no Point conſenting to any Kind of Rebellion or Sedition againſt our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highneſs: but where they cannot obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves with all Patience and Humility to ſuffer as the Will and Pleaſure of the high Powers ſhall judge: as we are ready, through the Goodneſs of the Lord, to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall adjudge us unto, rather than we will conſent to any Doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſs, unleſs we ſhall be juſtly convinced thereof, either by writing or by Word, before ſuch Judges as the Queen's Highneſs and her Council, or the Parliament Houſes ſhall appoint. For the Univerſities and Clergy have condemned our Cauſes already by the greater, but not by the better Part, without all Diſputation of the ſame: and therefore moſt juſtly we may, and do appeal from them to be our Judges in this Behalf, except it may be in writing, that to all Men the Matter may appear. The Lord of Mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his Truth and Grace of Perſeverence therein unto the End. *Amen.*

Exhortation againſt Rebellion.

Appeal from the Univerſity Doctors, as not indifferent Judges.

Robert Menaven, alias *Robert Ferrar.*
Rowland Taylor.
John Philpot.
John Bradford.
John Wigorne, and *Glouc. Epiſcopus*, alias *John Hooper.*
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
J. P.
T. M.

May 8, 1554.

To theſe Things aboveſaid, do I *Miles Coverdale*, late of *Exon*, conſent and agree, with theſe mine afflicted Brethren being Priſoners, mine own Hand.

And thus much concerning this preſent Declaration ſubſcribed by theſe Preachers which was on the 8th Day of *May*.

Furthermore, the 19th of the ſaid Month, the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Queen's Siſter, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *John Williams*, afterwards Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, by whom her Highneſs was courteouſly treated: who afterwards was had to *Woodſtock*, and there committed to the Keeping of Sir *Henry Benifield*, Knight, of *Oxborough* in *Norfolk*; who, on the other Side, both forgetting her Eſtate, and his own Duty, ſhewed himſelf more hard and ſtreight unto her, than either Cauſe was given of her Part, or Reaſon of his own Part would have led him.

Lady *Elizabeth* committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *John Williams*.

Afterwards to Sir *Henry Benifield's* Keeping.

Anno 1354. On *Friday*, *July* 20. King *Philip* arrived at *Southampton*. The Prince himſelf was the firſt that landed; who immediately as he ſet Foot upon the Land, drew out his Sword, and carried it naked in his Hand. A little without the Town the Mayor of *Southampton*, with certain Commoners, met him, and delivered the Keys of the Town unto the Prince, who removed his Sword, naked as it was, out of his Right Hand into his Left, and ſo received the Keys of the Mayor without any Word ſpeaking, or Countenance of Thankfulneſs, and after a while delivered the Keys to the Mayor again. At the Town Gate the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Williams* met him, and ſo he was brought to his Lodging.

King *Philip* arriveth at *Southampton*.

The Keys of *Southampton* deliver'd to him.

Upon *Wedneſday* following, *July* 25. being St. *James*'s Day, *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and *Mary* Queen of *England*, were ſolemnly married in the Cathedral Church at *Wincheſter*, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Preſence of a great Number of Noblemen of both the Realms. At the Time of this Marriage, the Emperor's Ambaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that in Conſideration of that Marriage, the Emperor had granted and given unto his Son the Kingdom of *Naples*, &c.

Marriage between King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*.

Whereupon the firſt of *Auguſt* following, there was a Proclamation, that from that Time forth the Style of all Manner of Writings ſhould be altered, and this following uſed.

Philip *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith, Princes of* Spain *and* Sicily, *Archdukes of* Auſtrich, *Dukes of* Milan, Burgundy, *and* Brabant, *Counties of* Haſpurge, Flanders *and* Tyrol.

Of this Marriage as the Papiſts chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo ſeveral of them, after divers Studies to ſhew forth their inward Affections, made Interludes and Pageants, ſome drew forth Genealogies, deriving his Pedigree from *Edward* the third, and *John of Gaunt*. Amongſt others, Mr. *White*, then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, made certain verſes; a Tranſlation whereof we have here inſerted.

Theſe Verſes were in *Latin* in the other Editions, but now tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by Mr. *Rawlinſon Corpſe*.

The Genealogy of *Philip* and *Mary*, whereby both Princes are ſhewn to have deſcended from *John of Gaunt*, Son of *Edward* III. King of *England* and *France*. The Author Mr. *White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

JOHN of Gaunt, *Father of Princes, did beget,*
John *the puiſſant Earl of* Somerſet:
From him John *Duke of* Somerſet *did ſpring,*
Whoſe Daughter Marg'ret *brought forth* Eng-
(land's *King,*
Henry *the ſeventh, who of Life bereft,*
The Throne unto his Son Prince * Henry *left:*
His Daughter Mary, England's *Scepter bears,*
And may ſhe bear it long, exempt from Cares.

* King *Henry* VIII

Verſes of Mr. *White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, concerning the Marriage of *Philip* and *Mary*.

Tranſlated by the ſame Hand.

THE Devil, that old Enemy of Mankind,
Strives to prevent, tho' to it God's inclin'd,
That Mary, England's *Queen, ſhould join her*
To Engliſh Philip *in hymenial Bands.* (*Hands,*
Againſt the Match, with the dark Prince of Might,
The helpleſs Scots, *and timorous* French *unite.*
* Duke of *Northumberland* † Duke of *Suffolk.* *With theſe Hell's Prelates join,* Caiaphas's *Race,*
Eight married Fathers, void of heav'nly Grace,
* John Dudley, Wyat, *and rebellious* Kent,
With † Gray, *conſpire the Marriage to prevent.*
But that the Nuptials ſhould performed be,
** Ceſar *and* Flanders *would, and* Italy,
Catholick Biſhops, and with theſe comply
Five holy Fathers, for their Sanctity
In Fetters bound, the Senate of the Nation,
And all true Catholicks in every Station.
Lords, Commons, Learned, Ignorant, and we,
'Cauſe God himſelf doth thereunto agree.
When Philip *to Queen* Mary *ſhall be join'd,*
Their Blood its wonted Courſe ſhall run refin'd.

** *Charles* V. Emperor of *Germany*.

Anſwer to *White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, by the reverend Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Tranſlated by the ſame Hand.

THAT Mary *ſhould to* Spaniſh Philip *wed,*
And England's *Glory be extirpated,*
The Devil wills, jointly with him agree,
All Flanders, Italy, *and* Germany,
Caiaphas's *Race, the mitred Company*
Of popiſh Biſhops, Five for Impiety
In Priſon caſt: but God's extended Arm
Kindly ſupports us, and averts the Harm:
He nulls the Match, gives England *Liberty,*
With him the warlike Scots *and* French *agree,*
Eight married in the Lord: and Dudley *you,*
Foreboding diſmal Things, the Marriage View,
The Senate nills; brave Wyat *doth eſpouſe*
With pious Zeal his Country's injur'd Cauſe;
With him Gray, *and the* Kentiſh *folk comply,*
Either to gain their Liberty, or die.
Then ſay, what Profits will the Spaniſh *King,*
Having wedded Mary, *to the* Engliſh *bring?*

Another Anſwer by the ſame Author.

Tranſlated by Mr. NATHANIEL BALL.

SATAN, your all-confounding Sire, it's plain,
Would have Queen Mary *wed the Prince of* (*Spain;*
That ſo he may Britannia's *noble Race*
Eradicate, and ſuddenly deface.
But God, the Father of the Engliſh *ſtill,*
Reſents the Rancour of his wicked Will.
Nor do the warlike French, *nor* Scots *agree;*
Tho' Flanders, Italy *and* Germany,
Conſpire and jointly ſtrive that this may be.
The mitred Prelates all the Match proclaim;
Our holy Fathers all decry the ſame.
The Eight, who ſacred nuptial Tyes revere,
Couragious, and unmov'd by ſlaviſh Fear,
Will not, although the factious Five agree,
That were impriſon'd for Impiety.
Dudley *the brave* Northumbrian *Hero ſtands,*
Prompt to oppoſe the matrimonial Bands:
And ſo will all prepar'd and ready be,
That love their Country, Laws, and Liberty.
Wyat *the brave this generous Mind doth ſhew,*
The Nobles, Commons, and the Clergy too.
Ye will the Match, who are by Nature prone
To baniſh Truth, and Piety dethrone:
But Gray, *and all the* Kentiſh *Folk declare*
Their juſt Reſentment at the married Pair.
What Glory then from ſuch a Marriage ſprings?
What Splendor does it add unto the ancient Kings?

Other Verſes anſwering to Biſhop *White*, made by *J. C.*

Tranſlated by Mr. NAT. BALL.

THO' Phillip *to the* Engliſh *Line pretend,*
And Mary *from the* Spaniſh *did deſcend;*
Yet for an Engliſh *Queen of* * *Mongrel Breed,*
To wed a Spaniſh *Prince* (*as 'tis decreed*)
Is to her Sire and Nation a Diſgrace indeed.
Th' Admirers of old England's *Valour ſee,*
With Truth and Juſtice this can ne'er agree;
But God the ſame does for our Sins permit,
And therefore patiently they ſuffer it.

* Queen *Mary* was Daughter of King *Henry* VIII. and *Katherine* of *Spain*.

The

The People, if they are not ſtrangely bent
Againſt our Welfare, never will conſent
To this unhappy Match, foreboding Ill:
What's it to us, if th' Adverſe Nation will?
All pious Men againſt the Match contend;
For they are mad indeed who it defend.
The Eight, who ſacred Wedlock do revere,
Than the impriſon'd Five more wiſe appear;
For this pernicious Marriage they oppoſe,
To ſave the Nation from inſulting Foes.
The Hero of Northumberland *withſtands,*
Theſe inauſpicious and illegal Bands:
O dire, infernal Counſellors, who will
Promote this fatal Match, preſaging Ill;
Wyat *in War unhappily engag'd,*
Was at the Marriage generouſly enrag'd:
None for it was; but all the ſame withſtood,
Except th' unthinking Popiſh Multitude.
Gray, *and the* Britains *all, will not agree*
That this unhappy Match ſhould ever be:
We, 'cauſe th' Almighty wills it ſo, ſubmit,
And patiently endure and ſuffer it:
But worſe Things we ſhall bear, if Mary *be*
In ſacred Wedlock, Philip, *join'd to thee.*

Other Verſes anſwering likewiſe.

Tranſlated by Nat. Ball.

SAY, White, *whom can you find that will (agree,*
That Mary *ſhould to* Philip *married be?*
It matters not what the vain Multitude
Do Will or Nill (they're ignorant and rude).
To Will and Nill is God's chief Property:
The Queſtion then is, What he wills to be?
'Cauſe God hath will'd the Match (you ſay) the (ſame
Ye will, and loudly every where proclaim:
You ought indeed to know what God doth will,
Becauſe, dull Fool, thou'rt ignorant of it ſtill.
This he hath will'd, that in his Augury
White *ſhould a lying Pſeudo-prophet be.*

* He was King of *Spain*, but not of *England*.

*A King tho' not the * King ſhe weds indeed,*
Herſelf an Engliſh *Queen, tho' not of* Engliſh *(Breed.*
She's pregnant and not pregnant, yet pretends,
Her teeming Womb a joyful Off-ſpring ſends:
This ye with Hearts exulting wiſh to ſee;
But lo! no Off ſpring comes: This God would have (to be.
He for a Seaſon weds, and then forſakes her;
One Day a Bride, the next a Widow makes her;
This God would have; (whoſe Vengeance over- (takes her)
So vain the Prayers of wicked Men are made,
Who for their Country's Ruin have Deſtruction (laid.

Sit Nomen Domini benedictum.

After the Conſummation of the Marriage, the King and Queen removed from *Wincheſter* to ſeveral other Places, and by eaſy Journeys came to *Windſor-caſtle*, where he was inſtalled in the Order of the Garter, upon *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 12. From thence they both removed to *Richmond*, and from thence by Water to *London*, and landed at the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Houſe, through which they paſſed both into *Southwark*-Park, and ſo to *Southwark*-Houſe called *Suffolk*-Place, where they lay that Night, being the 18th of *Auguſt*.

King *Philip* cometh to *Windſor*.

King *Philip* cometh to *London*.

The next Day the King and Queen rode from *Suffolk*-Place (accompanied with a great Number, as well of Noblemen as Gentlemen) thro' the City of *London* to *Whitehall*, and at *London*-Bridge, as he entered at the Draw-bridge, was a vain great Spectacle ſet up, two Images repreſenting two Giants, one named *Corineus*, and the other *Gogmagog*, holding between them certain *Latin* Verſes. Anno 1554.

Vain Pageants of *London*.

From *London*-Bridge they paſſed the Conduit in *Gracious-ſtreet*, which was finely painted, and among other Things, the nine Worthies, whereof King *Henry* VIII. was one. He was painted in Harneſs, having in one Hand a Sword, and in the other Hand a Book; whereon was written *Verbum Dei*, delivering the ſame Book, as it were to his Son King *Edward*, who was painted in a Corner by him.

Wincheſter cannot abide the Book called *Verbum Dei*.

But this gave great Offence; for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor, ſent for the Painter, and not only called him Knave, for painting a Book in King *Henry*'s Hand, and ſpecially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but alſo rank Traitor and Villain, ſaying to him, that he ſhould rather have put the Book into the Queen's Hand, who was alſo painted there, for that ſhe had reformed the Church and Religion, with other Things according to the pure and ſincere Word of God indeed. The Painter anſwered, and ſaid, That if he had known that had been the Matter whereof his Lordſhip ſent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his Lordſhip. The Biſhop anſwered, That it was the Queen's Majeſty's Will and Commandment that he ſhould ſend for him: And ſo commanding him to wipe out the Book and *Verbum Dei* too, he ſent him home. The Painter departed, but fearing leſt he ſhould leave ſome Part either of the Book, or of *Verbum Dei* in King *Henry*'s Hand, he wiped away a Piece of his Fingers withal.

* A Crucifix.

But one Thing by the Way I cannot let paſs, touching the * Rood newly ſate up againſt this Time, to welcome King *Philip* into St. *Paul*'s Church. *Anno* 2 *Mariæ*, *Bonner* in his Royalty, and all his Prebendaries about him in *Paul*'s Quire, the Rood laid along upon the Pavements, and alſo the Doors of St. *Paul*'s being ſhut, the Biſhop with others ſung divers Prayers by the Rood: That being done, they anointed the Rood with Oil in divers Places, and after the anointing, kiſſed it. After that, they took the ſaid Rood, aud weighed him up, and ſet him in his old accuſtomed Place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quire ſang *Te Deum*.

The erecting up of the Rood at *Paul*'s.

The Prince thus being in the Church of *Paul*'s, after Dr. *Harpsfield* had finiſhed his Oration in *Latin*, ſet forward through *Fleet-ſtreet*, and ſo came to *Whitehall*, where he with the Queen remained four Days after, and from thence removed unto *Richmond*.

After this, all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries, with Commandment to bring all their Harneſs and Artillery into the Tower of *London* with all Speed. Now remained there no *Engliſh* Lord at the Court, but the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton*-Court, where the Hall-door within the Court was continually ſhut, ſo that no Man might enter, unleſs his Errand were firſt known, which ſeem'd ſtrange to *Engliſhmen* that had not been uſed thereto.

September 17. was a Proclamation in *London*, That all Vagabonds and maſterleſs Men, as well Strangers as *Engliſhmen*, ſhould depart the City within five Days; and ſtraitly charging all Innholders, Victuallers, Taverners, and Alehouſe-keepers, with all others that ſell Victuals, that they after the ſaid five Days ſhould not ſell any Meat, Drink, or any Kind of Victual to any Serving-man whatſoever, unleſs he brought a

Anno 1554. Teſtimonial from his Maſter to declare whoſe Servant he was, and were in continual Houſhold with his ſaid Maſter, upon pain to run in Danger of the Law, if they offended herein.

About the ſame Time, upon *Corpus-Chriſti* Day, the Proceſſion being made in *Smithfield*, where after the Manner the Prieſt with his Box went under the Canopy, by chance there came by the Way a certain ſimple Man, named *John Street*, a Joyner of *Coleman-ſtreet*, who having ſome Haſte in his Buſineſs, and finding no other Way to paſs through, by chance went under the Canopy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeeing the Man ſo to preſume to come under the Canopy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared than hurt, for fear let his Pyx fall down. The poor Man being ſtraitways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the Prieſt accuſing him unto the Council, as though he had come to ſlay him; when as the poor Man, as himſelf hath ſince declared unto us, had no ſuch Thought ever in his Mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto *Newgate*, where he was caſt into the Dungeon, there chained to a Poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extreamly dealt withal, that being but ſimple before, he was now ſcared out of his Wits altogether, and ſo upon the ſame had to *Bedlam*.

John Street.

The Prieſt let the Pyx fall for fear.

John Street innocently caſt into the Dungeon.

About the 5th of *October*, divers as well Houſholders as Servants and Prentices were apprehended and taken, and committed to ſundry Priſons, for having and ſelling of certain Books which were ſent into *England* by the Preachers that fled into *Germany* and other Countries; which Books nipped a great Number ſo near, that within one Fortnight there were little leſs than threeſcore impriſoned for this Matter: Among whom was Mr. *Brown* a *Goldſmith*, Mr. *Spark* a *Draper*, *Randal Tirer* a *Stationer*, Mr. *Beſton* a *Merchant*, with many others.

Men priſoned for Books.

Upon *Friday*, *October* 26. certain Men whereof I ſpake before, which were of Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Queſt, being in Number eight (for the other four were delivered out of Priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelves, and ſaid they had offended, not conſidering Truth to be Truth, but for Fear ſaid ſo) theſe eight Men, I ſay, whereof Mr. *Emanuel Lucas*, and Mr. *Whetſtone* were chief, were called before the Council in the Star-Chamber; where they all affirmed that they had done all Things in that Matter according to their Knowledge, and with good Conſciences, even as they ſhould anſwer before God at the Day of Judgment. When Mr. *Lucas* ſaid openly before all the Lords, that they had done in the Matter like honeſt Men, and true and faithful Subjects, and therefore they humbly beſought the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords, to be Means to the King and Queen's Majeſties that they might be diſcharged and ſet at liberty, and ſaid that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelves to their Majeſties, ſaving and reſerving their Truth, Conſciences, and Honeſty: Some of the Lords ſaid, that they were worthy to pay 1000 Pounds apiece, and others ſaid, that Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *Whetſtone* were worthy to pay 1000 Marks a piece, and the reſt 500 *l.* apiece. In concluſion, Sentence was given by the Lord Chancellor, that they ſhould pay 1000 Marks apiece, and be ſent to Priſon again, there to remain till further Order were taken for their Puniſhment.

The Trouble of the good Men which were of Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Queſt.

On *Sunday*, *November* 4. five Prieſts did Penance at *Paul*'s Croſs, which were content to put away their Wives, and take upon them again to miniſter. Every one of them had a Taper in his Hand, and a Rod, wherewith the Preacher did diſpel them.

Upon *Wedneſday*, *November* 7. the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings*, Maſter of the Horſe, were ſent as Ambaſſadors, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal *Poole*, who lay all the Summer before at *Bruſſels*; and it was thought they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into *England*, where at that Time he was nominated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Cardinal *Poole* nominated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*

Upon *Friday*, *November* 9. Mr. *Barlow* late Biſhop of *Bath*, and Mr. *Cardmaker*, were brought before the Council in the Star-Chamber, where after Communication they were commanded to the *Fleet*.

Upon *Saturday*, *November* 10. the Sheriffs of *London* had Commandment to take an Inventory of every one of their Goods which were of Maſter *Throgmorton*'s Queſt, and to ſeal up their Doors, which was done the ſame Day. Mr. *Whetſtone*, Mr. *Lucas*, Mr. *Kytely*, were judged to pay 1000 Pounds apiece, the reſt 1000 Marks apiece, to be paid within one Fortnight after. From this Payment were exempted thoſe four which confeſſed a Fault, and ſubmitted themſelves, whoſe Names are theſe, Mr. *Loe*, Mr. *Poynter*, Mr. *Beſwicke*, and Mr. *Carter*.

Edmund Bonner Biſhop of *London* about this Time goeth in his Viſitation; for the better Preparation whereof were ſet forth certain Articles to the Number of 37; which Articles, partly for the Tediouſneſs of them, partly for that Mr. *Bale* in a certain Treatiſe hath ſufficiently painted out the ſame in their Colours, I ſkip them over, proceeding in the Progreſs of this Biſhop in his Viſitation in the County of *Eſſex*. Who paſſing through the ſaid County of *Eſſex*, being attended with divers worſhipful of the Shire (for ſo they were commanded) arrived at *Sterford* in *Hertfordſhire*, where he reſted certain Days, ſolacing himſelf with his Attendants aforeſaid at the Houſe of one *Parſons* his Nephew, whoſe Wife he commonly called his fair Neice. After ſome Days were paſſed, he proceeded in his Viſitation toward *Hadham*, his own Houſe and Pariſh, not paſt two Miles from *Sterford*, being there moſt ſolemnly rung out, as in all other Places where he paſſed. At length drawing near unto *Hadham*, when he heard no ſtirring there in Honour of his Holineſs, he grew into ſome Choler, and the nearer he approached the hotter was his Fit; and the quieter the Bells were, the unquieter was his Mood. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himſelf: *What meaneth*, ſaith he, *that Knave the Clerk that he ringeth not? and the Parſon that he meeteth me not?* with other paſſionate Expreſſions. There this patient Prelate, coming to the Town, alighted, calling for the Key of the Church, which was then all unready, for that, as they then pretended, he had prevented his Time by two Hours, whereupon he grew from Choler to plain Melancholy, ſo as no Man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging Humour ſo far incorporated in his Breaſt. At laſt, the Church-door being opened, the Biſhop entred, and finding no Sacrament hanged up, no Rood-loft decked after the popiſh Precept (which had commanded about the ſame Time a well favoured Rood, and of tall Stature univerſally in all Churches to be ſet up) curtailed his ſmall Devotions, and fell from all Choler and Melancholy to flat Madneſs in the greateſt Degree, ſwearing and raging with an hunting Oath or two, that in his own Church, where he hoped to have ſeen beſt Order, he found moſt Diſor-

Biſhop *Bonner* goeth his Viſitation.

Bonner's Behaviour at *Hadham*.

der, to his Honour's moſt heavy Diſcomfort, as he ſaid, calling the Parſon (whoſe Name was Dr. *Bricket*) Knave, and Heretick. Who there humbled himſelf, and yielded, as it were, to his Fault, ſaying, He was ſorry his Lordſhip was come before that he and his Pariſh looked for him, and therefore could not do their Duties to receive him accordingly: And as for thoſe Things which were lacking, he truſted in ſhort Time hereafter he ſhould compaſs that which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleaſed his Lordſhip to come to his poor Houſe, where his Dinner was prepared, he would ſatisfy him in thoſe Things which his Lordſhip thought amiſs. Yet this reaſonable Anſwer neither could ſatisfy or aſſwage his unreaſonable Paſſion. For the Catholick Prelate utterly defied him and his Chear, commanding him out of his Sight, ſaying, as his by-word was, *Before God thou art a Knave, avant Heretick*; and therewithal, whether thruſting or ſtriking at him, ſo it was that with his Hand he gave Sir *Thomas Joſſelin*, Knight, (who was then amongſt the reſt, and ſtood next the Biſhop) a good Blow upon the Upper Part of the Neck, even under his Ear, as ſome ſay which ſtood by; but, as he himſelf ſaid, he hit him full upon the Ear; whereat he was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at the Suddenneſs of the Quarrel for that Time. At laſt he ſpake and ſaid, *What meaneth your Lordſhip? have you been trained in* Will. Summer's *School, to ſtrike him that ſtandeth next you?* The Biſhop ſtill in Rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Dr. *Bricket* Parſon of *Hadham*, called Knave by *Bonner*.

Bp. *Bonner* ſtriketh Sir *Thomas Joſſelin*.

Then Mr. *Fecknam*, Dean of *Paul's*, ſeeing the Biſhop ſtill in this bitter Rage, ſaid, *O Mr.* Joſſelin, *you muſt bear with my Lord, for truly his long Impriſonment in the* Marſhalſea, *and the miſuſing of him there hath altered him, that in theſe Paſſions he is not Ruler of himſelf, nor it booteth any Man to give him Council until his Heat be paſt, and then aſſure yourſelf Mr.* Joſſelin, *my Lord will be ſorry for thoſe Abuſes that now he cannot ſee in himſelf.* Whereupon he merrily replied, *So it ſeems Mr.* Fecknam, *for now that he is come forth of the* Marſhalſea, *he is ready to go to* Bedlam. At which merry Conceit ſome laughed, and ſome ſmiled, becauſe the Nail was ſo truly hit upon the Head. The Biſhop nothing abaſed at his own Folly, gave a deaf Ear; and it was no Marvel, that he was not aſhamed to ſtrike a Stranger, who ſpared not the burning of ſo many good Men.

Fecknam excuſeth Bp. *Bonner*.

Sir *Thomas Joſſelin's* Apothegm touching Bp. *Bonner*.

After this worthy Combat thus finiſhed, this martial Prelate preſently taketh him to his Horſe again, notwithſtanding he at firſt intended to ſtay at *Hadham* three or four Days, and had made Proviſion in his own Houſe accordingly; but leaving his Dinner he rode that Night with a ſmall Company of his Houſhold to *Ware*, to the great Wonder of all the Country, who looked not for his coming till 3 Days after.

At this haſty poſting away of the Biſhop, his whole Train of Attendants there left him; alſo his Doctors and Chaplains, a few excepted, tarried behind, and dined at Dr. *Bricket's* as merrily as the Biſhop rode toward *Ware* chafingly; which Dinner was prepared for the Biſhop himſelf.

A Story of a Rood or Croſs ſet up in *Lancaſhire*.

In this Viſitation of Biſhop *Bonner* above-mentioned, ye ſee how the Biſhop took on for not ſetting up the Rood, and ringing the Bells at *Hadham*. Ye heard alſo of the Precept, which commanded in every Pariſh a Rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall Stature. By occaſion whereof it cometh in Mind, and not out of Place, what happened in a certain Town in *Lancaſhire* near to *Lancaſter*, called *Cockram*, where the Pariſhioners and Church-wardens, having at the ſame Time a like Charge for the erecting of a Rood in their Pariſh Church, had made their Bargain and were at a Price with one that could cunningly carve and paint ſuch Idols for the framing of their Rood: Who, according to his Promiſe made them one, and ſet it up in their Church. This done, he demanded his Money; but they miſliking his Workmanſhip, refuſed to pay him, whereupon he arreſted them, and the Matter was brought before the Mayor of *Lancaſter*, who was a very fit Man for ſuch a Purpoſe, and an old Favourer of the Goſpel, which is rare in that Country. Then the Carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a Rood with the Appurtenances, ready carved and ſet up in their Church, which he according to his Promiſe had done; and now demanding his Money, they refuſed to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Mayor to the Wardens? Yea Sir, ſaid they. And why do you not pay the poor Man his due, quoth he? And it pleaſe you, maſter Mayor, quoth they, becauſe the Rood we had before was a well-favoured Man, and he promiſed to make us ſuch another; but this that he hath ſet us up now, is the worſt favoured Thing that ever you ſet your Eyes on, gaging and grinning in ſuch Sort, that none of our Children dare once look him in the Face, or come near him. The Mayor thinking it was good enough for that Purpoſe if it had been worſe; my Maſters, quoth he, howſoever the Rood like you, the poor Man's Labour hath been never the leſs, and it is a Pity that he ſhould have any Hindrance or Loſs thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you ſhall do: Pay him the Money ye promiſed him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not ſerve for a God, make no more ado, but clap a Pair of Horns on his Head, and ſo he will make an excellent Devil. This the Pariſhoners took well in worth: The poor Man had his Money, and divers laughed well thereat; but ſo did not the *Babyloniſh* Prieſts.

Anno 1554.

The Men of *Cockram* not pleaſed with their Rood.

The Rood of *Cockram* driving the Children out of the Church.

This Mayor above-mentioned continued a Proteſtant almoſt 50 Years, and was the only Reliever of Mr. *Marſh* the Martyr, (whoſe Story followeth hereafter) with Meat, Drink and Lodging, while he lay in *Lancaſter*-caſtle, the Space of three Quarters of a Year, before he was had to *Cheſter* to be burned, *&c.*

The Mayor of *Lancaſter* a good Man.

About this Time there came a Precept or Mandate from *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, to all Prieſts and Curates within his Dioceſs, for the aboliſhing of ſuch Scriptures and Writings as had been painted upon Church Walls in King *Edward's* Days. The Copy of which Precept or Mandate we thought good to inſert here, that the World may ſee the wicked Proceedings of their impious Zeal, or rather their malicious Rage againſt the Lord and his Word, and againſt the edifying of chriſtian People; whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of the Scriptures, not only how blaſphemouſly they ſpake againſt the holy Scriptures of God, but alſo how ſtudiouſly they ſought by all Manner of Means to keep the People ſtill in Ignorance.

Anno 1554.

A Mandate of Biſhop *Bonner*, to aboliſh the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

EDMUND *by God's Permiſſion Biſhop of* London, *to all and every Parſons, Vicars, Clerks, and lettered, within the Pariſh of* Hadham, *or within the Precinct of our Dioceſs of* London, *whereſoever being, ſendeth greeting, Grace and Benediction.*

The Scriptures painted on Church-Walls razed out.

Becauſe ſome Children of Iniquity, given up to carnal Deſires and Novelties, have by many Ways enterprized to baniſh the antient Manner and Order of the Church, and to bring in and eſtabliſh Sects and Hereſies; taking from thence the Picture of Chriſt, and many Things beſides inſtituted and obſerved of antient Time laudibly in the ſame, placing in the room thereof ſuch Things, as in ſuch a Place it behoved them not to do; and alſo have procured as a Stay to their Hereſies, (as they thought) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the Church-walls, all which Perſons tend chiefly to this End; that they might uphold the Liberty of the Fleſh, and Marriage of Prieſts, and deſtroy as much as lay in them, the reverent Sacrament of the Altar, and might extinguiſh and enervate Holy-Days, Faſting-Days, and other laudible Diſcipline of the Catholick Church, opening a Window to all Vices, and utterly cloſing up the Way to all Virtue: Wherefore we being moved with a chriſtian Zeal, judging that the Premiſes are not to be longer ſuffered, do for Diſcharge of our Duty, commit unto you joyntly and ſeverally, and by the Tenor hereof do ſtraightly charge and command you, that at the Receipt hereof, with all ſpeed convenient, you do warn, or cauſe to be warned, firſt, ſecond, and third Time, and peremptorily, all and ſingular Church-wardens and Pariſhioners whoſoever, within our foreſaid Dioceſs of London, *whereſoever any ſuch Scriptures or Paintings have been attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſh ſuch Manner of Scriptures, ſo that by no Means they be either read or ſeen, and therein to proceed moreover as they ſhall ſee good and laudible in this Behalf. And if after the ſaid Monition, the ſaid Church-wardens and Pariſhioners ſhall be found remiſs and negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and ſeverally ſhall ſee the foreſaid Scriptures to be razed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: Citing all and ſingular thoſe Church-wardens and Pariſhioners (whom we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the Tenor hereof) that all and ſingular the Church-wardens, Pariſhioners, being ſlack and negligent, culpable therein, ſhall appear before us, our Vicar general and principal Official, or our Commiſſary ſpecial in our Cathedral Church of St.* Paul *at* London, *in the Conſiſtory there, at the Hour appointed for the ſame, the ſixth Day next after their Citation, if it be a Court-day, or elſe at the next Court-day after enſuing, whereas either we or our Official or Commiſſary ſhall ſit; there to ſay and alledge for themſelves ſome reaſonable Cauſe, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwiſe puniſhed for their ſuch Negligence, Slackneſs and Fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receive, as Law and Reaſon requireth. And what you have done in the Premiſſes, do you certify us, or our Vicar, principal Official, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duly in all Things, and through all Things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this Mandate: In witneſs whereof we have ſet our Seals to theſe Preſents. Dated in the Biſhop's Palace at* London *the 25th Day of the Month of* October, *in the Year of our Lord* 1554, *and of our Tranſlation the* 16th.

Note well theſe Cauſes, Reader, why the Scriptures ſhould be razed out.

Scriptures open a Window to Vices with *Bonner*.

Abour this Time the Lord Chancellor ſent Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, with theſe three Articles, which he enjoyned them to obſerve.

Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* ſent to *Cambridge* with *Gardiner*'s Inſtructions.

The Firſt, That every Scholar ſhould wear his Apparel according to his Degree in the Schools.

The Second was touching the Pronunciation of the *Greek* Tongue.

The Third, That every Preacher there ſhould declare the whole Stile of the King and Queen in their Sermons.

In this Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and alſo of *Oxford*, by Reaſon of the bringing of theſe Things, and eſpecially for the Alteration of Religion, many wiſe and learned Men departed the Univerſities; of whom, ſome of their own Accord gave over, ſome were thruſt out of their Fellowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: Inſomuch that in *Cambridge*, in the College of St. *John*, there were 24 Places void together, in whoſe Rooms were taken in 24 others, which neither in Virtue nor Religion were to be compared to thoſe that were before. And no leſs miſerable was the Eſtate of *Oxford*, by Reaſon of the Time, and the ſtrait-dealing of the Viſitors, who for ſetting forward their papiſtical Proceedings, had no Regard or Reſpect to the Forwardneſs of good Wits, and the Maintenance of good Letters, beginning then more and more to flouriſh in that Univerſity.

In *Cambridge* were 24 Places void at one Time in one College.

But to proceed where we left off, being in the Month of *November*, on the 22d Day of the ſaid Month, being *Monday*, the Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, in the Beginning whereof both the King and the Queen rode in their parliament Robes, having two Swords born before them. The Earl of *Pembroke* bare the King's Sword, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* the Queen's. They had two Caps of Maintenance born before them, whereof the Earl of *Arundel* bare one, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the other.

Cardinal *Poole* landed at *Dover* upon *Wedneſday November* 21, on which day one Act paſſed in the Parliament for his Reſtitution in Blood, utterly repealing, as falſe and moſt ſlanderous, that Act made againſt him in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. and on the next Day, *November* 22. the King and Queen came to the Parliament-Houſe to give their Royal Aſſent, and to eſtabliſh this Act againſt his coming.

On *Saturday*, *November* 24. the ſaid Cardinal came by Water to *London*, and ſo to *Lambeth*-houſe, which was ready prepared againſt his coming.

On *Wedneſday*, *November* 28. there was a general Proceſſion in *Paul*'s, for Joy that the Queen was conceived and quick with Child, as it was declared in a Letter ſent from the Council to the Biſhop of *London*. At this Proceſſion ten Biſhops, and all the Prebendaries of *Paul*'s were preſent, and alſo the Lord Mayor with the Aldermen, and a great Number of Commons of the City in their beſt Array. The Copy of the Council's Letter here followeth.

A Letter from the Council to Edmund Bonner *Biſhop of* London, *concerning Queen* Mary's *conceiving with Child.*

AFTER our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordſhip: Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God among other his infinite Benefits of late moſt graciouſly poured upon us and this whole Realm, to extend his Benediction upon the Queen's Majeſty in ſuch Sort, as ſhe is conceived and * quick of Child; where by her Majeſty (being our natural Leige Lady, Queen, and undoubted Inheritor of this Imperial Crown) good Hope of certain Succeſſion in the Crown is given unto us, and conſequently the great Calamities (which for want of ſuch Succeſſion might otherwiſe have fallen upon us and our Poſterity) ſhall by God's Grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this Benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourſelves with earneſt Repentance to thank, honour, and ſerve him, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe be not only to advertize you of this good News, to be by you publiſhed in all Places within your Dioceſs, but alſo to pray and require you, that both yourſelf do give God Thanks with us for this his eſpecial Grace, and alſo give Order that Thanks may be openly given by ſinging of *Te Deum* in all the Churches within your ſaid Dioceſs; and that likewiſe all Prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, in their Maſſes and other Divine Services, may continually pray to Almighty God ſo to extend his holy Hand over her Majeſty, the King's Highneſs, and this whole Realm, as that this Thing being by his omnipotent Power graciouſly thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good Effect, to the Glory of his Name. Whereunto albeit we doubt not ye would of yourſelf have had ſpecial Regard without theſe our Letters, yet for the earneſt Deſire we have to have this Thing done out of Hand, and diligently continued, we have always ſo written theſe our Letters, to put you in Remembrance; and ſo bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily well to Fare. From *Weſtminſter*, *November* 27, 1554. Your aſſured loving Friends.

* If Queen *Mary* was quick with Child on the 28th of *November*, and afterward did labour in *June*, then went ſhe almoſt ſeven Months quick with Child

Te Deum ordered to be ſung for Queen *Mary*'s Child.

S. Winton, Cancel.	*John Bathon.*
Arundel.	*R. Rich.*
F. Shrewsbury.	*Thomas Watthom.*
Edward Darby.	*John Huddilſtone.*
Henry Suſſex.	*R. Southwell.*

Alſo the ſame Day in the Afternoon Cardinal *Poole* came to the Parliament Houſe, which at that Time was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at *White Hall*, becauſe the Queen was then ſick, and could not go abroad: where the King and Queen's Majeſty ſitting under the Cloth of State, and the Cardinal ſitting on the Right Hand, with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament being preſent, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being Lord Chancellor, began in this Manner:

Wincheſter's Words for receiving of Cardinal *Poole*.

MY Lords of the upper Houſe, and you my Maſters of the nether Houſe, here is preſent the right reverend Father in God my Lord Cardinal *Poole*, come from the Apoſtolick See of *Rome*, as Ambaſſador to the King and Queen's Majeſties, upon one of the weightieſt Cauſes that ever happened in this Realm, and which pertaineth to the Glory of God, and your universal Benefit. The which Ambaſſage their Majeſties Pleaſure is to be ſignified unto you all by his own Mouth, truſting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wiſe as their Highneſſes have done, and that you will give an intent and inclinable Ear unto him. Anno 1554.

The Lord Chancellor having ended, the Cardinal began his Oration, wherein he declared the Cauſes of his coming, and what were his Deſires and Requeſts. In the mean Time the Court Gate was kept ſhut till he had made an End.

The Cardinal's Oration in the Parliament Houſe.

MY Lords all, and you that are the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, which in Effect is nothing elſe but the State and Body of the whole Realm. As the Cauſe of my Repair hither hath been moſt wiſely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, ſo, before that I enter to the Particularities of my Commiſſion, I have ſomewhat touching myſelf, and to give moſt humble and hearty Thanks to the King and Queen's Majeſties, and after them, to you all, which of a Man exiled and baniſhed from his Common-wealth, have reſtored me to be a Member of the ſame; and of a Man having no Place neither here, or elſewhere within this Realm, have admitted me in a Place, where to ſpeak and be heard. This I proteſt unto you all, that though I was exiled my native Country without juſt Cauſe, as God knoweth, yet the Ingratitude could not pull from me the Affection and Deſire that I had to profit and do you good. If the Offer of my Service might have been received, it was never to ſeek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my Prayer, nor ever ſhall.

But leaving the Rehearſal thereof, and coming more near to the Matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignify unto you all; That my principal Travel is for the Reſtitution of this noble Realm to the ancient Nobility, and to declare unto you, that the See apoſtolick, from whence I come, hath a ſpecial Reſpect to this Realm above all other *, and not without Cauſe, ſeeing that God himſelf, as it were by Providence, hath given this Realm Prerogative of Nobility above other: which to make more plain unto you, it is to be conſidered, that this Iſland firſt of all Iſlands received the Light of Chriſt's Religion. For as Stories teſtify, it was *Prima provinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.*

* More for the Advantage that was hoped by it, than any great Love.

England was the firſt of all Iſlands that received the Faith of Chriſt.

For the *Britains* being firſt Inhabitants of this Realm (notwithſtanding the Subjection of the Emperor and heathen Princes) did receive Chriſt's Faith from the apoſtolick See univerſally, and not in Parts as other Countries, nor by one and one, as Clocks increaſe their Hours by Diſtinction of Times, but altogether at once, as it were in a Moment. But after that their ill Merits or Forgetfulneſs of God had deſerved Expulſion, and that Strangers being Infidels, had poſſeſſed this Land, yet God of his Goodneſs not leaving where he once loved, ſo illuminated the Hearts of the *Saxons*, being heathen Men, that they forſook the Darkneſs of heathen Errors, and embraced the Light of Chriſt's Religion: ſo that within a ſmall Space Idolatry and heathen Superſtition was utterly abandoned in this Iſland.

That the Faith of the *Britains* came firſt from *Rome*, doth not agree with our Hiſtories; and if it did ſo, yet the Faith and Doctrine of the *Romaniſts* was not ſuch then as it is now.

This was a great Prerogative of Nobility, the Benefit whereof, though it be to be aſcribed to God, yet the mean Occaſion of the ſame came from the Church of *Rome*. In the Faith of which Church we have ever ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the World in Unity of

Anno 1554. Religion. And to ſhew further the fervent Devotion of the Inhabitants of this Iſland towards the Church of *Rome*, we read that divers Princes in the *Saxons* Time, with great Travel and Expences, went perſonally to *Rome*, as *Offa* and *Adulphus*, who thought it not enough to ſhew themſelves obedient to the ſaid See, unleſs that in their own Perſons they had gone to that ſame Place from whence they had received ſo great a Grace and Benefit.

In the Time of *Carolus Magnus*, who firſt founded the Univerſity of *Paris*, he ſent into *England* for *Alcuinus* a great learned Man, who firſt brought Learning to that Univerſity; whereby it ſeemeth, that the greateſt Part of the World fetch'd the Light of Religion from *England*.

Adrian the fourth, being an *Engliſh* Man, converted *Norway* from Infidelity; which *Adrian* afterwards, upon great Affection and Love that he bare to this Realm, being his native Country, gave to *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, the Right and Seignory of the Dominion of *Ireland*, which pertained to the See of *Rome*.

I will not rehearſe the manifold Benefit that this Realm hath * received from the Apoſtolick See, nor how ready the ſame hath been to relieve us in our Neceſſities. Nor will I rehearſe the manifold Miſeries and Calamities that this Realm hath ſuffered by ſwerving from that Unity. And even as in this Realm, ſo alſo in all other Countries, which refuſing the Unity of the Catholick Faith have followed fantaſtical Doctrine, the like Plagues have happened. Let *Aſia* and the Empire of *Greece* be a Spectacle unto the World, who by ** ſwerving from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, are brought into Captivity and Subjection to the *Turk*. All Stories be full of like Examples: And to come unto the latter Time, look upon our Neighbours in *Germany*, who by ſwerving from this Unity, are miſerably afflicted with Diverſities of Sects, and divided into Factions.

What ſhall I rehearſe unto you the Tumults and Effuſion of Blood that hath happened there of late Days? or trouble you with the Rehearſal of thoſe Plagues that have happened ſince this Innovation of Religion, whereof you have felt the Bitterneſs, and I have heard the Report? of all which Matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the Miſery of the Time. And ſee how far forth this Fury went. For thoſe that live under the *Turk* † may freely live after their Conſcience, and ſo it was not lawful here.

If Men examine well upon what Grounds theſe Innovations began, they will find that the Root of this, as of many other Miſchiefs, was Avarice, and that the Luſt and carnal Affection of one Man, confounded all Laws both divine and human. And notwithſtanding all theſe Devices and Policies practiſed within this Realm againſt the Church of *Rome*, they needed not to have loſt you, but that they thought rather as Friends to reconcile you, than as Enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great Offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all *Europe* to have aided the Church in that Quarrel. Then mark the Sequel: There ſeemed by theſe Changes to riſe a great Face of Riches and Gain, which in Proof came to great Miſery and Lack. See how God then can confound the Wiſdom of the Wiſe, and turn unjuſt Policy to meer Folly; and that Thing which ſeemed to be done for Relief, was cauſe of plain Ruin and Decay. Yet ſee that Goodneſs of God, which at no Time failed us, but moſt benignly offered his Grace, when it was of our Parts leaſt ſought and worſe deſerved.

* Nay rather what Riches and Treaſures the See of *Rome* hath ſuck'd out of *England*, it is incredible.

** The Cauſe of their Subjection to the *Turk*, cannot be proved to come by ſwerving from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, for they never fully joined unto it.

† And why do ye more cruelly than the *Turk* perſecute others for their Conſcience?

And when all Light of true Religion ſeemed utterly extinct, the Churches defaced, the Altars overthrown, the Miniſters corrupted: Even like as in a Lamp the Light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even ſo in a few remained the Confeſſion of Chriſt's Faith, namely, in the Breaſt of the Queen's Excellency, of whom, to ſpeak without Adulation, the Saying of the Prophet may be verified, *Ecce quaſi derelicta.*

And ſee how miraculouſly God of his Goodneſs preſerved her Highneſs, contrary to the Expectation of Man, that when Numbers conſpired againſt her, and Policies were deviſed to diſinherit her, and armed Power prepared to deſtroy her; yet ſhe being a Virgin helpleſs, naked and unarmed, prevailed and had the Victory of Tyrants; which is not to be aſcribed to any Policy of Man, but to the almighty great Goodneſs and Providence of God, to whom the Honour is to be given. And therefore it may be ſaid, Give Glory to God. For in Man's Judgment, on her Grace's Part was nothing in Appearance but Deſpair.

What Policy is this to make a Promiſe to get Strength, and to break it as the Queen did?

And yet for all theſe Practices and Devices of ill Men, here you ſee her Grace eſtabliſhed in her Eſtate, being your lawful Queen and Governeſs, born amongſt you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the Reſtitution of true Religion, and Extirpation of all Errors and Sects. And to confirm her Grace the more ſtrongly in this Enterprize, lo! how the Providence of God hath joined her in Marriage with a Prince of like Religion; who being a King of great Might, Armor, and Force, yet uſeth towards you neither Armor nor Force, but ſeeketh you by the Way of Love and Amity: In which Reſpect great Cauſe you have to give Thanks to Almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch a catholick Governeſs. It ſhall be therefore your Part again to love, obey, and ſerve them.

And as it was a ſingular Favour of God to join them in Marriage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them Iſſue, for the Comfort and Surety of this Common-wealth.

The Cardinal here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

Of all Princes in *Europe*, the Emperor hath travelled moſt in the Cauſe of Religion, as it appeareth by his Acts in *Germany*; yet haply, by ſome ſecret Judgment of God, he hath not atchieved the End. With whom in my Journey hitherwards I had Conference touching my Legation; whereof when he had Underſtanding, he ſhewed a great Appearance of moſt earneſt Joy and Gladneſs, ſaying, That it rejoiced him no leſs of the Reconcilement of this Realm unto chriſtian Unity, than that his Son was placed by Marriage in the Kingdom; and moſt glad he was of all, that the Occaſion thereof ſhould come by me being an *Engliſhman* born, which is (as it were) to call home ourſelves. I can well compare him to *David*, which though he were a Man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with Blood and War, he could not build rhe Temple of *Jeruſalem*, but left the finiſhing thereof to *Solomon*, who was *Rex pacificus*. So may it be thought, that the appeaſing of Controverſies of Religion in Chriſtianity, is not appointed to this Emperor, but rather to his Son, who ſhall perform the Building that his Father had begun. Which Church cannot be perfectly built, unleſs univerſally in all Realms we adhere to one Head, and do acknowledge him to be the Vicar of God, and to have Power from above. For all Power is of God, according to the Saying, *Non eſt poteſtas, niſi a Deo.* And therefore I conſider that all Power being in God, yet, for the Conſervation of Quiet and

Charles the Emperor compared to *David*.

godly Life in the World, he hath derived that Power from above into the Parts here in Earth: Which is, into the Imperial and Eccleſiaſtical. And theſe two Powers, as they be ſeveral and diſtinct, ſo have they two ſeveral Effects and Operations. For ſecular Princes, to whom the temporal Sword is committed, be Miniſters of God to execute Vengeance upon Tranſgreſſors and Evil-livers, and to preſerve the Well doers and Innocents from Injury and Violence. Which Power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent Perſons, the King and Queen's Majeſty here preſent, who have this Power committed unto them immediately from God, without any Superior in that Behalf.

The other Power is of Miniſtration, which is the Power of the Keys, and Order in the eccleſiaſtical State, which is by the Authority of God's Word, Examples of the Apoſtles, and of all old holy Fathers from Chriſt hitherto, attributed and given to the apoſtolick See of *Rome*, by ſpecial Prerogative. From which See I am here deputed Legate and Ambaſſador, having full and ample Commiſſion from thence, and have the Keys committed to my Hands: I confeſs to you that I have the Keys, not as mine own Keys, but as the Keys of him that ſent me, and yet cannot open; not for want of Power in me to give, but for certain Impediment in you to receive, which muſt be taken away before my Commiſſion can take Effect. This I proteſt before you, my Commiſſion is not of Prejudice to any Perſon. I come not to deſtroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call any Thing in Queſtion already done, but my Commiſſion is of Grace and Clemency to ſuch as will receive it. For as touching all Matters that be paſt, they ſhall be as Things caſt into the Sea of Forgetfulneſs.

The Pope's Keys ſent by the Cardinal.

But the Means whereby you ſhall receive this Benefit, is to revoke and repeal thoſe Laws and Statutes, which be Impediments, Blocks and Bars, to the Execution of my Commiſſion. For like as I myſelf had neither Place nor Voice to ſpeak here among you, but was in all Reſpects a baniſhed Man, till ſuch Time as ye had repealed thoſe Laws that lay in my Way, even ſo cannot you receive the Benefits and Grace offered from the apoſtolick See, until the Abrogation of ſuch Laws, whereby you have disjoined and diſſevered yourſelves from the Unity of Chriſt's Church.

The Pope's Keys cannot work in *England* before the Lock of good Laws be changed.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Chriſtians, and provident Men for the Weal of your Souls and Bodies, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a Cauſe; and ſo to frame your Acts and Proceedings, as they may firſt tend to the Glory of God, and next to the Conſervation of your Common-wealth, Surety and Quietneſs.

The next Day after the three Eſtates aſſembled again in the great Chamber of the Court at *Weſtminſter*; where the King, Queen, and the Cardinal being preſent, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their Knees) a Supplication to their Highneſſes, the Tenor whereof followeth.

The Supplication and Submiſſion of the Lords and Commons, to the King and Queen's Majeſties.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole Body of the Realm of *England* and Dominions of the ſame, in our own Names particulrrly, and alſo of the ſaid Body univerſally, in this Supplication directed to your Majeſties with moſt humble Suit, that it may, by your gracious Interceſſion and Means, be exhibited to the Moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal *Poole*, Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy Father Pope *Julius* the Third, and the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, do declare ourſelves very ſorry and repentant for the Schiſm and Diſobedience committed in this Realm and Dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſaid See apoſtolick, either by making, agreeing or executing any Laws, Ordinances or Commandments againſt the Supremacy of the ſaid See, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugn the ſame: Offering ourſelves, and promiſing by this our Supplication, that for a Token and Acknowledgement of our ſaid Repentance, we be, and ſhall be alway ready, under and with the Authority of your Majeſties, to the uttermoſt of our Power, to do that which ſhall be in us for the Abrogation and repealing of the ſaid Laws and Ordinances in this preſent Parliament; as well for ourſelves, as for the whole Body whom we repreſent. Anno 1554.

O great Sorrow and deep Repentance!

Whereupon we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſties, as Perſons undefiled in the Offence of this Body towards the ſaid See, which nevertheleſs God by his Providence hath made ſubject unto your Majeſties, ſo to ſet forth this our moſt humble Suit, that we may obtain from the See apoſtolick, by the ſaid moſt reverend Father, as well particularly as univerſally, Abſolution, Releaſe and Diſcharge from all Danger of ſuch Cenſures and Sentences, as by the Laws of the Church we be fallen in; and that we may as Children repentant, be received into the Boſom and Unity of Chriſt's Church; ſo as this noble Realm, with all the Members thereof, may in Unity and perfect Obedience to the See apoſtolick, and Pope for the Time being, ſerve God and your Majeſties, to the Furtherance and Advancement of his Honour and Glory. *Amen.*

The Pope's Abſolution cannot come, but by Interceſſion of Kings and Queens.

The Supplication being read, the King and Queen deliver'd the ſame unto the Cardinal, who (perceiving the Effects thereof to anſwer his Expectation) did receive the ſame moſt gladly from their Majeſties: And after he had in few Words given Thanks to God, and declared what great Cauſe he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from *Rome* into *England* had taken ſuch happy Succeſs, he, by the Pope's Authority, did give them this Abſolution following:

The Supplication given up by the King and Queen to the Cardinal.

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which with his moſt precious Blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our Sins and Iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelf a glorious Spouſe without Spot or Wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, he by his Mercy abſolve you. And we by apoſtolick Authority given unto us, (by the moſt holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third, his Vicegerent in Earth) do abſolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Hereſy and Schiſm, and from all and every Judgment, Cenſures and Pains, for that Cauſe incurred; and alſo we do reſtore you again unto the Unity of our Mother the holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it ſhall appear: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

An Abſolution from the Pope given to the Realm of *England*.

Chriſt's Abſolution not ſufficient, without the Pope's be joined withal.

When all this was done, they went into the Chappel, and there ſinging *Te Deum*, with great Solemnity declared the Joy and Gladneſs that for this Reconciliation was pretended. The Report of this was with great Speed ſent unto

Te Deum ſung, but with heavy Hearts, God knoweth.

Anno 1555. unto *Rome.* Whereupon the Pope cauſed there Proceſſions to be made at *Rome*, and Thanks to be given to God with great Joy for the Converſion of *England* to his Church; and therefore praiſing the Cardinal's Diligence, and the Devotion of the King and Queen, on *Chriſtmaſs*-Eve, by his Bulls he ſet forth a general Pardon to all ſuch as did truly rejoice for the ſame.

Great Joy at *Rome* for the Converſion of *England*, and good Cauſe why.

About this Time a Meſſenger was ſent from the whole Parliament to the Pope, to deſire him to confirm and eſtabliſh the Sale of Abby-Lands and Chauntry-Lands: For the Lords and the Parliament would grant nothing in the Pope's Behalf, before their Purchaſes were fully confirmed.

The Clergy abſolved by the Cardinal.

On *Thurſday*, *December* 6. the whole Convocation, both Biſhops and others, were ſent for to *Lambeth* to the Cardinal, who the ſame Day forgave them all their Perjurations, Schiſms and Hereſies, and they all there kneeled down and received his Abſolution, and after an Exhortation and Gratulation for their Converſion to the Catholick Church, made by the Cardinal, they departed.

The Queſtmen of Mr. *Throgmorton* put to their Fine, and delivered.

On *Wedneſday*, *December* 12. five of the eight Men which lay in the *Fleet*, that were of Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Queſt, were diſcharged, and ſet at Liberty upon paying their Fine, which was 220 Pound a-piece; and the other three put up a Supplication, therein declaring, that their Goods did not amount to the Sum that they were appointed to pay; and ſo upon that Declaration paying 40 Pound a-piece, they were delivered out of Priſon on the 21ſt of *December*.

On *Saturday*, *December* 22. the Parliament had a ſtrict Command, that none of them ſhould depart into the Country this *Chriſtmas*, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which Command was very contrary to their Expectations; for as well many of the Lords, as alſo many of the Commons had ſent for their Horſes, and had them brought hither.

Mr. *Roſe* with thirty Perſons taken at a Communion at *Bow-Church-Yard.*

On New-years Day at Night, ſeveral honeſt Men and Women of this City, to the Number of thirty, and Mr. *Roſe*, a Miniſter, with them, were taken as they were in a Houſe in Bow-Church-yard at the Communion, and the ſame Night were all committed to Priſon. And on the Third of *January* following Mr. *Roſe* was before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Lord Chancellor, and from thence the ſame Day committed to the Tower, after ſome Communication between the Biſhop and him.

The Act of Supremacy paſſed in the Parliament.

The ſame Day the Act of Supremacy paſs'd in the Parliament. Alſo the ſame Day at Night a great Tumult was at *Weſtminſter*, between ſome *Spaniards* and *Engliſhmen*, whereof a great Miſchief had like to have enſued, by Means of a *Spaniſh* Friar, who got into the Church and rung Alarum. The Occaſion was about two Whores which were at the Cloiſter at *Weſtminſter* with ſome *Spaniards*, whereof whilſt ſome played the Knaves with them, others kept the Entry of the Cloiſter with Dags in Harneſs. In the mean Time ſome of the Dean's Men came into the Cloiſter, and the *Spaniards* diſcharged their * Dags, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the Noiſe of this Doing came into the Streets, ſo that the whole Town was up almoſt, but never a Stroke was ſtricken.

A Stir between the *Spaniards* and *Engliſhmen* at *Weſtminſter.*

* Hand-Guns.

Ye heard a little before the Council's Letter ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, ſignifying the good News of Queen *Mary* to be not only conceived, but alſo quick with Child, which was the 28th of *November*. Of this Child great Talk was at this Time in every Man's Mouth, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſeemed to carry *Spaniſh* Hearts in *Engliſh* Bodies. In which Number here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign Commendation for his worthy Affection toward his Prince and her Iſſue, one Sir *Richard Southwell*, who being the ſame Time in the Parliament-Houſe, when as the Lords were occupied in other Affairs and Matters of Importance, ſuddenly ſtarting up, for Fulneſs of Joy burſt out in theſe Words following: *Tuſh, my Maſters*, quoth he, *what talk ye of theſe Matters? I would have you take ſome Order for our Maſter that is now coming into the World apace, leſt he find us unprovided*, &c. By which Words, and alſo by the aforeſaid Letters of the Council, and the common Talk abroad, it may appear what an aſſured Opinion was then conceived in Men's Heads, of Queen *Mary* to be conceived and quick with Child. Inſomuch that at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Parliament there was a Bill exhibited, and an Act made upon the ſame, the Words whereof, for the more Evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

The Words of Sir *Rich. Southwell* in the Parliament-Houſe.

The Words of the Act.

Ex. ſtat. an. 1. & 2 *Phil.* & *Mar.*

Albeit we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have firm Hope and Confidence in the Goodneſs of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerved the Queen's Majeſty from many great imminent Perils and Dangers; even ſo he will of his infinite Goodneſs give her Highneſs Strength, the rather by our continual Prayers, to paſs well the Danger of Deliverance of Child, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great Comforts) to bleſs her: Yet foraſmuch as all Things of this World be uncertain, and having before our Eyes the dolorous Experience of this inconſtant Government, during the Time of the Reign of the late King Edward *the Sixth, do plainly ſee the manifold Inconveniencies, great Dangers and Perils that may enſue in this whole Realm, if Foreſight be not uſed to prevent all evil Chances, if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewing hereof, we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, for and in Conſideration of a moſt ſpecial Truſt and Confidence that we have and repoſe in the King's Majeſty, for and concerning the politick Government, Order and Adminiſtration of this Realm in the Time of the young Years of the Iſſue or Iſſues of her Majeſty's Body to be born, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the Queen's Highneſs out of this preſent Life, during the tender Years of ſuch Iſſue or Iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch Order and Manner, as hereafter in this preſent Act his Highneſs moſt gracious Pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, have made our humble Suit, by the Aſſent of the Queen's Highneſs, that his Majeſty would vouchſafe to accept and take upon him the Rule, Order, Education, and Government of the ſaid Iſſue or Iſſues to to be born, as is aforeſaid. Upon which our Suit, being of his ſaid Majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his Highneſs not only to declare, that like as for the moſt Part his Majeſty verily truſted that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerved the Queen's Majeſty, to give this Realm ſo good an Hope of certain Succeſſion in the Blood Royal of the ſame Realm) will aſſiſt her Highneſs with his Graces and Benedictions, to ſee the Fruit of her Body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this Realm, nay all the World beſides, ſhould or could receive more Comfort than his Majeſty ſhould and would) yet if ſuch*

The Judgment of the Parliamen deceived in God's Bleſſing.

Order taken by Parliament for Queen *Mary*'s Child.

Truſt diſappointed.

ſuch Chance ſhould happen, his Majeſty at our humble Deſires is pleaſed and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the Cure and Charge of the Education, Rule, Order and Government of ſuch Iſſues as of this moſt happy Marriage ſhall be born between the Queen's Highneſs and him; but alſo, during the Time of ſuch Government, would by all Ways and Means, ſtudy, travel and imploy himſelf to advance the Weal both publick and private of this Realm and Dominion thereunto belonging, according to the ſaid Truſt in his Majeſty repoſed, with no leſs Good-will and Affection, than if his Highneſs had been naturally born amongſt us. In Conſideration whereof, be it Enacted by the King and Queen's moſt excellent Majeſties, by the Aſſent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, &c.

Thus much I thought fit to rehearſe out of the Act and Statute, to the Intent the Reader may underſtand not ſo much how Parliaments may ſometimes be deceived (as by this Child of Queen *Mary* may appear) as rather what Cauſe we *Engliſhmen* have to render moſt earneſt Thanks unto Almighty God, who ſo mercifully, againſt the Opinion, Expectation, and working of our Adverſaries, hath helped and delivered us in this Caſe, which otherwiſe might have opened ſuch a Window to the *Spaniards* to have repleniſhed this Land, that peradventure by this Time *Engliſhmen* ſhould have enjoyed no great Quiet in their own Country: The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his Benefits. *Amen.*

Thus we ſee then how Man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great Labour, Proviſion and Order taken in the Parliament-houſe for their young Maſter long look'd for, coming ſo ſurely into the World, in the End appeared neither young Maſter, nor young Miſtreſs, that any Man yet to this Day can hear of. Furthermore, as the Labour of the Lay-ſort was herein deluded; ſo no leſs ridiculous it was to behold, what little Effect the Prayers of the Papiſts had with Almighty God, who travelled no leſs with their Proceſſions, Maſſes and Collects, for the happy Deliverance of this young Maſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeen.

The Prayers of the Papiſts, of what little Effect they are with God.

A Prayer made by Dr. Weſton, *Dean of* Weſtminſter, *daily to be ſaid for the Queen's Deliverance.*

A Prayer for Queen *Mary* and her Child, turned out of *Latin* into *Engliſh.*

O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the Offence of the firſt Woman, hath threatned unto all Women a common, ſharp, and inevitable Malediction, and hath enjoyned them that they ſhould conceive in Sin, and being conceived, ſhould be ſubject to many and grievous Torments; and finally, be delivered with the Danger and Jeopardy of their Lives; we beſeech thee for thine exceeding great Goodneſs and bottomleſs Mercy; to mitigate the Strictneſs of that Law. Aſſwage thine Anger for a while, and cheriſh in the Boſom of thy Favour and Mercy, our moſt gracious Queen *Mary*, being now at the Point of being delivered. So help her, that without Danger of her Life ſhe may overcome the Sorrow, and in due Seaſon bring forth a Child, in Body beautiful and comely, in Mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, ſhe, forgetting the Trouble, may with Joy, laud and praiſe the Bountifulneſs of thy Mercy, and, together with us, praiſe and bleſs both thee and thy holy Name World without End. This, O Lord, we deſire thee, we beſeech thee, and moſt heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our Petition: let not the Enemies of thy Faith, and of thy Church ſay, *Where is their God.* Anno 1554.

A ſolemn Prayer made for King Philip *and Queen* Mary's *Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured and witty,* &c.

O Moſt mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the Prayer of the Humble, and deſpiſeſt not their Requeſt; bow down from thine high Habitation of the Heavens, the Eyes of thy Mercy unto us wretched Sinners, bowing the Knees of our Hearts, and with many and deep Sighs bewailing our Sins and Offences, humbly with Eyes intent, and Hands diſplayed, praying and beſeeching thee, with the Shield of thy Protection, to defend *Mary* thy Servant, and our Queen, who hath none other Helper but thee, and whom, through thy Grace, thou haſt willed to be conceived with Child: and at the Time of her Travail graciouſly with the Help of thy right Hand deliver her, and from all Danger, with the Child in her conceived, mercifully preſerve.

It hath ſeemed Good in thy Sight, merciful Father, by thy Servant *Mary* to work theſe Wonders; that is to ſay, in her Hands to vanquiſh and overthrow the ſtout Enemy, and to deliver us, thy People, out of the Hands of Hereticks, Infidels, Enemies to thee, and to the Croſs of thy beloved Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, that of thy Servant thou mighteſt ſpeak in far Countries. Therefore for theſe wonderful Works, which thou doſt to thy Servants, thou art magnified Lord God, for ever, and we thy People bleſs thee, the God of Heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great Mercy. and hath excluded from us the Heretick, the Enemy of Truth, the Perſecutor of thy Church. We know, we know, that we have grievouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we have been grievouſly deceived by Vanity, and that we have forſaken thee our God. Our Iniquities be multiplied on our Head, and our Sins be increaſed up to Heaven: and we ourſelves having offended, and our Princes and our Prieſts, for theſe our Sins, have deſerved an Hypocrite to our Prince, our Sins have deſerved a Tyrant to our Governor, that ſhould bring our Life to Bitterneſs. We be not worthy to have ſo gentle and merciful a Queen, ſo godly a Ruler, and finally, ſo virtuous a Prince; at the very Beginning of whoſe Reign, a new Light, as it were, of God's Religion ſeemed to us for to ſpring and riſe. The *Jews* did bleſs the Widow *Judith* with one Voice, ſaying, *Thou art the Glory of* Jeruſalem, *thou art the Joy of* Iſrael, *thou art the Honour of our People, for that thou haſt loved Chaſtity, and thou ſhall be bleſſed for ever.*

* * The Papiſts call the Proteſtants Hereticks, and Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, even as *Ahab* called *Elijah* the Diſturber of *Iſrael*, when he was the only Diſturber himſelf.

Queen *Mary* compared by the Papiſts to the Widow *Judith.*

And we the *Engliſh* People with one agreeable Conſent do cry; Thou *Mary* art the Glory of *Engalnd*, our Joy, the Honour of thy People, for that thou haſt embraced Chaſtity; thine Heart is ſtrengthened, for the Hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever. But bow down, O moſt merciful Father, thine Ear, and open thine Eyes, and behold our Affliction, and our humble Confeſſion.

Mark how forgetting his Prayer, he falleth to the praiſing of Q. *Mary.*

Anno 1554.

feſſion. Thou knoweſt, Lord, that againſt *Philip*, not by human, but by thy Ordinance our King, and againſt thy Servant *Mary*, by thy Providence our Queen, the Reſtorers and Maintainers of thy Teſtament of the Faith, and moſt conſtant Defenders of thy Church: Thou knoweſt, I ſay, that againſt theſe our two Governors, the Enemies of our holy * Teſtament, and of the Church thy Spouſe, be moſt rank Rebels and ſpiteful Murmurers, walking after their Luſts, whoſe Mouth ſpeaketh Words of Pride, to the End they may ſet up the Kingdom of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. By the Power of their Hands they † would change thy Promiſes, and deſtroy thine Inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut up the Mouths of them that praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the Glory of thy Catholick Church and Altar.

* The Teſtament ſetteth up only the the Glory of Chriſt.

† If the changing of God's Promiſes, deſtroying his Inheritance, ſtopping the Mouths of God's People, if Contentions, Wars and Schiſms be Tokens of Hereticks, who ſo great Hereticks as the Papiſts?

It is manifeſt and plain, how many Contentions, how many Conſpiracies and Seditions, how great Wars, what Tumults, how many and how great troubleſome Vexations, how many Hereſies and Schiſms (for theſe be the moſt ready Devices, and evident Tokens of Hereticks) for our Sins do hang over us, if thy Servant be taken from this Life: For we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his Dwelling-place in the Midſt of his People, to the Intent to deliver us out of the Hands of our Enemies. Turn therefore thy Countenance unto us, ſhew unto us, O Lord, thy Face. Puniſh us for our Sins according to thy Will and Pleaſure, only now deliver us. We bowing the Knees of our Heart, beſeech thee, that thou wilt not reſerve unto us Puniſhment for ever, and we ſhall praiſe thee all the Days of our Life. Hear our Cry, and the Prayer of thy People, and open to them the Treaſure of thy Mercy, thy gracious Favour, the Spring of lively Water. Thou that haſt begun, make in the Hand of thy Servant a perfect Work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the * faithleſs Rebels to ſay of thy Servant and her Counſellors, that they have deviſed Matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy Servant an happy and eaſy Travel. For it is not impoſſible to thy Power, nor indecent to thy Juſtice, nor unwonted to thy Mercy.

* Cry up louder you Prieſts, peradventure your God is aſleep.

The Lord gave a Promiſe to *Sarah* and *Elizabeth*, ſo did he not to Q. *Mary*.

It is well known unto us, how marvellouſly thou didſt work in *Sarah* of the Age of 90 Years, and in *Elizabeth* the Barren, and alſo far ſtricken in Age: for thy Counſel is not in the Power of Men. Thou Lord that art the Searcher of Hearts and Thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy Servant never luſted after Man, never gave herſelf to wanton Company, nor made herſelf Partaker with them that walk in Lightneſs: but ſhe conſented to take an Husband with thy Fear, and not with her Luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy Servant took an Huſband not for carnal Pleaſure, but only for the Deſire and Love of Poſterity, wherein thy Name might be bleſſed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy Servants, *Philip* our King, and *Mary* our Queen, a Male iſſue, which may ſit in the Seat of thy Kingdom. Give unto our Queen thy Servant, a little Infant, in Faſhion and Body comely and beautiful, in pregnant Wit notable and excellent.

† It is not beſt ſuch a one to be granted unto you, for being like *Abraham*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes* and *Solomon*, he may chance to ſmell out your corrupt Doctrine, and to deteſt your bloody Tyranny, &c.

Grant the ſame to be in Obedience like † *Abraham*, in Hoſpitality like *Lot*, in Chaſtity and brotherly Love like *Joſeph*, in Meekneſs and Mildneſs like *Moſes*, in Strength and Valour like *Sampſon*. Let him be found faithful as *David* after thy Heart. Let him be wiſe among Kings as the moſt wiſe *Solomon*. Let him be like *Job*, a ſimple and an upright Man, fearing God, and eſchewing Evil. Let him finally be garniſhed with the Comelineſs of all virtuous Conditions, and in the ſame let him wax old and live, that he may ſee his Childrens Children to the third and fourth Generation. And give unto our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, thy Bleſſings and long Life upon Earth; and grant that of them may come Kings and Queens, which may ſtedfaſtly continue in Faith, Love, and Holineſs. And bleſſed be their Seed of our God, that all Nations may know, thou art only God in all the Earth, which art bleſſed for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Another Prayer for Queen Mary, *and her conceived Child.*

Another Prayer for the ſame.

O Almighty Father, which didſt ſanctify the bleſſed Virgin and Mother *Mary* in her Conception, and in the Birth of Chriſt our Saviour thine only Son: alſo by thine omnipotent Power didſt ſafely deliver the Prophet *Jonas* out of the Whale's Belly: defend, O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy Servant *Mary* our Queen, with Child conceived, and ſo viſit her in and with thy godly Gift of Health, that not only the Child thy Creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this World, and receive the bleſſed Sacraments of Baptiſm and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily Increaſe of all princely and gracious Gifts both of Body and Soul; but that alſo ſhe the Mother, through thy ſpecial Grace and Mercy, may in Time of her Travail avoid all exceſſive Dolour and Pain, and abide perfect and ſure from all Peril and Danger of Death, with long and proſperous Life, thro' Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

It followeth now further in Proceſs of the Story, that upon *Tueſday January* 8, nineteen of the lower Houſe of the Parliament, with the Speaker, came to *Whitehall* to the King, and offered him the Government of the Realm and of the Iſſue, if the Queen ſhould fail, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament within ten Days after.

The Pope's Supremacy eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

On *Wedneſday January* 16, the Parliament was diſſolved. In this Parliament the Biſhop of *Rome* was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch Laws as were made againſt him ſince the twentieth Year of King *Henry* the eighth, were repealed, and alſo Cardinal *Poole*, Biſhop *Pates*, *Lilly*, and others were reſtored to their Blood. Alſo there was an Act made for ſpeaking of Words; that whoever ſhould ſpeak any Thing againſt the King or Queen, or that might move any Sedition or Rebellion, at the firſt Time to have one of his Ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred Marks; and at the ſecond Time, to have both his Ears cut off, or elſe to forfeit an hundred Pound; and whoſoever ſhould write, cypher, or print any of the Premiſes, to have their Right Hand cut off.

Matters concluded in Parliament.

Three Statutes againſt Hereticks revived.

Alſo in this Parliament three Statutes were revived for the Trial of Hereſy: one made the fifth Year of *Rich.* II. another in the ſecond Year of *Hen.* IV. and the third in the ſecond Year of *Hen.* V. Alſo the doing of Mr. *Roſe*, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this Parliament, and upon that Occaſion an Act was made, That certain evil Prayers ſhould be Treaſon againſt the Queen's Highneſs. The Prayers of theſe Men were thus: *God turn the Heart of Queen* Mary *from Idolatry, or elſe ſhorten her Days.*

Gentlemen delivered out of the Tower by the Queen's Pardon.

On *Friday*, *January* 18, all the Council went unto the Tower, and there the ſame Day ſet at Liberty all the Priſoners of the Tower, or the moſt Part of them, namely, the late Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, *Ambroſe*, *Robert* and *Henry*; Sir *Andrew Dudly*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Nicholas Arnal*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, Mr. *Gebbes*, *Cuthbert Vaughan*, with many others.

The Preachers called before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at St. *Mary Overies*.

On *Tueſday January* 22, all the Preachers that were in Priſon were called before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellor, and certain others, at the Biſhop's Houſe at St. *Mary Overies*. From whence (after Communication, being asked, whether they would convert and enjoy the Queen's Pardon, or elſe ſtand to that they had taught; they all anſwered, that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtraighter Priſon than before, with Charge that none ſhould ſpeak with them. Among which Number, one *James George* the ſame Time died in Priſon; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the Popiſh Church-yard, and was buried in the Fields.

James George died in Priſon, and was buried in the Fields.

Upon *Wedneſday*, *January* 23. all the Biſhops with the reſt of the Convocation Houſe were before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, where he deſired them to repair every Man where his Cure and Charge lay, exhorting them to entreat their Flock with all Gentleneſs, and to endeavour to win the People rather by Gentleneſs than by Extremity and Rigour, and ſo let them depart.

General Proceſſion for Joy of the Realm's Converſion.

Upon *Friday January* 25. and the Day of the Converſion of St. *Paul*, there was a general and ſolemn Proceſſion thro' *London*, to give God Thanks for their Converſion to the Catholick Church: wherein (to ſet out their glorious Pomp) there were 90 Croſſes, 160 Prieſts and Clerks, who had every one of them Copes upon their Backs. There followed alſo for the better Eſtimation of the Sight, eight Biſhops, and laſt of all came *Bonner* the Biſhop of *London*, carrying the Popiſh Pyx under a Canopy.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Livery of every Occupation. Moreover the King alſo himſelf, and the Cardinal came to *Paul*'s Church the ſame Day. From whence after Maſs they returned to *Weſtminſter* again. As the King was entering the Church, at the Steps going up to the Choir, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at Liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the King, and offered unto him themſelves and their Services.

Anno 1555.

Upon *Monday January* 28, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other Biſhops, had Commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon, and order, according to the Laws, all ſuch Preachers and Hereticks (as they term'd them) as were in Priſon, and according to this Commiſſion, the ſame Day the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other Biſhops, with certain of the Council, ſate in St. *Mary Overy*'s Church, and called before them theſe three, Mr. *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, and Mr. *Cardmaker*, who were brought thither by the Sheriffs; from whence after Communication they were committed to Priſon till the next Day, but *Cardmaker* this Day ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

Commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon the perſecuted Preachers for Religion.

Upon *Tueſday January* 29, *Hooper*, *Rogers*, Dr. *Taylor*, and *Bradford* were brought before them, where Sentence of Excommunication, and Judgment eccleſiaſtical was pronounced upon Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers*, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſate as Judge in *Caiaphas*'s Seat, who drave them out of the Church, according to their Law and Order. Dr. *Taylor* and *Bradford* were committed to Priſon tlll the next Day.

Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers* condemned.

Upon *Wedneſday January* 30, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Crome*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Saunders*, and Dr. *Ferrar*, ſometime Biſhop of St. *Davids*, were before the ſaid Biſhops, where three of them, Dr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Saunders*, and Mr. *Bradford*, were likewiſe excommunicated, and Sentence pronounced upon them, and ſo committed to the Sheriffs. Dr. *Crome* deſired two Months Reſpite, and it was granted him; and Mr. *Ferrar* was again committed to Priſon till another Time.

Mr. *Bradford*, Dr. *Taylor* and Mr. *Saunders* condemned.

After the Examination and Condemnation of theſe Good Men and Preachers above recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitors were ſent abroad likewiſe into all Parts of the Realm: by Reaſon whereof, a great Number of moſt pious Chriſtians (out of all the Quarters of the Realm, but eſpecially *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*) were apprehended, brought up to *London*, caſt into Priſon, and afterwards (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by Fire, or elſe thro' evil Handling died in Priſons, and were buried on the Dunghills abroad in the Fields, or in ſome Backſide of the Priſon. Of all which Matters, concerning the tragical Handling of the bleſſed Martyrs and Witneſſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of all the bloody Perſecution of this Time, now followeth more particularly in this next Book in Order to be declared.

The End of the Firſt Book.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SUFFERINGS and DEATH

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

In the REIGN of

Queen *MARY* the First.

BOOK II.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Rogers, *Vicar of St.* Sepulchre's, *and Reader of St.* Paul's *in* London.

Anno 1555.

JOHN ROGERS was brought up in the Uninerſity of *Cambridge*, where he profited much in good Learning, and at length was choſe by the Merchants Adventurers to be their Chaplain at *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, whom he ſerved many Years to their great Satisfaction. He chanced there to fall in Company with that worthy Servant and Martyr of God, *William Tindal*, and with *Miles Coverdale*, both of whom, for the Hatred they bare to popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, and Love to true Religion, had forſaken their native Country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great Knowledge in the Goſpel of God, inſomuch that he caſt off the heavy Yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and joined with them in that painful and moſt profitable Labour of tranſlating the Bible into the *Engliſh* Tongue, which is intituled, The Tranſlation of *Thomas Matthew*. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful Vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honeſt and honourable among all Men, joined himſelf in lawful Matrimony, and ſo went to *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, where he with much Soberneſs of Living did not only greatly increaſe in all good Learning, but alſo ſo much profited in the Knowledge of the *Dutch* Tongue, that the Charge of a Congregation was orderly committed to his Cure.

M. *Rogers* Chaplain to the Merchants-Adventurers at *Antwerp*.

Mr. *Rogers* brought to the Goſpel by Mr. *Tindal* and Mr. *Coverdale*.

Mr. *Rogers* goeth to *Wittenberg*.

In which Miniſtry he diligently and faithfully ſerved many Years, until ſuch Time as it pleaſed God, by the faithful Travel of his choſen and dear Servant, King *Edward* VI. utterly to baniſh all Popery out of *England*, and to receive in the true Religion. He then being orderly called, having both a Conſcience and a ready good Will to help forward the Work of the Lord in his native Country, left his Living in *Saxony*,

Mr. *Rogers* returneth to *England* in King *Edward*'s Time.

Saxony, and came into *England* to preach the Gospel, without Certainty of any Condition. In which Office, after he had a while diligently travelled, *Nicholas Ridley* then Bishop of *London*, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul's*; and the Dean and Chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinity Lesson there, where he continued, until such Time as Queen *Mary* obtained the Crown.

Mr. *Rogers* Reader and Prebendary of St. *Paul's*.

After the Queen was come to the Tower of *London*, Mr. *Rogers* preached at *Paul's-Cross*; confirming such true Doctrine as he and others had there taught in King *Edward's* Days, exhorting the People constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of Popery, Idolatry and Superstition. The Council being then overmatched with popish and bloody Bishops, called him to Account for his Sermon: To whom he made a bold, wise, and pious Answer, and yet in such Sort handled himself, that at that Time he was clearly dismissed. But after that Proclamation was set forth by the Queen to prohibit true Preaching, he was called again before the Council; for the Bishops thirsted after his Blood. The Council quarrelled with him concerning his Doctrine, and in Conclusion commanded him, as Prisoner, to keep his own House, and so he did; where he remained a Prisoner a long Time, till at length, through the Procurement of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, he was removed from his own House to the Prison of *Newgate*, where he was lodged a great while among Thieves and Murderers: During which Time, what Business he had with the Adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any Certainty of his Examinations, further than he himself did leave in Writing, which here followeth.

Mr. *Rogers* called to Account for his Sermon at *Paul's-Cross*.

Mr. *Rogers* sent to *Newgate*.

The Examination and Answer of Mr. John Rogers, *made to the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Council,* January 22. 1555.

FIRST, the Lord Chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, ye have heard the State of the Realm in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have been kept in close Prison, and except there have been some general Things said at the Table when I was at Dinner or Supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special Thing might be grounded.

Then said the Lord Chancellor; General Things, general Things, mockingly: Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the Parliament hath received his Blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one Man which did speak against it. Such an Unity, and such a Miracle hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one House, (said one that was by, whose Name I know not) have with one Assent and * Consent received Pardon of their Offences, for the Schism that we have had in *England*, in refusing the holy Father of *Rome* to be Head of the Catholick Church. How say ye? are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the Faith of the Catholick Church with us, in the State in which it is now in *England?* will ye do that?

* Full sore against their Wills, if they could otherwise have chose.

Rog. The Catholick Church I never did nor will dissent from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I speak of the State of the Catholick Church, in that wise in which we stand now in *England*, having received the Pope to be supream Head. Anno 1555.

Rog. I know none other Head but Christ of his Catholick Church, neither will I acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* to have any more Authority than any other Bishop hath by the Word of God, and by the Doctrine of the old and pure Catholick Church four hundred Years after Christ. No Head of the Catholick Church but Christ.

L. Chan. Why didst thou then acknowledge King *Henry* the Eighth to be supream Head of the Church, if Christ be the only Head? The Supremacy of King *Henry* VIII. how it is to be taken.

Rog. I never granted him to have any Supremacy in spiritual Things, as are the Forgiveness of Sins; giving of the Holy Ghost; Authority to be a Judge above the Word of God.

L. Chan. Yea, said he, and *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and *N.* Bishop of *Worcester*, if thou hadst said so in his Days (and they nodded the Head at me with a Laughter) thou hadst not been alive now. *Tonstal* Bp. of *Durham*, *N.* Bishop of *Worcester*.

Rog. Which Thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supream Head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a Business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great Weight thereupon; for all the World knoweth what the Meaning was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord *William Haward*, that there was no Inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supream Head and the Bishop of *Rome* also: And when I was ready to have answer'd, that there could not be two Heads of one Church, and have more plainly declared the Vanity of that his Reason, the Lord Chancellor said, What say'st thou? make us a direct Answer whether thou wilt be one of this Catholick Church or not, with us in that State in which we are now? The Meaning why King *Henry* was tituled supream Head.

Rog. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your Hearts that he is supream Head in forgiving of Sin, *&c.* (as is before said) seeing you, and all the Bishops of the Realm have now twenty Years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long agone condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus: The Bishops contrary to their former Doings and Writings.

L. Chan. Tush, that Parliament was with most great Cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the Primacy from the Bishop of *Rome*.

Rog. With Cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong Way with Cruelty to persuade Men's Consciences. For it should appear by your Doings now, that the Cruelty then used hath not persuaded your Consciences. How would you then have our Consciences persuaded with Cruelty?

L. Chan. I talk to thee of no Cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward; yea, and even with Force driven thereunto, whereas in this Parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

Rog. Here my Lord *Paget* told me more plainly, what my Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered; my Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first Parliament was of less Authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last Parliament was of great Authority, because more condescended unto it? it goeth not my Lord, by more or lesser Part, but by the wiser, truer, and more godly Part: And I would have said more, but the Lord Chancellor interrupted me with this Question, Truth goeth not by Number, nor by the greater Part.

willing

Anno 1555. Ten Prisoners out of *Newgate* to be convened before *Gardiner*.

willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee. And so there were indeed ten Persons more out of *Newgate*, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a Citizen of *London*, which granted unto them, and nine were contrary: Who all came to Prison again, and refused the Cardinal's Blessing, and the Authority of his holy Father's Church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the Question, otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest Man as his Father was before him, and he answering Yea, he was so discharged by the Friendship of my Lord *William Haward*, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one Church with the whole Realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have Pen, Ink, and Books, *&c.* and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the Mattter, so that the contrary should be proved to be true, and let any Man that will, confer with me by Writing.

Stephen Gardiner refused to have the Truth to be tried by Learning.

L Chan. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee; thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it; and will not now condescend and agree to the Catholick Church. Here are two Things, Mercy and Justice: If thou refuse the Queen's Mercy now, then shalt thou have Justice ministred unto thee.

The Bishops neither will stand by their Assertion, nor yet will suffer other Men so to do.

Rog. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her Mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by Writing, and to try out the Truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the Way. Ye yourselves (all the Bishops of the Realm) brought me to the Knowledge of the pretended Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, when I was a young Man twenty Years past; and will ye now without Collation have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded.

A fair Pretence to excuse your Ignorance.

L. Chan. If thou wilt not receive the Bishop of *Rome* to be supream Head of the Catholick Church, then thou shalt never have her Mercy thou mayest be sure. And as touching confering and Trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any confering and Trial with thee. For St. *Paul* teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew an Heretick after one or two Monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own Judgment.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an Heretick: Prove ye that first, and then alledge the aforesaid Text. But still the Lord Chancellor played on one String, saying:

Gardiner will compel to that which he cannot teach to be true.

L. Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with us, *&c.* tell us that, or else thou shall never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

Rog. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supream Head.

Wor. Why? do ye not know what is in your Creed: *I believe the holy Catholick Church.*

The Pope's Church proved not to be Catholick.

Rog. I find not the Bishop of *Rome* there. For *(catholick)* signifieth not the *Romish* Church: It signifieth the Consent of all true teaching Churches of all Times, and all Ages. But how should the Bishop of *Rome*'s Church be one of them, which teacheth so many Doctrines that are plainly and directly against the Word of God? Can that Bishop be the true Head of the Catholick Church that doth so? that is not possible.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

Rog. I remembred myself, that amongst so many I were best to shew one, and said, I will shew you one.

L. Chan. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rog. The Bishop of *Rome* and his Church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their Congregations, in *Latin*, which is directly and plainly against the First to the *Corinthians*, the fourteenth Chapter. *Latin* Service.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is against the Word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Rog. Thus I began to say the Text from the Beginning of the Chapter, *Qui loquitur lingua*, &c. To speak with Tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange Tongue, as *Latin* or *Greek*, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto Men, but to God. But ye speak in *Latin*, which is a strange Tongue, wherefore ye speak unto Men, but unto God (* meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they speak not unto Men, but unto God. Speaking in a strange Tongue against St. *Paul*. * Impersection.

L. Chan. Well, then it is in vain unto Men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one Man speaketh in one Tongue, and another in another Tongue, and all well.

L. Chan. Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to Man, but unto the Wind.

Rog. I was willing to have declared how and after what Sort these two Texts do agree (for they must agree, they be both the Sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the Apostle *Paul)* as to wit, to speak not to Men, but unto God, and to speak into the Wind: And so to have gone forward with the Proof of my Matter begun, but here arose a Noise and Confusion. Then said the Lord Chancellor: 1 *Cor.* 14. To speak to God only. To speak both to God and Man. To speak neither to God nor Man, but the Wind.

L. Chan. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were unpossible.

Rog. I will prove them possible.

L. Haward. No, said my Lord *Haward* to my Lord Chancellor: Now will I bear you Witness that he is out of the Way: For he granted first, that they which speak in a strange Speech speak unto God; and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to Man.

Rog. I have not granted nor said (turning me to my Lord *Haward)* as you report. I have alledged the one Text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the Matter.

L. Haward. I understand so much, that that is not possible.

This is a Point of Sophistry, quoth Secretary *Bourne*.

Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord *Haward*, that when he was in *High-Dutchland*, they at *Hale*, which had before prayed and used their Service all in *Dutch*, began then to turn Part into *Latin*, and Part into *Dutch*. A City in *Swaven*.

Worcest. Yea, and at *Wittenberg* too.

Rog. Yea, (but I could not be heard for the Noise) in an University, where Men for the most Part understand the *Latin*, and yet not all in *Latin*. And I would have told the Order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the Thing that I had taken in Hand, but perceiving their Mr. *Rogers* could not be heard to speak.

Talk and Noiſe to be too noiſome, I was fain to think this in my Heart, ſuffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one Thing, and another another. Alas! neither will theſe Men hear me if I ſpeak, neither yet will they ſuffer me to write. There is no Remedy, but let them alone, and commit the Matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid that I would make the Texts to agree, and to prove my Purpoſe well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, thou canſt prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it muſt have a lively Expoſitor.

Rog. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my Purpoſe.

Wor. All Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we muſt have a lively Expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other Expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not confeſs that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am ſure of that.

Rog. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all Councils they were diſputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in theſe Days, and ſo have come again to my Purpoſe, but it was impoſſible: for one asked one Thing, another ſaid another, ſo that I was fain to hold my Peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my Proof, the Lord Chancellor bade to Priſon with me again; and away, away, ſaid he, we have more to talk withal: if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then up I ſtood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Confuſed Talk without Order.

Then Sir *Richard Southwell*, who ſtood by in a Window, ſaid to me, Thou wilt not burn in this Gear, when it cometh to the Purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I truſt in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine Eyes unto Heaven.

Then my Lord of *Ely* told me much of the Queen's Majeſties Pleaſure and Meaning, and ſet it out with large Words, ſaying, That ſhe took them that would not receive the Pope's Supremacy, to be unworthy to have her Mercy, *&c.*

Rog. I ſaid I would not refuſe her Mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my Life: and that I beſought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, reſerving my Conſcience.

Divers ſpeak at once.

Divers ſpake at once. No? quoth they then, a great many of them, and eſpecially Secretary *Bourne*, a married Prieſt, and have not offended the Law!

Rog. I ſaid, I had not broken the Queen's Law, nor yet any Point of the Law of the Realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers ſpeak at once.

Divers at once. Where was that, ſaid they? thinking that to be unlawful in all Places.

Lawfulneſs of Prieſts Marriage. Mr. *Rogers* brought eight Children into *England.*

Rogers. In *Dutchland.* And if ye had not here in *England* made an open Law that Prieſts might have had Wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a Wife and eight Children with me: which Thing ye might be ſure that I would not have done, if the Laws of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great Noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come too ſoon with ſuch a Sort; I ſhould find a ſour Coming of it: and ſome one Thing, and ſome another. And one ſaid (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a Catholick Man or Country, that ever granted that a Prieſt might have a Wife. Anno 1555.

Rogers. I ſaid, the Catholick Church never denied Marriage to Prieſts, nor yet to any other Man; and therewith was I going out of the Chamber, the Serjeant which brought me thither having me by the Arm.

Then the Biſhop of *Worceſter* turned his Face towards me, and ſaid, that I knew not where that Church was or is.

Mr. *Rogers* had away to Priſon.

Rogers. I ſaid, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith the Serjeant went with me out of the Door.

This was the very true Effect of all that was ſpoken unto me, and of all that I anſwered thereunto.

January 27, at Night.

The ſecond Examination of Mr. John Rogers, *January* 28, 29. 1555.

FIRST, being aſked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one Church with the Biſhops and whole Realm, as now was concluded by Parliament (in which all the Realm was converted to the Catholick Church of *Rome*) and ſo receive the Mercy before proffered me, ariſing again with the whole Realm out of the Schiſm and Error in which we had long been, with Recantation of my Errors. I anſwered, that before I could not tell what his Mercy meant, but now I underſtand that it was a Mercy of the antichriſtian Church of *Rome*, which I utterly refuſed, and that the Riſing which he ſpake of, was a very Fall into Error and falſe Doctrine. Alſo that I had and would be able, by God's Grace to prove that all the Doctrine which I had ever taught was true and Catholick, and that by the Scriptures and the Authority of the Fathers that lived 400 Years after Chriſt's Death. He anſwered, that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private Man, and might not be heard againſt the Determination of the whole Realm. Should, quoth he, when a Parliament hath concluded a Thing, one, or any private Perſon have Authority to diſcuſs, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

Winchefter's Mercy, what it meaneth.

To riſe to the Pope is to fall from Chriſt.

Whatſoever is once concluded in a Parliament, ought not be reformed afterward by Doctrine, nor the Word of God, by the Biſhop of *Winchefter's* Divinity.

I anſwered ſhortly, That all the Laws of Men might not, neither could rule the Word of God, but that they all muſt be diſcuſſed and judged thereby, and obey thereto: and neither my Conſcience, nor any Chriſtian Man's, could be ſatisfied with ſuch Laws as diſagreed from that Word: and ſo I was willing to have ſaid much more. But the Lord Chancellor began a long Tale to a very ſmall Purpoſe, concerning mine Anſwer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me, wherefore I ſhould be heard, but Arrogancy, Pride and Vain-glory. I alſo granted my Ignorance to be greater than I could expreſs, or than he took it; but yet that I feared not, by God's Aſſiſtance and Strength, to be able by writing to perform my Word, neither was I (I thanked God) ſo utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be Thanks rendered therefore. Proud Man was I never, nor yet vain glorious. All the World knew well, where and on which Side Pride, Arrogancy, and Vain-glory was. It was a poor Pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then, ſaid he, that I at the firſt Daſh condemned

Anno 1555. demned the Queen and the whole Realm to be of the Church of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithal. I anſwered, That the Queen's Majeſty, (God ſave her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his Council. He ſaid, the Queen went before him, and it was her own Motion. I ſaid, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Dr. *Aldrife* witneſſeth with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.* Then ſaid Dr. *Aldrife* the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, that they the Biſhops would bear him Witneſs. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the People laughed: for that Day there were many, but on the Morrow they kept the Doors ſhut, and would let none in, but the Biſhop's Adherents and Servants in a Manner, yea, and the firſt Day the thouſand Man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and Secretary *Bourne* would have ſtood up alſo to bear Witneſs, and did.

I ſaid it was no great Matter: and to ſay the Truth, I thought that they were good Helpers thereunto themſelves: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowing that they were too ſtrong and mighty of Power, and that they ſhould be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Chriſt, and all his Prophets and Apoſtles too in theſe Days.

Then after many Words, he aſked me what I thought concerning the bleſſed Sacrament, and ſtood up, and put off his Cap, and all his Fellow Biſhops, (of which there were a great Number, new Men, of whom I knew few) whether I believed in the Sacrament to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and hanged on the Croſs, really and ſubſtantially.

The Opinion of Mr. *Rogers*, touching the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, required.

I anſwered, I had often told him that it was a Matter in which I was no Medler, and therefore ſuſpected of my Brethren to be of a contrary Opinion. Notwithſtanding, even as the moſt Part of your Doctrine in other Points is falſe, and the Defence thereof only by Force and Cruelty: ſo in this Matter I think it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot underſtand (really and ſubſtantially) to ſignify otherwiſe than corporally; but corporally Chriſt is only in Heaven, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your Sacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his Charity after this Sort: my Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me moſt cruelly: for ye have put me in Priſon without Law, and kept me there now almoſt a Year and a Half. For I was almoſt half a Year in my Houſe, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and ſpake with no Man. And now I have been a full Year in *Newgate* at great Coſts and Charges, having a Wife and ten Children to find, and I had never a Penny of my Livings, which was againſt the Law.

Acts 3.

Cruelty ſhewed without a Cauſe.

Mr. *Rogers* a Year and a Half in durance.

He anſwered, that Dr. *Ridley* which had given them me, was an Uſurper; and therefore I was the unjuſt Poſſeſſor of them.

Was the King then an Uſurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. *Ridley* the Biſhoprick?

Yea, quoth he, and began to ſet out the Wrongs that the King had done to the Biſhop of *London*, and to himſelf alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my Terms, quoth he, to call the King Uſurper. But the Word was gone out of the Abundance of the Heart before: and I think that he was not very ſorry for it in Heart. I might have ſaid more concerning that Matter, but I did not.

Steph. Gardiner calleth King *Edward* an Uſurper.

I aſked him wherefore he put me in Priſon? He ſaid, becauſe I preached againſt the Queen.

I anſwered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to ſtand to the Trial of the Law, that no Man ſhould be able to diſprove it, and thereupon would ſet my Life. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Croſs, after the Queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing ſaid againſt the Queen, I take Witneſs of all the Audience, which was not ſmall. I alleged alſo that he had, after Examination, let me go at Liberty after the Preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didſt read thy Lectures after, quoth he, againſt the Commandment of the Council.

That did I not, quoth I, let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now againſt the Law of God and Man handled me, and never ſent for me, never conferred with me, never ſpoke of any Learning, till now that ye have gotten a Whip to whip me with, and a Sword to cut off my Neck, if I will not condeſcend to your Mind, This Charity doth all the World underſtand.

Mr. *Rogers* impriſon'd againſt all Law and Right.

I might and would have added, if I could have been ſuffered to ſpeak, that it had been Time enough to take away Mens Livings, and thereto to have impriſoned them, after that they had offended Laws: for they be good Citizens that break not Laws, and worthy of Praiſe, and not of Puniſhment. But their Purpoſe is to keep Men in Priſon, until they may catch them in their Laws, and ſo kill them. I could and would have added the Example of *Daniel*, who by a crafty deviſed Law was caſt into the Lion's Den. *Item*, I might have declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at Liberty, ſending my Wife to him with a Supplication, being great with Child, and with her eight honeſt Women, or thereabouts, to *Richmond*, at *Chriſtmas* was a Twelve-month, while I was yet in my Houſe.

Mr. *Rogers* puniſhed before any Law was broken.

Ittm, I wrote two Supplications to him out of *Newgate*, and ſent my Wife many Times to him. Mr. *Goſnold* alſo that worthy Man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and ſo did divers other worthy Men alſo take Pains in the Matter. Theſe Things declare my Lord Chancellor's antichriſtian Charity, which is, that he hath and doth ſeek my Blood, and the Deſtruction of my poor Wife and my ten Children.

Mr. *Goſnold* laboured for Mr. *Rogers*

This is a ſhort Sum of the Words which were ſpoken on the 28th of *January* in the Afternoon, after that Mr. *Hooper* had been the firſt, and Mr. *Cardmaker* the ſecond in Examination before me. The Lord grant us Grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in his Cauſe, till we be ſmitten down together, if the Lord's Will be ſo to permit it. For there ſhall not a Hair of our Heads periſh againſt his Will, but with his Will. Whereunto the ſame Lord grant us to be obedient unto the End, and in the End, *Amen:* ſweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jeſus, rhe Son of *David* and of God: *Amen*, *Amen*, let every true Chriſtian ſay and pray.

Then the Clock being, as I gueſſed, about four, the Lord Chancellor ſaid, that he and the Church muſt yet uſe Charity with me (what Manner of Charity it is, all true Chriſtians do well underſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs) and gave me Reſpite till To-morrow, to ſee whether I would remember myſelf well To-morrow, and whether I would return to the Catholick Church (for ſo he called his antichriſtian falſe Church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to Mercy,

Great Mercy of *Wincheſter*, no leſs than the Fox hath to the Chickens, or the Wolf to ſuck the Blood of Lambs.

I ſaid that I was never out of the true catholick Church, nor would be; but into his Church would I, by God's Grace, never come.

The Pope's Church is the Church of Antichriſt.

Well, quoth he, then is our Church falſe and Antichriſtian?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the Doctrine of the Sacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my Hands abroad.

Then ſaid one, that I was a Player. To whom I anſwered not; for I paſſed not upon his Mock.

Mr. *Rogers* warned to appear the next Day.

Come again, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to Morrow between Nine and Ten.

I am ready to come again whenever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the Sheriffs to the Compter in *Southwark*, Mr. *Hooper* going before me, and a great Multitude of People being preſent, ſo that we had much to do to go in the Streets.

Thus much was done *January* 28.

Mr. *Rogers* and Mr. *Hooper* brought again before the Chancellor.

The ſecond Day, which was *January* 29. we were ſent for in the Morning about Nine of the Clock, and by the Sheriffs fetched from the Compter in *Southwark* to the Church again, as to wit, to St. *Mary Overies*, where we were the Day before in the Afternoon, as is ſaid. And when Mr. *Hooper* was condemned, as I underſtood afterward, then ſent they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid unto me:

Gardiner's Words to Mr. *Rogers*.

Rogers, quoth he, here thou waſt Yeſterday, and we gave thee Liberty to remember thyſelf this Night, whether thou wouldſt come to the holy Catholick Church of Chriſt again or not. Tell us now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſorry, and wilt return again and take Mercy.

Anſwer of Mr. *Rogers* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembred myſelf right well what you Yeſterday ſaid unto me, and deſire you to give me Leave to declare my Mind, what I have to ſay thereunto; and that done, I ſhall anſwer you to your demanded Queſtion.

Mr. *Rogers* not ſuffered here to defend himſelf by Writing.

When I Yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the Scripture and Authority of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt Church to defend my Doctrine by Writing (meaning not only of the Primacy, but alſo of all the Doctrine that ever I had preached) ye anſwered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private Perſon; and that the Parliament was above the Authority of all private Perſons, and therefore the Sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueleſs by me, being but a private Perſon. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhew Examples, that one Man hath come into a general Council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an Act or Article, ſome one Man coming in afterward, hath by the Word of God declared ſo pithily that the Council had erred in decreeing the ſaid Article, that he cauſed the whole Council to change and alter their Act or Article before determined. And of theſe Examples, ſaid I, I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the Authority of St. *Auguſtine*; that when he diſputed with an Heretick, he would neither himſelf, nor yet have the Heretick to lean unto the Determination of the two former Councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the Heretick that diſputed againſt him: But ſaid, that he would have the Scriptures to be their Judge, which which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Whole Councils turned by private Perſons.

Contra Maxent. l. 3. c. 14.

Item. I could ſhew, ſaid I, the Authority of a learned Lawyer *Panormitanus*, which ſaith, That unto a ſimple Lay-man that bringeth the Word of God with him, there ought more Credit to be given, than to a whole Council gathered together. By theſe Things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to ſay my Mind, and to be heard againſt a whole Parliament, bringing the Word of God for me, and the Authority of the old Church 400 Years after Chriſt, albeit that every Man in the Parliament had willingly and without reſpect of Fear and Favour agreed thereunto, which Thing I doubt not a little of; eſpecially ſeeing the like had been permitted in the old Church, even in general Councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefeſt Councils that ever was, unto which neither any Acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late general Councils of the Biſhops of *Rome* ought to be compared. For, ſaid I, if *Henry* VIII. were alive, and ſhould call a Parliament and begin to determine a Thing (and here I would have alledged the Example of the Act of making the Queen a Baſtard, and of making himſelf the ſuperior Head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive) then will ye (pointing to my Lord Chancellor) and ye, and ye, and ſo ye all (pointing to the reſt of the Biſhops) ſay, *Amen*: Yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be ſo enacted.

Anno 1555.

Extrav. de appel. cap. ſignificaſti.

A Caſe put to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This was Sir *Anthony Browne*.

Here my Lord Chancellor would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more; but bade me ſit down mockingly, ſaying, That I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their Inſtructor.

Mr. *Rogers* not ſuffered to ſpeak.

My Lord, quoth I, I ſtand, and ſit not: Shall I not be ſuffered to ſpeak for my Life?

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a Tale, and to prate, quoth he? And with that he ſtood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud Faſhion, for he perceived that I was in a Way to have touched them ſomewhat, which he thought to hinder by daſhing me out of my Tale, and ſo he did: For I could never be ſuffered to come to my Tale again, no not to one Word of it; but he had much like Communication with me as he had the Day before, and as his Manner is, Taunt upon Taunt, and Check upon Check. For in that Caſe, being God's Cauſe, I told him he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeak.

Mark here the Spirit of this Prelate.

L. Chan. See what a Spirit this Fellow hath, ſaid he, finding Fault at mine accuſtomed Earneſtneſs, and hearty Manner of ſpeaking.

Rogers. I have a true Spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the Word of God, and would further have ſaid, that I was never the worſe but the better, to be earneſt in a juſt and true Cauſe, and in my Maſter Chriſt's Matters; but I could not he heard. And at length he proceeded towards his Excommunication and Condemnation, after that I had told him, that his Church of *Rome* was the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe Doctrine and tyrannical Laws, which the Maintenance thereof by cruel Perſetions uſed by the Biſhops of the ſaid Church (of which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the reſt of his Fellow Biſhops that are now in *England*, are the chief Members:) Of Laws I mean, quoth I, and not all Men and Women which are in the Pope's Church. Likewiſe when I was ſaid to have denied their Sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent Mention, more to maintain his Kingdom thereby, than for the true Reverence of Chriſt's Inſtitution; more for his own and his popiſh Generation's Sake, than for Religion or God's Sake: I told him after what Order I did ſpeak of it (for the Manner of his

The Church of *Rome* to be the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the Laws and Doctrine now uſed in *Rome*.

Anno 1555. ſpeaking was not agreeing to my Words, which are before recited in the Communication that we had *January* 28.) wherewith he was not contented, but he aſked the Audience, whether I had not ſimply denied the Sacrament. They would have ſaid, and did what he deſired, for moſt of them were of his own Servants at that Day, the 29th of *January* I mean. At laſt I ſaid, I will never deny that I ſaid, that is, that your Doctrine of the Sacrament is falſe; but yet I tell you after what Order I ſaid it.

To be ſhort, he read my Condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles; firſt, that I affirmed the Romiſh Catholick Church to be the Church of Antichriſt; and that I denied the Reality of their Sacrament. He cauſed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the Hands of the Laity, and ſo he gave me over into the Sheriffs Hands.

The Copy of Mr. *Rogers* his Condemnation I thought good here to inſert in *Engliſh*, to the Intent that the ſame being here once expreſſed, may ſerve to be referred to for all condemnatory Sentences thro' the whole Story.

The Sentence condemnatory againſt Mr. *Rogers*.

The definitive Sentence againſt Mr. *Rogers*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *We* Stephen, *by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* Winchester, *lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly Favour, by Authority and Virtue of our Office, againſt thee* John Rogers, *Prieſt, otherwiſe called* Matthew, *before us perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of Hereſy, having heard, ſeen, and underſtood, and with all diligent Deliberation weighed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the Merits of the Cauſe, all Things being obſerved, which by us in this Behalf in Order of Law ought to be obſerved, ſitting in our Judgment-ſeat, the Name of Chriſt being firſt called upon, and having only God before our Eyes, becauſe by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this Matter, and by thine own Confeſſion judicially made before us, we do find that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended divers Errors, Hereſies, and damnable Opinions, contrary to the Doctrine and Determination of the holy Church, as namely theſe*; That

His Articles.

the Catholick Church of *Rome* is the Church of Antichriſt. *Item*, That in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not ſubſtantially nor really the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt. *The which aforeſaid Hereſies and damnable Opinions, being contrary to the Law of God, and Determination of the univerſal and apoſtolical Church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, and alſo defended before us, as well in this Judgment, as alſo otherwiſe, and with the like Obſtinacy, Stubbornneſs, Malice and Blindneſs of Heart, both wittingly and willingly haſt affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the ſame: We therefore* Stephen Winchester, *Biſhop, Ordinary, and Dioceſan aforeſaid, by the Conſent and Aſſent as well of our reverend Brethren, the Lords Biſhops here preſent and aſſiſtant, as alſo by the Counſel and Judgment of divers worſhipful Lawyers and Profeſſors of Divinity, with whom we have communicated in this Behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the ſaid* John Rogers, *otherwiſe called* Matthew, *through thy Demerits, Tranſgreſſions, Obſtinacies, and Willfulneſs (which through manifold Ways thou haſt incurred by thine own wicked and ſtubborn Obſtinacy) to have been and to be guilty of the deteſtible, horrible, and wicked Offences of heretical Pravity and execrable Doctrine, and that thou haſt before us ſundry Times, ſpoken, maintained, and wittingly and ſtubbornly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable Doctrine in the ſundry Confeſſions, Aſſertions and Recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet ſtill doſt maintain, and affirm and believe the ſame, and that thou haſt been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this Behalf: We therefore, I ſay, albeit following the Example of Chriſt,* Which would not the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live; *we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful Means that we could, and all wholeſome Admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true Faith and Unity of the univerſal Catholick Church, notwithſtanding have found thee obſtinate and ſtiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable Opinions and Hereſies, and refuſing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the holy mother Church; and as the Child of Wickedneſs and Darkneſs ſo to have hardened thy Heart, that thou wilt not underſtand the Voice of thy Shepherd, which with a fatherly Affection doth ſeek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly Admonitions: We therefore,* Stephen, *the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked ſhouldeſt now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's Flock with thine Hereſy (which we are greatly afraid of) with Sorrow of Mind and Bitterneſs of Heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the ſaid* John Rogers, *otherwiſe called* Matthew, *thy Demerits and Faults being aggravated through thy damnable Obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable Hereſies, and as an obſtinate impertinent Sinner, refuſing penitently to return to the Lap and Unity of the holy mother Church, and that thou haſt been and art by Law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate Perſon. Alſo we pronounce and declare thee, being an Heretick, to be caſt out from the Church, and left unto the Judgment of the ſecular Power, and now preſently ſo do leave thee as an obſtinate Heretick, and a Perſon wrapped in the Sentence of the great Curſe, to be degraded worthily for thy Demerits (requiring them notwithſtanding, in the Bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this Execution and Puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, may ſo be moderated, that the Rigour thereof be not too extream, nor yet the Gentleneſs too much mitigated, but it may be to the Salvation of thy Soul, to the Extirpation, Terror, and Converſion of the Hereticks to the Unity of the Catholick Faith) by this our Sentence definitive which we here lay upon and againſt thee, and do with Sorrow of Heart promulgate in this Form aforeſaid.*

These Murderers pretend Sorrow of Heart, and yet they will not ceaſe from murdering

After this Sentence was read, he ſent us (Mr. *Hooper*, I mean, and me) to the Clink, there to remain till Night; and when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. *Hooper*, going before with one Sheriff. and I coming after with the other, with Bills and Weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the Biſhop's Houſe, and St. *Mary Overy*'s Church-yard, and ſo into *Southwark*, and over the Bridge on Proceſſion to *Newgate* through the City. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when the Biſhop had read the Condemnation, he declared that I was in the great Curſe, and what a dangerous Matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accurſed, or to give us any Thing; for all that

Mr. *Rogers* and Mr. *Hooper* ſent to *Newgate*.

A dangerous Thing to be in the Pope's Curſe.

did ſo, ſhould be partakers of the ſame great Curſe.

Mr. *Rogers*'s Words to the Biſhop of *Winchester.*

Well, my Lord, quoth I, here I ſtand before God and you, and all this honourable Audience, and take him to witneſs, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any falſe Doctrine; and therefore have I a good Conſcience before God and all good Men: I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall be as good a Man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I ſhall be found there a true Member of the true Catholick Church of Chriſt, and everlaſtingly ſaved. And as for your falſe Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it, I have not been in it theſe twenty Years, the Lord be thankful therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one Thing.

What is that, quoth he?

Mr. *Rogers*'s Requeſt, that his Wife might come to him while he lived, could not be granted

That my poor Wife, being a Stranger, may come and ſpeak with me ſo long as I live: for ſhe hath ten Children that are hers and mine, and ſomewhat I would counſel her, what were the beſt for her to do.

No, quoth he, ſhe is not thy Wife.

Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been theſe 18 Years.

Should I grant her to be thy Wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not; ſhe ſhall be ſo nevertheleſs.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your Charity, ſaid I. You make yourſelf highly diſpleaſed with the Matrimony of Prieſts, but you maintain open Whoredom: as in *Wales*, quoth I, where every Prieſt hath his Whore openly dwelling with, and lying by him: even as your holy Father ſuffereth all the Prieſts in *Dutchland* and in *France* to do the like. Thereto he anſwered not, but looked as it were a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

Mr. *Rogers* warned to prepare for Death.

On the 4th of *February* 1555, Mr. *Rogers* was ſuddenly warned by the Keeper of *Newgate*'s Wife, to prepare himſelf to the Fire; who being then found aſleep, could ſcarce be awaked. At length being raiſed and awaked, and bid to make haſte, then, ſaid he, if it be ſo, I need not tye my Points. And ſo was had down firſt to Biſhop *Bonner* to be degraded: which being done, he craved of *Bonner* but one Petition: and *Bonner* aſking what that ſhould be? Mr. *Rogers* replied, that he might ſpeak a few Words with his Wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then, ſaid he, you declare what your Charity is: and ſo he was brought into *Smithfield* by Mr. *Cheſter* and Mr. *Woodroofe*, then Sheriffs of *London*, there to be burnt; where he ſhewed moſt conſtant Patience, not uſing many Words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the People conſtantly to remain in that Faith and true Doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the Confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to ſuffer and bear all ſuch Bitterneſs and Cruelty as had been ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſign up his Life, and to give his Fleſh to the conſuming Fire, for the Teſtimony of the ſame.

Mr. *Rogers* degraded.

Biſhop *Bonner* would not ſuffer Mr. *Rogers* to ſpeak to his Wife before his burning.

Briefly, and in few Words to comprehend the whole Order of his Life, and Martyrdom: Firſt, this good Man, Mr. *Rogers*, was committed to Priſon, as is aboveſaid, and there continued a Year and Half. In Priſon he was merry and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much, his Examinations he penned with his own Hand, which elſe had never come to Light. Anno 1555.

Furthermore, this alſo may be added, that he ſpake, being then in Priſon, to the Printer of this preſent Book, who then alſo was laid up for like Cauſe of Religion; *Thou*, ſaid he, *ſhalt live to ſee the Alteration of this Religion, and the Goſpel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my Brethren, as well in Exile as others, and bid them be circumſpect in diſplacing the Papiſts, and putting good Miniſters into Churches, or elſe their End will be worſe than ours.* And for Lack of good Miniſters to furniſh Churches, his Device was, (Mr. *Hooper* alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for every ten Churches ſome one good and learned Super-intendent ſhould be appointed, which ſhould have under him faithful Readers, ſuch as might well be got, ſo that Popiſh Prieſts ſhould clean be put out, and the Biſhop once a Year to overſee the Profiting of the Pariſhes; and if the Miniſter did not his Duty, as well in profiting himſelf in his Book, and his Pariſhioners in good Inſtructions, ſo that they may be trained by little and little to give a Reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his Place: And the Biſhop to do the like with the Super-intendent: This was his Counſel and Requeſt; ſhewing moreover, and proteſting in his Commendations to his Brethren by the Printer aforeſaid, that if they would not ſo do, their End, he ſaid, would be worſe than theirs.

Mr. *Rogers*'s Counſel in placing good Miniſters.

To proceed now further in deſcribing the Doings of this Man; during the Time he remained Priſoner in *Newgate*, he was to the Priſoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus deviſed, that he with his Fellows ſhould have but one Meal a Day, they paying notwithſtanding for the Charges of the whole; the other Meal ſhould be given to them that lacked on the other Side of the Priſon. But *Alexander* their Keeper, a ſtrait Man, and a right *Alexander*, a Copperſmith indeed, would in no Caſe ſuffer that, of whoſe Doings more ſhall be ſaid, God willing, hereafter. The *Sunday* before Mr. *Rogers* ſuffered, he drank to Mr. *Hooper* being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, *there was never little Fellow better would ſtick to a Man, than he would ſtick to him*; preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it happened otherwiſe, for Mr. *Rogers* was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the Life and ſuch Acts of Mr. *Rogers*, as I thought worthy noting.

Proviſion for the Priſoners in *Newgate*, made by Mr. *Rogers.*

Alexander Andrew, Goaler of *Newgate*, compared to *Alexander* the Copperſmith.

Now when the Time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriffs ſhould be brought out of *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, the Place of his Execution, Mr. *Woodroofe*, one of the aforeſaid Sheriffs, firſt came to Mr. *Rogers*, and aſked him, *if he would revoke his abominable Doctrine, and his evil Opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar?* Mr. *Rogers* anſwered, *That which I have preached I will ſeal with my Blood.* Then Mr. *Woodroofe* ſaid, *Thou art an Heretick. That ſhall be known*, quoth *Rogers, at the Day of Judgment. Well*, ſaid Mr. *Woodroofe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you*, ſaid Mr. *Rogers*; and ſo was brought the ſame Day, which was *Monday* the fourth of *February*, by the Sheriffs towards *Smithfield*, ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* by the Way, all the People wonderfully rejoicing at his Conſtancy, with great Praiſes and Thanks to God for the ſame. And there, in the Preſence of Mr. *Rocheſter*, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold,

The Words of Mr. *Woodroofe* to Mr. *Rogers*

The Burning of Master John Rogers Vicar of S.t Sepulchers & Reader of S.t Paul's London.
Lord receave my Spirit

The Burning of Master Laurence Sanders at Coventry.
Welcome Life.

I.B. sc.

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MUSEUM

Anno 1555. Houſhold, Sir *Richard Southwell*, both the Sheriffs, and a great Number of People, he was burnt to Aſhes. A little before his burning, his Pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refuſed it. He was the firſt Martyr of all the bleſſed Company that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s Time. His Wife and Children, being eleven in Number, ten able to go, and one ſucking at her Breaſt, met him by the Way at he went towards *Smithfield*: This ſorrowful Sight of his own Fleſh and Blood could nothing move him, but that he conſtantly and chearfully took his Death with wonderful Patience, in the Defence and Quarrel of the Goſpel of Chriſt.

Mr. *Rogers* offered his Pardon if he would recant, but he refuſed it.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. Laurence Saunders, *who was burnt at* Coventry, February 8. 1555.

AFTER that Queen *Mary*, by publick Proclamation in the firſt Year of her Reign, had inhibited the ſincere preaching of God's holy Word, as is before declared, ſeveral pious Miniſters, who had the Cure and Charge of Souls committed to them, did notwithſtanding, according to their bounden Duty, feed their Flock faithfully, not as Preachers authorized by publick Authority, (as the Order of the Realm was in the happy Days of bleſſed King *Edward*) but as the private Paſtors of particular Flocks, among whom *Laurence Saunders* was one, a Man of worſhipful Parentage. His bringing up was in Learning from his Youth, in Places meet for that Purpoſe, as namely in the School of *Eaton*. From whence he was choſen to go to the King's College in *Cambridge*, where he continued Scholar of the College three whole Years, and there profited in Knowledge and Learning very much for that Time: Shortly after that, he forſook the Univerſity, and went to his Parents, upon whoſe Advice he minded to become a Merchant, for that his Mother, who was a Gentlewoman of good Eſtimation, being left a Widow, and having a good Portion for him among his other Brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him up wealthily, and ſo he coming up to *London*, was bound Apprentice with a Merchant, named Sir *William Cheſter* (who afterward chanced to be Sheriff of *London* the ſame Year that *Saunders* was burnt at *Coventry*,) Thus by the Mind of his Friends, *Laurence* ſhould needs have been a Merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his ſecret Working in all Things, ſaw better for his Servant, as it fell out in the End: For although that *Saunders* was bound by Indenture to be a Merchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his Heart, that he could find no liking to that Vocation: So that when his other Fellows were buſily occupied about that Kind of Trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelf into ſome privy Corner, and there fall into his ſolitary Lamentations, as one not pleaſed with that Kind and Trade of Life.

Scholars are taken out of *Eaton* College, into the King's College at *Cambridge*.

Mr. *Saunders* firſt bound Prentice with Mr. *Cheſter*.

Mr. *Saunders* appointed to the Trade of Merchandize, could not away with that Kind of Life.

It happened that his Maſter, being a good Man, and hearing his Prentice thus in his ſecret Prayers inwardly to mourn by himſelf, called him unto him, to know what the Cauſe was of that his Solitarineſs and Lamentation: Who then perceiving him not to fancy that Kind of Life, (for ſo *Saunders* declared unto him) and perceiving alſo his whole Purpoſe to be bent to the Study of his Book, and ſpiritual Contemplation, like a good Man directed his Letters immediately unto his Friends, and giving him his Indenture, ſet him free: And thus *Laurence Saunders* being raviſhed with the Love of Learning, and eſpecially with the reading of God's Word, tarried not long in the Traffick of Merchandize, but ſhortly returned to *Cambridge* again to his Study, where he began to couple to the Knowledge of the *Latin*, the Study of the *Greek* Tongue, wherein he profited very much in a little Time; therewith alſo he joined the Study of the *Hebrew*. Then he gave himſelf wholly to the Study of the holy Scripture, to furniſh himſelf to the Office of a Preacher.

Mr. *Saunders* returneth to his Study.

In the Beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, when God's true Religion was began to be reſtored, after Licence obtained, he began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had Authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the College at *Fothringa*, where by Doctrine and Life he edified the Pious, drew many Ignorant to the true Knowledge of God, and ſtopped the Mouth of the Adverſaries. He married about that Time, and in the married Eſtate led a Life unblameable before all Men. The College of *Fothringa* being diſſolved, he was placed to be Reader in the Minſter at *Lichfield*; where he ſo behaved himſelf in Teaching and Living, that his very Adverſaries did give a full Report as well of his Learning, as of his Piety. After a certain Space, he departed from *Lichfield* to a Benefice in *Leiceſterſhire*, called *Church-langton*, where he keeping Reſidence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal Houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a Benefice in the City of *London*, named *Alhallows* in *Breadſtreet*. Then he was minded to give over his Cure in the Country; and therefore after he had taken Poſſeſſion of his Benefice in *London*, he departed from thence into the Country, clearly to diſcharge himſelf thereof. And even at that Time began the Broil about the Claim that Queen *Mary* made to the Crown, by reaſon whereof he could not accompliſh his Purpoſe.

Mr. *Saunders*, Reader in the College of *Fothringa*.

Saunders after Reader at *Lichfield*.

In this Trouble, and even among the Beginners of it, (ſuch I mean as were for the Queen) he preached at *Northampton*, nothing medling with the State, but boldly uttered his Conſcience againſt popiſh Doctrine and Antichriſt's damnable Errors, which were like to ſpring up again in *England*, as a juſt Plague for the little Love which the *Engliſh* Nation did bear to the bleſſed Word of God, which had been ſo plentifully offered unto them. The Queen's Men which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as Priſoner. But partly for Love of his Brethren and Friends, who were chief Doers for the Queen among them, partly becauſe there was no Law broken by his Preaching, they diſmiſſed him. He, ſeeing the dreadful Days at hand, inflamed with the Fire of godly Zeal, preached with Diligence at both thoſe Benefices, as Time could ſerve him, ſeeing he could reſign neither of them now, but into the Hand of a Papiſt.

The conſtant Purpoſe of Mr. *Saunders*.

Thus paſſed he to and fro preaching, until that Proclamation was put forth, of which Mention is made in the Beginning; at which Time he was at his Benefice in the Country, where he, (notwithſtanding the Proclamation aforeſaid) taught diligently God's Truth, confirming the People therein, and arming them againſt falſe

Doctrine,

Doctrine, until he was not only commanded to ceaſe, but alſo with Force reſiſted, ſo that he could not proceed there in Preaching. Some of his Friends, perceiving ſuch fearful menacing, counſelled him to fly out of the Realm, which he refuſed to do. But ſeeing he was with Violence kept from doing good in that Place, he returned towards *London* to viſit the Flock, of which he had there the Charge.

Mr. *Saunders* refuſeth to fly the Realm.

On *Saturday*, *October* 14. as he was coming nigh to the City of *London*, Sir *John Mordant* a Counſellor to Queen *Mary*, overtook him, and aſked him whither he went. I have, ſaid *Saunders*, a Cure in *London*, and now I go to inſtruct my People, according to my Duty. If you will follow my Counſel, quoth Mr. *Mordant*, let them alone, and come not at them. To this *Saunders* anſwered: How ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick, and deſire Conſolation, if any want good Counſel, and need Inſtruction? or if any ſhould ſlip into Error, and receive falſe Doctrine? Did you not, quoth *Mordant*, preach ſuch a Day, and named the Day, in *Breadſtreet* in *London?* Yes verily, ſaid *Saunders*, that ſame is my Cure. I heard you myſelf, quoth Mr. *Mordant:* And will you preach there again? If it pleaſe you, ſaid *Saunders*, to Morrow you may hear me again in that ſame Place, where I will confirm, by the Authority of God's Word, all that I ſaid then, and whatſoever before that Time I taught them.

I would counſel you, quoth the other, not to preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawful Authority, then muſt I obey, ſaid *Saunders*. Nay, quoth he, I will not forbid you, but I do give you Counſel. And thus entred they both the City, and departed each from other. Mr. *Mordant* went to give Warning to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, that *Saunders* would preach in his Cure the next Day. *Saunders* reſorted to his Lodging with a Mind bent to do his Duty.

Mr. *Mordant* diſſuadeth *Laurence Saunders* from Preaching.

The next Day, which was *Sunday* in the Forenoon, he made a Sermon in his Pariſh, treating on that Place which *Paul* writeth to the *Corinthians*, 2 Cor. 11. *I have coupled you to one Man, that ye ſhould make yourſelves a chaſte Virgin unto Chriſt. But I fear leſt it come to paſs, that as the Serpent beguiled Eve; even ſo your Wits ſhould be corrupt from the Singleneſs which ye had towards Chriſt.* He recited a Sum of that true Chriſtian Doctrine, thro' which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receive of him free Juſtification thro' Faith in his Blood. The papiſtical Doctrine he compared to the Serpent's deceiving: And leſt they ſhould be deceived by it, he made a Compariſon between the Voice of God, and the Voice of the popiſh Serpent; deſcending to more particular Declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly ſee the Difference that is between the Order of the Church-Service, ſet forth by King *Edward* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and comparing it with the popiſh Service then uſed in the *Latin*.

Mr. *Saunders*'s Sermon at *Alhallows*.

The firſt he ſaid was good, becauſe it was according to the Word of God, 1 *Cor.* 14. and the Order of the primitive Church. The other he ſaid was evil, and though in that Evil, be intermingled ſome good *Latin* Words, yet was it but as a little Honey or Milk mingled with a great deal of Poiſon, to make them drink up all. This was the Sum of his Sermon.

In the Afternoon he was ready in his Church to have given another Exhortation to his People. But the Biſhop of *London* interrupted him by ſending an Officer for him. This Officer charged him, upon pain of Diſobedience and Contumacy, forthwith to come to the Biſhop his Maſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Prieſts, ſo was *Laurence Saunders* brought before the Biſhop of *London*, who had in his Company the aforeſaid Sir *John Mordant* and ſome of his Chaplains. The Biſhop laid no more to *Laurence Saunders*'s Charge, but Treaſon for breaking the Queen's Proclamation, Hereſy and Sedition for his Sermon.

Mr. *Saunders* apprehended by Biſhop *Bonner*'s Command.

Anno 1555.

Sir *John Mordant* accuſeth *Laurence Saunders*.

The Treaſon and Sedition, his Charity was content to let ſlip until another Time. But an Heretick he would now prove him, and all thoſe, he ſaid, who did teach and believe that the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and all Orders of the Church are moſt pure, which do come moſt nigh to the Order of the primitive Church. For the Church was then but in her Infancy, and could not abide that Perfection which was afterward to be furniſhed with Ceremonies. And for this Cauſe Chriſt himſelf, and after him the Apoſtles, did in many Things bear with the Rudeneſs of that Church. To this *Laurence Saunders* anſwered with the Authority of St. *Auguſtine*, That Ceremonies were even from the Beginning invented and ordained for the rude Infancy and weak Infirmity of Man, and therefore it was a Token of the more Perfection of the primitive Church, that it had few Ceremonies, and of the Rudeneſs of the papiſtical Church, becauſe it had ſo many Ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly unſavory and unprofitable.

Preaching of God's Word made Treaſon by Biſhop *Bonner*.

After much Talk concerning this Matter, the Biſhop deſired him to write what he believed of Tranſubſtantiation. *Laurence Saunders* did ſo, ſaying, my Lord, ye do ſeek my Blood, and ye ſhall have it: I pray God that ye may be ſo baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath Blood-ſucking, and become a better Man. This Writing the Biſhop kept for his Purpoſe, even to cut the Writer's Throat, as ſhall appear hereafter. The Biſhop, when he had his Will, ſent *Laurence Saunders* to the Lord Chancellor, as *Annas* ſent Chriſt to *Caiaphas*; and like Favour found *Saunders* as Chriſt his Maſter did before him. But the Chancellor being not at home, *Saunders* was conſtrained to tarry for him the Space of four Hours, in the outer Chamber, where he found a Chaplain of the Biſhop's very merrily diſpoſed, with certain Gentlemen playing at Tables, with divers others of the ſame Family or Houſe occupied there in the ſame Exerciſe.

Biſhop *Bonner* ſeeketh the Blood of Mr. *Saunders*.

All this Time *Saunders* ſtood very modeſty and ſoberly at the Screen or Cupboard bareheaded, Sir *John Mordant* his Guide or Leader walking up and down by him; who (as I ſaid before) was then one of the Council. At laſt the Biſhop returned from the Court, whom, as ſoon as he was entred, a great many Suiters met and received; ſo that before he could get out of one Houſe into another, half an Hour was paſſed. At laſt he came into the Chamber where *Saunders* was, and went through into another Chamber; where in the mean Time, Sir *John Mordant* gave him a Writing, containing the Cauſe, or rather the Accuſation of the ſaid *Saunders:* Which when he had peruſed, where is the Man, ſaid the Biſhop? Then *Saunders*, being brought forth to the Place of Examination, firſt moſt lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made Courteſy before the Table where the Biſhop did ſit; unto whom the Biſhop ſpake on this wiſe:

How happeneth it, ſaid he, that notwith-

Anno 1555.

Winchester's Discourse with Mr. *Saunders.*

ſtanding the Queen's Proclamation to the contrary, you have enterpriſed to preach?

Saunders denied not that he did preach; ſaying, that foraſmuch as he ſaw the perilous Times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admoniſhed, and warned by *Ezekiel* the Prophet) exhort his Flock and Pariſhioners to perſevere and ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the Doctrine which they had learned; ſaying alſo, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the Place of the Apoſtle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than Man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or ſtirred him thereunto, than his own Conſcience.

A goodly Conſcience ſurely, ſaid the Biſhop. This your Conſcience could make our Queen a Baſtard, or miſbegotten; would it not, I pray you?

A privy Nip to *Winchester.*

Winchester's Book *De vera obedientia.*

Then ſaid *Saunders*, We, ſaid he, do not declare or ſay that the Queen is baſe, or miſbegotten, neither go about any ſuch Matter. But for that let them care whoſe Writings are yet in the Hands of Men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great Reproach and Shame of the Author; privily taunting the Biſhop himſelf, who had before, (to get the Favour of *Henry* VIII.) written and ſet forth in Print, a Book of true Obedience; wherein he had openly declared Queen *Mary* to be a Baſtard: Now Mr. *Saunders* going forwards in his Purpoſe, ſaid, We do only profeſs and teach the Sincerity and Purity of the Word; which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our Mouths, yet notwithſtanding, I do not doubt, but that our Blood hereafter ſhall manifeſt the ſame. The Biſhop being in this Sort prettily nipped and touched, ſaid; carry away this frenzy Fool to Priſon. Unto whom Mr. *Saunders* anſwered, that he did give God Thanks, which had given him at the laſt a Place of Reſt and Quietneſs, where he might pray for the Biſhop's Converſion.

Note how *Winchester* confuteth Mr. *Saunders.*

Mr. *Saunders* a Year and three Months in Priſon.

Mr. *Saunders* continued in Priſon a Year and three Months. In all which Space he ſent ſeveral Letters to divers Men; as one to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*; another to his Wife, and alſo to others, certifying them both of the publick Calamity of the Time, and alſo of his private Affiictions. In the mean Time the Chancellor, after this little Talk with Mr. *Saunders* (as is aforeſaid) ſent him to the Priſon of the *Marſhalſea*, &c. For the *Caiaphas* (*Winchester* I mean) did nothing but bait him with ſome of his churliſh Eloquence, and ſo committed him to the Priſon of the *Marſhalſea*, where he was kept Priſoner one Year and a Quarter.

A Letter of Mr. Saunders *to his Wife.*

GRace, Mercy, and Peace in Chriſt our Lord. Entirely beloved Wife, even as unto mine own Soul and Body, ſo do I daily in mine hearty Frayer wiſh unto you; for I do daily, twice at the leaſt, in this Sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear Wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the Book of Life, ſo we ſhall together enjoy the ſame everlaſtingly, through the Grace and Mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Chriſt. And for this preſent Life, let us wholly appoint ourſelves to the Will of our good God, to glorify him either by Life or by Death; and even that ſame merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either Way as pleaſeth him, *Amen*. I am merry, I thank my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good Fight, and finiſh a good Courſe, and then receive the Crown which is laid up in Store for me, and all the true Soldiers of Chriſt. Wherefore, Wife, let us, in the Name of our God, fight luſtily to overcome the Fleſh, the Devil, and the World. What our Harneſs and Weapons be in this Kind of Fight, look in the ſixth Chapter unto the *Epheſians*, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no Suit for me in any wiſe. Thank you know whom, for her moſt ſweet and comfortable putting me in Remembraoe of my Journey whither I am paſſing. God ſend us all good Speed, and a joyful Meeting. I have too few ſuch Friends to further me in that Journey, which is indeed the greateſt Friendſhip. The Bleſſing of God be with you all, *Amen*.

1 *Tim* 4.

Mr. Saunders would have no Suit made for him.

A Priſoner in the Lord,

L. Saunders.

This his Conſtancy is ſufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty Enemies, Antichriſt and Death. To neither of theſe did he give Place; but by ſuffering their Malice got the Victory over them both. One of the Conflicts which he had with Antichriſt and his Members, I have gathered out of a Letter of his own Hand-Writing. It was with Dr. *Weſton*, a Man whom though I ſhould praiſe, yet would all good Men worthily diſpraiſe. Of this the ſaid *Laurence Saunders* thus writeth in a Letter which he ſent to one of his Friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. *Weſton* did at the *Marſhalſea*: Whereunto he thus anſwered:

Dr. *Weſton* came to confer with Mr. *Grimoald*: What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wiſh it may be to God's Glory, *Amen*, *Amen*. Mr. *Weſton* of his Gentleneſs viſited me, and offered me Friendſhip in his worldly wily Sort, *&c.* I had not ſo much good Manners as to take it at his Hand; for I ſaid, that I was well enough, and ready chearfully to abide the Extremity, to keep thereby a good Conſcience. Ye be aſleep in Sin, ſaid he. I would awake, quoth I, and do not forget *Vigilate & Orate*, that is, Watch and Pray. What Church was there thirty Years paſt, ſaid he? What Church was there, quoth I, in *Elias*'s Time? *Joan* of *Kent*, ſaid he, was of your Church. No, ſaid I, we did condemn her as an Heretick. Who was of your Church, ſaid he, thirty Years paſt? Such, quoth I, as the *Romiſh* Antichriſt, and his Rabble, have reputed and condemned as Hereticks. *Wickliff*, ſaid he, *Thorp*, *Oldcaſtle*, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many more, as Stories do tell. The Biſhop of *Rome* hath, ſaid he, a long Time played a Part in your railing Sermons, but now be ye ſure, he muſt play another Manner of Part. The more pity, ſaid I, and yet ſome Comfort it is to ſee, how that the beſt learned, wiſeſt, and holieſt of you all, have heretofore had him to play a Part likewiſe in your Sermons and Writings; though now to pleaſe the World, you do turn with the Weather-cock. Did you ever, ſaid he, hear me preach againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*? No, ſaid I, for I never heard you preach. But I believe you have been no wiſer than others, *&c.* with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray, God keep your Family, and bleſs it.

This Dr. *Weſton* and Mr. *Grimoald* died both about the Coronation of Queen *Elizabeth.*

The Church goeth not always by Number.

Winchester's Book *De vera obedientia.*

Another Letter of Mr. Saunders *to his Wife.*

Mr. *Saunder*'s Letter to his Wife.

GRace and Comfort in Chriſt Jeſus, our only Comfort in all extream Aſſaults, *Amen.* Fain would this Fleſh make ſtrange of that which the Spirit doth embrace; Oh! Lord, how loth is this loitering Sluggard to paſs forth in God's Path? It phantaſieth forſooth much Fear of Fray-hugs: and were it not for the Force of Faith which pulleth it forward by the Rein of God's moſt ſweet Promiſe, and of Hope which pricketh on behind, great Adventures there were of fainting by the Way. But bleſſed and everlaſtingly bleſſed be that heavenly Father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient Saviour, hath vouchſafed to ſhine in our Hearts, that he giveth us the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory of God in the Face of Jeſus Chriſt: and having *this Treaſure in our earthen Veſſels, that the Excellency of the Power might be God's and not ours*; we are, (according to his good Will) *troubled on every Side, yet are we not without Shift*; *we are in Poverty*; *but yet not without that is ſufficient*; *we ſuffer Perſecution, but are not forſaken therein*; *we are caſt down, nevertheleſs we periſh not*; *we bear in the Body the Dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the Life of Jeſus might alſo appear in our Body.* Wherefore by the Grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be wearied, neither be diſmay'd by this our Probation through the Fire of Affliction, as tho' ſome ſtrange Thing had happened unto us: but by his Power we ſhall rejoice, inaſmuch as we are Partakers of Chriſt's Paſſion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that *our Tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory unto us, while we look not on the Things which are ſeen, but on the Things which are not ſeen. They that ſow in Tears, ſhall reap in Joy. For he that goeth on his Way weeping and ſcattering his good Seed, ſhall doubtleſs come again with Joy, and bring his whole Sheaves with him.* Then, then ſhall the Lord wipe away all Tears from our Eyes. *Then, then ſhall be brought to paſs that Saying which is written, Death is ſwallowed up in Victory. Death, where is thy Sting? Hell, where is thy Victory? yea, Thanks be to God, which hath given us the Victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* Amen.

2 *Cor.* 4.
2 *Cor.* 4. 8, 9, 10.
2 *Cor.* 4. 17, 18.
Pſal. 126.
1 *Cor.* 15. 54, 55, 56, 57.

In the mean Seaſon it remaineth for us to follow St. *Peter*'s Advice; *Let them* (ſaith he) *that are troubled, according to the Will of God, commit their Souls to him with well-doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker.* He is our Maker, we are his handy Work and Creatures, whom now when he hath made, he doth not leave and forſake, as the Shipwright doth the Ship, leaving it at all Adventures to be toſſed in the Tempeſt, but he comforteth us his Creatures, and in him we live, we move, and have our Being: yea not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Chriſt repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himſelf as a peculiar People by the Blood of his Son, he hath put on a moſt tender good Will and fatherly Affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by ſuch Promiſes he hath plighted ſuch Faith, that though it were poſſible that the Mother could forget her Infant, and not be tender hearted to the Child of her Womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful Believers ſhould be forgotten of him. He exhorteth us,

1 *Pet.* 4. 19.
Acts 17, 28.
God's Promiſe firm and ſure.
Iſaiah 49. 15.

to caſt our Care on him, and ſaith, that aſſuredly he careth for us. And what tho' for a Seaſon he doth ſuffer us to be turmoiled in the turbulent Tempeſts of Temptation, and ſeemeth as in much Anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let not us for all that leave off to put our Truſt in him, but let us with godly *Job* conclude in ourſelves and ſay, *Even though he kill me, yet will I put my Truſt in him.* Let us with the bleſſed *Abraham* in Hope, even contrary to Hope, by Belief, lean unto that our loving Lord, who tho' for our Probation, he ſuffereth us to be afflicted, yet *will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his Anger for ever, for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembreth that we are but Duſt. Wherefore, look how high the Heaven is in Compariſon of the Earth, ſo great is his Mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo far hath he ſet our Sins from us. Yea, like as a Father, pitieth his own Children, even ſo is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him.* Oh! what great Cauſe of rejoicing have we in our moſt gracious God? We cannot but burſt forth in the praiſing of ſuch a bountiful Benefactor, and ſay with the ſame Pſalmiſt; *Praiſe the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy Name. Praiſe the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his Benefits.*

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1 *Pet.* 5. 7.
Job. 13, 15. Truſt upon God's Promiſe.
Pſal. 103. 9, 11, 12, 13.
Pſal. 103. 1, 2.

Dear Wife, Riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly Manner: but that Treaſure of Taſting how ſweet Chriſt is unto hungry Conſciences, (whereof, I thank my Chriſt, I do feel Part, and would feel more) that I bequeath unto you, and to the reſt of my beloved in Chriſt, to retain the ſame in Senſe of Heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I truſt I ſhall be merry, in Spite of all the Devils in Hell. I utterly refuſe myſelf, and reſign myſelf unto my Chriſt, in whom I know I ſhall be ſtrong, as he ſeeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

Laurence Saunders.

Mr. *Saunders*'s Legacy to his Wife.
Experience of the Comforts of Chriſt in Priſon.

As the ſaid Mr. *Saunders* was in Priſon, a ſtrict Charge was given to the Keeper that no Perſon ſhould ſpeak with him. His Wife yet came to the Priſon Gate with her young Child in her Arms, to viſit her Huſband. The Keeper, though for his Charge he durſt not ſuffer her to come into the Priſon, yet did he take the little Babe out of her Arms, and brought him unto his Father: *Laurence Saunders* ſeeing him, rejoiced greatly, ſaying, that he rejoiced more to have ſuch a Boy, than he ſhould if two thouſand Pounds were given him. And unto the Standers by, which praiſed the Goodlineſs of the Child, he ſaid, what Man fearing God, would not loſe his Life preſent, rather than by prolonging it here, he ſhould adjudge this Boy to be a Baſtard, his Wife a Whore, and himſelf a Whoremonger? yea, if there were no other Cauſe, for which a Man of my Eſtate ſhould loſe his Life, yet who would not give it to vouch this Child to be legitimate, and his Marriage to be lawful and holy?

Mr. *Saunders*'s Wife not ſuffered to ſpeak with him in Priſon.

I do, good Reader, recite this Saying, not only to let thee ſee what he thought of Prieſts Marriage: but chiefly to let all married Couples and Parents learn to bear in their Boſom true Affections: natural, but yet ſeaſoned with the true Salt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and throughly mortified to do the natural Works and Offices of married Couples and Parents. ſo long as with their Doing they may keep Chriſt with a free confeſſing Faith in a clear Conſcience: otherwiſe

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Mr. *Saunders* brought to Examination. And now to come to the Examination of this good Man, after that the Biſhops had kept him one whole Year and a Quarter in Priſon, at length they called him, as they did the Reſt of his Fellows, openly to be examined. The Effect and Purport of his firſt Examination here followeth.

The Examination of Mr. Saunders.

PRaiſed be our gracious God who preſerveth his from evil, and doth give them Grace to avoid all ſuch Offences as might hinder his Honour, or hurt his Church, *Amen.*

The firſt Examination of Mr. *Saunders.* Being convened before the Queen's moſt honourable Council, ſundry Biſhops being preſent, the Lord Chancellor began to ſpeak in ſuch Form as followeth:

L. Chan. It is not unknown that you have been a Priſoner, for ſuch abominable Hereſies and falſe Doctrine as hath been ſown by you; and now it is thought good that Mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeek for it. Wherefore if now you will ſhew yourſelf conformable, and come home again, Mercy is ready. We muſt ſay that we have fallen in Manner all: but now we be riſen again, and returned to the Catholick Church; you muſt riſe with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct Anſwer.

Saund. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it pleaſe your Honours to give me Leave to anſwer with Deliberation.

Chan. Leave off your Painting and Pride of Speech: for ſuch is the Faſhion of you all, to pleaſe yourſelves in your glorious Words. Anſwer, yea, or nay.

Saund. My Lord, it is no Time for me now to paint. And as for Pride, there is no great Cauſe why it ſhould be in me: my Learning I confeſs to be but ſmall; and as for Riches or worldly Wealth, I have none at all. Notwithſtanding it ſtandeth me in Hand to anſwer to your Demand circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extream Perils are like to fall upon me: the loſing of a good Conſcience, or the loſing of this my Body and Life. And I tell you Truth, I love both Life and Liberty, if I could enjoy them without the Hurt of my Conſcience.

* Of this dividing ſpeaketh St. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. Iſa. 52. 11. Come out and divide yourſelves from them, *&c.* Argument Conſcience ought never to ſtand upon Things uncertain. Time and Authority be Things of themſelves always uncertain: *Ergo*, Conſcience ought never to ſtand upon Time and Authority

Chanc. Conſcience? you have none at all, but Pride and Arrogancy, * dividing yourſelves by Singularity from the Church.

Saund. The Lord is the Knower of all Men's Conſciences. And where your Lordſhip layeth to my Charge this dividing myſelf from the Church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do underſtand) I do aſſure you that I live in the Faith wherein I have been brought up ſince I was fourteen Years old: being taught that the Power of the Biſhop of *Rome* is but uſurped, with many other Abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your Hands that are here preſent, as a Thing agreed upon by the Catholick Church and publick Authority.

Chanc. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received by Conſent and Authority all your Hereſies of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Saund. My Lord, it is leſs Offence to cut off an Arm, Hand, or Joynt of Man, than to cut off the Head. For the Man may live though he do lack an Arm, Hand or Joynt, and ſo he cannot without his Head. But you, all the whole Sort of you have agreed to cut off the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom now you will have to be the Head of the Church again.

Biſhop of London. And if it like your Lordſhip, I have his Hand againſt the bleſſed Sacrament. How ſay you to that?

Saund. What I have written, that I have written, and farther I will not accuſe myſelf. Nothing have you to burthen me withal, for breaking of your Laws ſince they were in Force.

Chan. Well, you be obſtinate, and refuſe Liberty.

Saund. My Lord, I may not buy Liberty at ſuch a Price: but I beſeech your Honours to be Means to the Queen's Majeſty for ſuch a Pardon for us, that we may live and keep our Conſciences unclogged, and we ſhall live as moſt obedient Subjects. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for myſelf, that by God's Grace I will abide the moſt Extremity that Man may do againſt me, rather than do againſt my Conſcience.

A lawful Requeſt, but it could not be heard.

Chan. Ah Sirrah, you will live as you liſt. The Donatiſts did deſire to live in Singularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on Earth: no more be you, and that ſhall you underſtand within theſe ſeven Days; and therefore away with him.

To live as the Scripture leadeth us, is not to live as we liſt.

Saund. Welcome be it, whatſoever the Will of God ſhall be, either Life or Death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedding of innocent Blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God reſt upon all your Honours, *Amen.* This is the Sum and Form of my firſt Examination, Pray, *&c.*

The Papiſt deſire the Pope, the Proteſtants Chriſt only to be their Head: now which of theſe two be moſt like the Donatiſts?

This Examination being ended, the Officers led him out of the Place, and ſtayed until the reſt of his Fellows were likewiſe examined, that they might have them altogether to Priſon. *Laurence Saunders* ſtanding among the Officers, ſeeing there a great Multitude of People, opened his Mouth and ſpake freely, warning them all of that, which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they deſerv'd; and therefore exhorting them by Repentance to riſe again, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger Faith, to confeſs him to the End, in the Defiance of Anti-Chriſt, Sin, Death and the Devil; ſo ſhould they retain the Lord's Favour and Bleſſing.

Mr. *Saunders* freely preacheth Chriſt.

The Copies of his other Examination and Excommunication came to the Hands of ſuch as do keep them ſtill in Secret. But in them, as he defended Chriſt's Cauſe ſtoutly, ſo warned he the phariſaical Biſhops and Papiſts of their Hypocriſy and Tyranny freely, and cleared himſelf of their unjuſt Quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicated and delivered to the ſecular Power, he was brought by the Sheriff of *London* to the Priſon called the *Compter*, in his own Pariſh in *Bread-ſtreet*: whereat he rejoiced greatly, both becauſe he found there a fellow Priſoner, Mr. *Cardmaker*, with whom he had chriſtian and comfortable Conference, and alſo becauſe out of Priſon, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Pariſhioners.

His ſecond Examination is loſt

Mr. *Saunders* delivered to the ſecular Power.

The fourth Day of *February*, the Biſhop of *London* came to the Priſon where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, *Laurence Saunders* ſaid to him, I thank God I am none of your Church.

The Day following in the Morning, the Sheriff of *London* delivered him to ſome of the Queen's Guard, who were appointed to carry him to the City of *Coventry*, there to be burned. The firſt Night they came to St. *Albans*, where

where Mr. *Grimoald* (a Man who had more Store of good Gifts than of great Conſtancy) did ſpeak with him.

After Mr. *Saunders* had given him a Leſſon meet for his Lightneſs, he took a Cup in his Hand, and aſked him if he would pledge him of that Cup, of which he would begin to him. *Grimoald*, by his ſhrugging and ſhrinking ſhewing what he was, ſaid, of that Cup which is in your Hand I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promiſe you. Well, ſaid Mr. *Saunders*, my dear Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begun to me of a more bitter Cup than mine ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweet Saviour? yes, I hope.

A good Shoemaker of *Coventry*.

After they were come to *Coventry*, the ſame Night a poor Shoemaker, who was wont to ſerve him with Shoes, came to him after this Manner and ſaid: O my good Maſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies, good Shoemaker, quoth Mr. *Saunders*, and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeeteſt Man for this high Office, that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame Night he was put into the common Goal among other Priſoners, where he ſlept little, but ſpent the Night in Prayer, and inſtructing of others.

Mr. *Saunders* put in the common Goal in *Coventry*.

February 8. Mr. *Saunders* brought to the Place of Execution.

The next Day which was the eighth of *February*, he was led to the Place of Execution in the Park without the City, going in an old Gown and a Shirt, barefooted, and oftentimes fell flat on the Ground and prayed. When he was come nigh to the Place, the Officer appointed to ſee the Execution done, ſaid to Mr. *Saunders*, that he was one of them which corrupted the Queen's Realm with falſe Doctrine and Hereſy, for which, ſaid he, thou haſt deſerved Death, but yet if thou wilt revoke thine Hereſies, the Queen hath pardoned thee; if not, yonder Fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. *Saunders* anſwered, It is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of God's Truth, that have hurt the Queen's Realm; but it is yourſelf, and ſuch as you are, which have always reſiſted God's holy Word; it is you which have and do corrupt the Queen's Realm. I do hold no Hereſies, but the Doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that this Tormentor cried, Away with him. And away from him Mr. *Saunders* went with a merry Courage towards the Fire. He fell to the Ground, and prayed; he roſe up again, and took the Stake to which he ſhould be chained in his Arms, and kiſſed it, ſaying: Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting Life: and being faſtened to the Stake, and Fire put to him, full ſweetly he ſlept in the Lord.

Strength to ſtand in Chriſt, cometh not of ourſelves, but is the Gift of God.

And to the Intent to give the Reader to underſtand what the Grace of Chriſt worketh in his Servants; and again, how feeble and weak Man is of himſelf without this Grace given from above, though otherwiſe he ſeem never ſo ſtout, we have here therefore added to the aforeſaid Story of Mr. *Saunders*, the Communication between him and Dr. *Pendleton*, by the Example whereof, ſuch as ſtand may learn to take Heed with due Fear, and not to brag; to rely on the Grace of God, and not to preſume in themſelves.

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A Communication between Mr. Saunders *and Dr.* Pendleton, *in the Beginning of Queen* Mary's *Reign.*

Dr. *Pendleton* a ſtout Preacher of the Goſpel in King *Edward*'s Time.

AT the Change of Religion in this Realm, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, Dr. *Pendleton* and Mr. *Saunders*, Men known to the World, not only to be learned, but alſo earneſt Preachers of God's Word in the Time of bleſſed King *Edward*, met together in the Country, where by Occaſion they were at that Time, and as the Caſe required, (by reaſon of the Perſecution that was then at hand) fell to Debate what was beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a Seaſon. Whereunto Mr. *Saunders*, whether through very Frailty of his weak Fleſh, that was loth to taſte the bitter Cup, though his Spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the Miſtruſt of his own Strength, that he might receive the greater Power from above: Or whether it were not for any one of the ſaid Cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like; ſeemed ſo fearful and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed himſelf in Appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his Word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his Heels, and to fly the Land, rather than to ſtick to his Profeſſion and abide by his Tackle: So as Dr. *Pendleton* (who on the contrary Side appeared not ſo big of Body, but as bold in Courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeal the ſame with his Blood) took upon him to comfort Mr. *Saunders* all that he might, admoniſhing him, as he could do it very well, not to forſake cowardly his Flock when he had moſt need to defend them from the Wolf; neither having put his Hand to God's Plough, to ſtart now aſide and give it over, nor yet (that is worſt of all) having once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either himſelf, or ſuffer others by his Example to return to their Vomit again.

Mr. *Saunders* timerous in Chriſt's Cauſe at the firſt Beginning

After which and ſuch like Perſuaſions bidding him be of good Comfort, and to take a good Heart unto him; What, Man, quoth he, there is a great deal more Cauſe in me to be afraid than in you, foraſmuch as you ſee, I carry a greater Maſs of Fleſh upon my Back than you do, and being ſo laden with a heavier Lump of this vile Carcaſs, ought therefore of Nature to be more frail than you: And yet, ſaid he, I will ſee the utmoſt Drop of this Greaſe of mine molten away, and the laſt Gobbet of this Fleſh conſumed to Aſhes, before I will forſake God and his Truth. Whereunto the other anſwered but little, wiſhing that Almighty God would give him more Strength than he preſently felt in himſelf, acknowledging his own Weakneſs; but conſented notwithſtanding, though it were ſomewhat faintly, to join with him in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and ſo to go up to *London*. and ſet forth the ſame; whereupon they gave each other their Hands.

The ſtout Brags of Dr. *Pendleton* at the firſt Beginning.

God giveth Strength where Feebleneſs is.

Now when they were come to *London*, Lord, what a great Change was there between theſe two Perſons! The poor, feeble, faint hearted *Saunders*, by the Goodneſs of Almighty God, taking Heart of Grace to him, ſeeking the ſame in Humility, boldly and ſtoutly confirming his Flock out of the Pulpit, where his Charge lay, mightily beating down Antichriſt, and zealouſly preaching Chriſt his Maſter, for which he afterward ſuffered moſt willingly, as is before declared. Whereas, on the other Side, Dr. *Pen-*

Anno 1555. Example how feeble Man is of himſelf without the Lord ſupports him.

dleton the Proud (who as it appeared by the Sequel, had been more ſtout in Words than conſtant in Deeds, and a greater Bragger than a good Warriour) followed *Peter* ſo juſtly in Cracks, howſoever he did in Repentance (which God only knoweth) that he no ſooner came to *London* but he changed his Mind, and played the Apoſtate, preaching inſtead of ſound Doctrine, nothing almoſt but Errors and Lies, advancing Antichriſt, and overthrowing Chriſt with all his Main: ſo his former Boldneſs came to nothing, unleſs it were a contrary Key, becoming of a faithful Paſtor, a falſe Runnagate; and of a true Preacher, a ſworn Enemy to God's everlaſting Teſtament; to the great Offence of his Brethren, the Hurt of his Flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater Mercy, of his own Soul. Wherein are eſpecially to be conſidered the deep and marvellous Judgment of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom he pleaſeth, when he ſeeth his Time, and moſt commonly ſuch as appear moſt feeble; ſo on the other Hand he throweth down others, ſeem they never ſo ſtout, ſtand they never ſo much in their own Conceits. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take Heed he fall not, and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have Faith, that he will help and increaſe our Faith, that in him it may be made ſtrong, which of itſelf is ſo weak, that it is ſoon overthrown.

He that ſtandeth let him take Heed he fall not. 1 *Cor.* 10. 12.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper, *Biſhop of* Worceſter *and* Gloceſter, *who was burnt at* Gloceſter, February 9. 1555.

JOHN HOOPER, Student and Graduate in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, after the Study of the Sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, thro' God's ſecret Vocation was ſtirred with fervent Deſire to the Love and Knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading and ſearching whereof, as there lacked in him no Diligence joined with earneſt Prayer; ſo neither wanted unto him the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to ſatisfy his Deſire, and to open unto him the Light of true Divinity.

Thus Mr. *Hooper* growing more and more, by God's Grace, in Ripeneſs of ſpiritual underſtanding, and ſhewing withal ſome Sparkles of his fervent Spirit, being then about the Beginning of the ſix Articles, in the Time of King *Henry* VIII. quickly fell into Diſpleaſure and Hatred of certain Rabbins in *Oxford*, who by and by began to ſtir Coals againſt him, whereby, and eſpecially by the Procurement of Dr. *Smith*, he was compelled to quit the Univerſity; and removing from thence, was retained in the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and there was his Steward, till the Time that Sir *Thomas Arundel*, having Intelligence of his Opinions and Religion, which he in no Caſe did favour, but yet exceedingly pleaſed with the Perſon and Conditions of the Man, found Means to ſend him in a Meſſage to the Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, writing his Letter privily to the Biſhop, by Conference of Learning to do ſome good upon him, but requiring him in any Caſe to ſend home his Servant to him again.

Mr. *Hooper* ſent to the Biſhop of *Winchеſter*.

The Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, after a long Conference with Mr. *Hooper*, four or five Days together, when he at length perceived, that he neither could do that Good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any Good at his Hand, according to Mr. *Arundel*'s Requeſt, he ſent home his Servant again, right well commending his Learning and Wit, but yet bearing a Grudge againſt Mr. *Hooper*.

It followed not long after this, as Malice is always working Miſchief, that Intelligence was given to Mr. *Hooper* to provide for himſelf, for Danger that was working againſt him. Whereupon Mr. *Hooper* leaving Mr. *Arundel*'s Houſe, and borrowing a Horſe of a Friend, took his Journey to the Sea Side to go to *France*, ſending back the Horſe again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the Owner. Mr. *Hooper* being at *Paris*, did not tarry there long, but in ſhort Time returned into *England* again, and was retained of Mr. *Sentlow*, till the Time that he was again moleſted and ſought for: whereby he was compelled (under the Pretence of being Captain of a Ship going to *Ireland*) to take the Seas, and ſo he eſcaped (although not without extream Peril of drowning) through *France* to the higher Parts of *Germany*. Where he, entering Acquaintance with the learned Men, was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at *Baſil*, and eſpecially at *Zurich*, by Mr. *Bullinger*, his ſingular Friend. Where alſo he married his Wife, who was a *Burgonian*, and applied very ſtudiouſly to the *Hebrew* Tongue.

Mr. *Hooper* forced to leave the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Arundel*.

Mr. *Hooper* flieth out of *England*.

Great Friendſhip between Mr. *Bullinger* and Mr. *Hooper*

At length, when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloody Time of the ſix Articles, and to give us King *Edward* to reign over this Realm with ſome Peace and Reſt unto the Goſpel, amongſt many other *Engliſh* Exiles which then repaired homeward, Mr. *Hooper* alſo, moved in Conſcience thought not to abſent himſelf, but ſeeing ſuch a Time and Occaſion, offered tō help forward the Lord's Work to the uttermoſt of his Ability. And ſo coming to Mr. *Bullinger*, and others of his Acquaintance in *Zurich*, (as Duty required) to give them Thanks for their ſingular Kindneſs and Humanity towards him many Ways declared, with like Humanity again purpoſed to take his Leave of them at his departing, and ſo he did. Unto whom Mr. *Bullinger* (who had always a ſpecial Favour to Mr. *Hooper*) ſpake on this wiſe; Mr. *Hooper*, ſaith he; although we are ſorry to part with your Company for our own Cauſe, yet much greater Cauſe have we to rejoice, both for your Sake, and eſpecially for the Cauſe of Chriſt's true Religion, that you ſhall now return out of long Baniſhment into your native Country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private Liberty; but alſo the Cauſe and State of Chriſt's Church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it ſhall. Another Cauſe moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this; that you ſhall remove not only out of Exile into Liberty, but you ſhall leave here a barren, a ſowre, and an unpleaſant Country, rude and ſavage, and ſhall go into a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, repleniſh'd with all Pleaſure and Fertility. Notwithſtanding with this our rejoicing one Fear and Care we have, leſt you being abſent and ſo far diſtant from us, or elſe coming to ſuch Abundance of Wealth and Felicity, in your new Welfare and Plenty of all Things, and in your flouriſhing Honours, where ye ſhall come peradventure to be a Biſhop, where ye ſhall find ſo many new Friends, you will forget us your old Acquaintance and Well-wiſhers. Nevertheleſs, howſoever you ſhall forget and ſhake us off, yet this perſuade yourſelf, that we will not forget our

Mr. *Bullinger*'s Words to Mr. *Hooper* at his departing from *Zurich*.

our old Friend and Fellow Mr. *Hooper*. And if you will pleaſe not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you.

The Anſwer of Mr. *Hooper* to Mr. *Bullinger*.

Whereunto Mr. *Hooper* anſwering again, firſt gave to Mr. *Bullinger* and the reſt hearty Thanks, for that their ſingular good Will and undeſerved Affection, appearing not only now, but at all Times towards him; declaring moreover, that as the principal Cauſe of his removing to his Country was the Matter of Religion; ſo touching the Unpleaſantneſs and Barrenneſs of that Country of theirs, there was no Cauſe therein why he could not find in his Heart to continue his Life there, as ſoon as in any Place in the World, and rather than in his own native Country, if there were nothing elſe in his Conſcience that moved him ſo to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old Friends, although, ſaid he, the Remembrance of Man's Country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny but God had bleſſed his Country of *England* with many great Commodities; yet neither the Nature of Country, nor Pleaſure of Commodities, nor Newneſs of Friends ſhould ever induce him to the Oblivion of ſuch Friends and Benefactors, whom he was ſo intirely bound unto; and therefore you ſhall be ſure, ſaid he, from Time to Time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the laſt News of all I ſhall not be able to write; for there, ſaid he, (taking Mr. *Bullinger* by the Hand) where I ſhall take moſt Pains, there ſhall you hear of me to be burned to Aſhes; and that ſhall be the laſt News, which I ſhall not be able to write unto you, but you ſhall hear of me, *&c.*

Mr. *Hooper* propheſieth of himſelf.

To this alſo may be added another like prophetical Demonſtration, foreſhewing before the Manner of his Martyrdom wherewithal he ſhould glorify God, which was this; when Mr. *Hooper* being made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, ſhould have his Arms given him by the Herald, as the Manner is here in *England*, every Biſhop to have his Arms aſſigned unto him, (whether by the Appointment of Mr. *Hooper*, or by the Herald, I have not certainly to ſay,) but the Arms which were to him allotted was this, A Lamb in a fiery Buſh, and the Sun Beams from Heaven deſcending down upon the Lamb, rightly denoting, as it ſeemed, the Order of his Sufferings, which afterward followed.

A Note of Mr. *Hooper*'s Arms preſignifying his Martyrdom.

But to proceed in our Story. When Mr. *Hooper* had taken his farewel of Mr. *Bullinger* and his Friends in *Zurich*, he made his Repair again into *England* in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, where coming to *London* he uſed continually to preach, moſt Times twice, at leaſt once every Day, and never failed.

Mr. *Hooper* returneth again into *England*.

The notable Diligence of Mr. *Hooper* in preaching.

In his Sermons, according to his accuſtomed Manner, he corrected Sin, and ſharply inveighed againſt the Iniquity of the World, and corrupt Abuſes of the Church; the People in great Flocks and Companies daily came to hear his Voice, as the moſt melodious Sound and Tune of *Orpheus*'s Harp, as the Proverb ſaith; inſomuch, that oftentimes when he was preaching, the Church would be ſo full, that many could not enter further than the Doors thereof. In his Doctrine he was earneſt, in Tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in Pains indefatigable.

The ſingular Virtues of Mr. *Hooper* deſcribed.

Moreover, beſides his other Gifts and Qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, ſo he continued ſtill unto his Life's End. For neither could his Labour and Painstaking break him, neither Promotion change him, neither dainty Fare corrupt him. His Life was ſo pure and good, that no Kind of Slander (although ſome went about to reprove it) could faſten any Fault upon him. He was of Body ſtrong, his Health whole and ſound, his Wit very pregnant, his invincible Patience able to ſuſtain whatſoever ſiniſter Fortune and Adverſity could do. He was conſtant of Judgment, a good Juſtice, ſpare of Diet, ſparer of Words, and ſpareſt of Time. In Houſe-keeping very liberal, and ſometime more free than his Living would extend unto. Briefly, of all thoſe Virtues and Qualities required of St. *Paul* in a good Biſhop, in his Epiſtle to *Timothy*, I know not one in this good Biſhop lacking. He bare in Countenance and Talk always a certain ſevere and grave Grace, which might peradventure be wiſhed ſome Time to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him; but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelf. Anno 1555.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himſelf a certain Conflict of Conſcience, came to his Door for Counſel, but being abaſhed at his auſtere Behaviour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking Remedy for his troubled Mind at other Mens Hands, which he afterward, by the Help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my Judgment, ſuch as are appointed and made Governors over the Flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their Life, Manners, Countenance, and external Behaviour, as neither they ſhew themſelves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into Contempt; nor on the other Side again, that they appear not more lofty and rigorous,, than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple Flock of Chriſt. Nevertheleleſs, as every Man hath his peculiar Gift wrought in him by Nature, ſo this Diſpoſition of fatherly Gravity in this Man neither was exceſſive, neither did he bear that Perſonage that was in him, without great Conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled Life of the common Sort ought to be chaſtned, not only with Words and Diſcipline, but alſo with the grave and ſevere Countenance of good Men.

Direction how Miniſters and Preachers ought to behave themſelves.

After he had thus practiſed himſelf in this popular and common Kind of Preaching; at length, he was called to preach before the King's Majeſty, and ſoon after made Biſhop of *Gloceſter* by the King's Commandment. In that Office he continued two Years, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very Enemies could find no Fault with him, and after that he was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Mr. *Hooper* made Biſhop of *Gloceſter* and *Worceſter*.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unlucky Contention concerning the ordering and Conſecration of Biſhops, and of their Apparel, with ſuch other like Trifles, began to diſturb the proſperous Beginning of this good Biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly Reformation of Religion that begun in the Church of *England*, beſides other Ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to Edification, they uſed to wear ſuch Garments and Apparel as the popiſh Biſhops were wont to do: Firſt a Chymere, and under that a white Rochet, then a mathematical Cap with four Angles, dividing the whole World into four Parts. Theſe Trifles, tending more to Superſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſuaded to wear them. For this Cauſe he made Supplication to the King's Majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his Highneſs, either to diſcharge him of the Biſhoprick, or elſe to diſ-

penſe

Ann 1555. penſe with him for ſuch ceremonial Orders. Whoſe Petition the King granted immediately, writing his Letter to the Archbiſhop after this Tenor:

The King's Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other Biſhops.

The King's Letter to the Archbiſhop in Behalf of Mr. *Hooper*.

RIGHT Reverend Father, and Right Truſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas we, by the Advice of our Council, have called and choſen our right wellbeloved and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, *Profeſſor of Divinity, to be our Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *as well for his great Knowledge, deep Judgment, and long Study both in the Scriptures, and prophane Learning, as alſo for his good Diſcretion, ready Utterance, and honeſt Life for that Kind of Vocation: To the Intent all our loving Subjects, which are in his ſaid Charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true Doctrine learn the better their Duty towards God, their Obedience towards us, and Love towards their Neighbours: From conſecrating of whom we underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit and let paſs certain Rites and Ceremonies offenſive to his Conſcience, whereby ye think ye ſhould fall in Premunire of Laws; we have thought good, by the Advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all Manner of Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures you ſhall run and be in any Manner of Way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge therefore.*

Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 5th of *Auguſt*, the 4th Year of our Reign.

Ed. Somerset.	W. Paget.
W. Wiltshire.	An. Wingfield.
W. North.	N. Wooton.

Beſides this Letter of the King's, the Earl of *Warwick* alſo (who was afterward Duke of *Northumberland*) joined his Letter to the aforeſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to this Purpoſe and Effect, that Mr. *Hooper* might not be burdened with the Oath uſed then commonly in the Conſecration of Biſhops, which was againſt his Conſcience, as by the Purport of the Letter here is to be ſeen, as followeth.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Letter to the Archbiſhop in the Behalf of Mr. *Hooper*.

AFTER my moſt hearty Commendations to your Grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable Things, wherein this Bearer, my Lord elect of Gloceſter, *craveth to be borne withal at your Hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your Grace's Favour, the rather at this my Inſtance: Which Thing partly, I have taken in hand by the King's Majeſty's own Motion. The Matter is weighed by his Highneſs, none other but that your Grace may eaſily condeſcend unto. The principal Cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid Bearer with an Oath burdenous to his Conſcience. And ſo for lack of Time I commit your Grace to the Tuition of Almighty God.* From *Weſtminſter, July* 23. 1550.

Your Grace's moſt aſſured loving Friend, J. Warwick.

Neither the King's Requeſt nor the Earl's could take Effect.

But notwithſtanding this Grant of the King, and alſo the Earl's Letter aforeſaid, the Biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the Defence of the aforeſaid Ceremonies, ſaying, it was but a ſmall Matter, and that the Fault was in the Abuſe of the Things, and not in the Things themſelves; adding moreover, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubborn in ſo light a Matter, and that his Wilfulneſs therein was not to be ſuffered.

In Concluſion, this theological Contention came to this End, that the Biſhops having the upper hand, Mr. *Hooper* was fain to agree to this Condition, that ſometimes he ſhould in his Sermon ſhew himſelf apparelled as the other Biſhops were. Which, though it was againſt his own Opinion and Judgment, yet it reſpect of the publick Profit of the Church, which he only ſought, he bare and ſuffered patiently. And I would to God in like Manner, they which took upon them the other Part of that Diſpute, had yielded their private Cauſe, whatſoever it was, to the publick Concord and edifying of the Church; for no Man in all the City was one Hair the better for that Contention.

Mr. *Hooper* fain to agree with the Biſhops.

I will name no body, partly for that his Oppoſers being afterwards joined in the moſt ſtrict Bond of Friendſhip with him, in one and for one Cauſe ſuffered Martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly uſe, according to my accuſtomed Manner, to keep my Pen from preſumptuous judging of any Perſon, yet I thought to note the Thing for this Conſideration, to admoniſh the Reader hereby, how wholeſome and neceſſary the Croſs of Chriſt is ſometimes in the Church of Chriſt, as by the Sequel hereof did afterward appear.

Note, how Diſcord and Reconciliation happeneth many Times amongſt good Men.

And thus by the Way thou haſt heard, good Reader, the Frailties of theſe good Men (plainly and ſimply as the Truth was) declared unto thee, to the End their Fall may miniſter Occaſion to us either of avoiding the like, or elſe to take Heart and Comfort in the Frailties incident to us. Now again, on the other hand, it remaineth to record, after the aforeſaid Diſpute, the godly Reconciliations of theſe good Men in Time of Perſecution, who afterwards were firmly reconciled when impriſoned for the Truth's Sake, as appears by the following Letter ſent by Biſhop *Ridley* to the ſaid Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. The Copy whereof, as it was written with his own Hand in *Latin*, here followeth tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

To my dear Brother and Reverend Fellow Elder in Chriſt, *John Hooper*, Grace and Peace.

MY dearly beloved Brother and Fellow-Elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeech you, that hitherto ſince your Captivity and mine, I have not ſaluted you by my Letters; whereas I do indeed confeſs, I have received from you (ſuch was your Gentleneſs) two Letters at ſundry Times: But yet at ſuch Time as I could not be ſuffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my Letters might ſafely come into your Hands. But now, my dear Brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your Works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we throughly agree and wholly conſent together in thoſe Things which are the Grounds and ſubſtantial Points of our Religion, againſt which the World ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our Days, howſoever in Time paſt by certain by-Matters and Circumſtances of Religion, your Wiſdom and my Simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the Abundance of his own Senſe and Judgment: Now, I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole Heart, God is my Witneſs, in the Bowels of Chriſt I love you in the Truth and for the Truth's Sake, which abideth in us, and, as I am perſuaded,

ſuaded, ſhall, by the Grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And becauſe the World, as I perceive, Brother, ceaſeth not to play its Pageant, and buſily conſpireth againſt Chriſt our Saviour, with all poſſible Force and Power, exalting high Things againſt the Knowledge of God; let us join Hands together in Chriſt, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our Power, and as much as in us lieth, let us ſhake thoſe high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with ſpiritual Weapons: And withal, Brother, let us prepare ourſelves to the Day of our Diſſolution, by the which, after the ſhort Time of this bodily Affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we ſhall triumph together with him in eternal Glory.

I pray you, Brother, ſalute in my Name your reverend Fellow Priſoners, and venerable Father D. C. *by whom, ſince the firſt Day that I heard of his moſt godly and fatherly Conſtancy, in confeſſing the Truth of the Goſpel, I have conceived great Conſolation and Joy in the Lord. For the Integrity and Uprightneſs of that Man, his Gravity and Innocency, all* England, *I think, hath known long ago. Bleſſed be God therefore, which in ſuch Abundance of Iniquity and Decay of all Godlineſs, hath given unto us, in this reverend old Age, ſuch a Witneſs for the Truth of his Goſpel. Miſerable and hard-hearted is he, whom the Godlineſs and conſtant Confeſſion of ſo worthy, ſo grave and innocent a Man, will not move to acknowledge and confeſs the Truth of God.*

I do not now, Brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I ſtand much in fear leſt your Letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my Hands. Nevertheleſs know you, that it ſhall be to me great Joy to hear of your Conſtancy and Fortitude in the Lord's Quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, ſent you my Mind touching the Matter which in your Letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, Brother, be otherwiſe perſuaded: I ſee methinks ſo many Perils, whereby I am earneſtly moved to counſel you not to haſten the publiſhing of your Works, eſpecially under the Title of your own Name. For I fear greatly, leſt by this Occaſion both your Mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and all Things taken away from the reſt of the Priſoners, whereby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewel in the Lord, my moſt dear Brother; and if there be any more in Priſon with you for Chriſt's Sake, I beſeech you, as you may, ſalute them in my Name. To whoſe Prayers I do moſt humbly and heartily commend myſelf and my Fellow Priſoners and Concaptives in the Lord, and yet once again, and for ever in Chriſt, my moſt dear Brother, farewel.

N. Ridley.

Mr. *Hooper*, after he had ſuſtain'd all theſe Troubles and Vexations about his inveſting and princely Veſtures, at length entring into his Dioceſs, did imploy his Time under King *Edward*'s Reign with ſuch Diligence, as may be a Spectacle to all Biſhops who ſhall ever hereafter ſucceed him, not only in that Place, but in whatſoever Dioceſs thro' the whole Realm of *England:* ſo careful was he in his Cure, that he left no Pains untaken, nor Ways unſought, how to train up the Flock of Chriſt in the true Word of Salvation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other Men commonly are wont, for Lucre or Promotion's ſake, to aſpire to Biſhopricks, ſome hunting for them, and ſome purchaſing or buying them, as Men uſe to purchaſe Lordſhips; and when they have them are loth to leave them, and thereupon alſo loth to commit that Thing by worldly Laws, whereby to loſe them. Anno 1555.

But Mr. *Hooper* was of a contrary Mind, who abhorred nothing more than Gain, labouring always to ſave and preſerve the Souls of his Flock. Who, being Biſhop of two Dioceſſes, ſo ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in Charge but one Family. No Father in his Houſhuold, no Gardener in his Garden, no Husbandman in his Vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his Dioceſs amongſt his Flock, going about his Towns and Villages in teaching and preaching to the People there. The diligent Care of Biſhop *Hooper*.

The Time that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed either in hearing publick Cauſes, or elſe in private Study, Prayer, and viſiting of Schools: with his continual Doctrine he adjoined due and diſcreet Correction, not ſo much ſevere to any, as to them which for Abundance of Riches and wealthy State, thought they might do what they pleaſed. And doubtleſs he ſpared no kind of People, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to the great Shame of many Men now-a-days; whereof we ſee many ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and rich Men; that in the mean Time they have no Regard to the meaner Sort, whom Chriſt hath bought as dearly as the other.

But now again we will return to Mr. *Hooper*, all whoſe Life, in fine, was ſuch, that to the Church and all Churchmen, it might be a Light and Example, to the reſt a perpetual Leſſon and Sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Biſhop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this, that even as he was hated by none but of them which were evil, yet the worſt of them all could not reprove his Life in any one Jot. Mr. *Hooper* a Light to all Churchmen.

I have now declared his Uſage and Behaviour abroad in the publick Affairs of the Church; and certainly there appeared in him at home no leſs Example of a worthy Prelate's Life. For tho' he beſtowed and converted the moſt Part of his Care upon the publick Flock and Congregation of Chriſt, for which alſo he ſpent his Blood: yet nevertheleſs there was nothing wanting in him to bring up his own Children in Learning and good Manners; inſomuch that ye could not diſcern whether he deſerved more Praiſe for his fatherly Uſage at home, or for his Biſhop-like Doings abroad. For every where he kept one Religion in one uniform Doctrine and Integrity. So that if you entered into the Biſhop's Palace, you would ſuppoſe yourſelf to have entered into ſome Church or Temple. In every Corner thereof there was ſome Smell of Virtue, good Example, honeſt Converſation, and reading of the holy Scriptures. There was not to be ſeen in his Houſe any courtly Rioting or Idleneſs; no Pomp at all, no diſhoneſt Word, no Swearing could there be heard. The Care of Mr. *Hooper* in inſtructing his Family.

As for the Revenues of both his Biſhopricks, altho' they did not greatly exceed, as the Matter was handled, yet if any Thing ſurmounted thereof, he ſaved nothing, but beſtowed it in Hoſpitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his Houſe in *Worceſter*, where, in his common Hall, I ſaw a Table ſpread with Store of Meat, and beſet full of Beggars and poor People: And I aſking his Servants what this meant, they told me, that every Day, their Lord and Maſter's Manner was, to have at Dinner a certain Number of poor Folks of the ſaid City by Courſe, who were ſerved by four at a Meſs, with wholeſome Meats: And when they were ſerved (be- The Hoſpitality of Mr. *Hooper*.

Anno 1555.

ing before examined by him or his Deputies, of the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himſelf ſate down to Dinner, and not before.

After this Manner Mr. *Hooper* executed the Office of a moſt careful and vigilant Paſtor, for the Space of two Years and more, ſo long as the State of Religion in King's *Edward*'s Time did ſafely flouriſh and take Place. After this, King *Edward* being dead, and *Mary* being crowned Queen of *England*, Religion being ſubverted and changed, this good Biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a Purſevant to be at *London*; and that for two Cauſes.

Mr. *Hooper* called up to *London* at Queen *Mary*'s coming in.

Firſt, To anſwer to Dr. *Heath*, then appointed Biſhop of that Dioceſs, who was depriv'd thereof in King *Edward*'s Days for being a Papiſt.

Secondly, To render an Account to Dr. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, for that he in King *Edward*'s Time was one of his Accuſers, in that he ſhewed himſelf not conformable to ſuch Ordinances as were preſcribed to him by the King and his Council, openly at *Paul's-Croſs*. And altho' the ſaid Mr. *Hooper* was not ignorant of the Evils that ſhould happen towards him, (for he was admoniſhed by certain of his Friends to get him away, and ſhift for himſelf) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried ſtill, ſaying: Once I did flee, and take me to my Feet; but now, becauſe I am called to this Place and Vocation, I am throughly perſuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my Sheep.

Mr. *Hooper* cometh to *London*.

And when at the Day of his Appearance, which was the Firſt of *September*, he was come to *London*, before he could come to the aforeſaid Dr. *Heath* and Dr. *Bonner*, he was intercepted, and commanded violently againſt his Will to appear before the Queen and her Council, to anſwer to certain Bonds and Obligations, wherein they ſaid he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* received him very opprobiouſly, railing and rating of him, and accuſed him of his Religion. He again freely and boldly told his Tale, and cleared himſelf. But in Fine it came to this Concluſion, that by them he was committed to Priſon (it being declared unto him at his Departure, that the Cauſe of his Impriſonment was only for certain Sums of Money, for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for Religion.) This, how falſe and untrue it was, ſhall in its Place more plainly appear.

Mr. *Hooper* charged to anſwer before the Queen.

Mr. *Hooper* commanded to Priſon.

The next Year, being 1554. *March* 19. he was called again to appear before *Wincheſter*, and others of the Queen's Commiſſioners. Where, what for the Biſhop, and what for the unruly Multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his Cauſe, he was deprived of his Biſhopricks. Which how, and in what Order it was done, here followeth to be ſeen by the Teſtimony and Report of one, who being preſent at the Doing, committed the ſame to Writing.

Mr. *Hooper* deprived of his Biſhopricks.

A Letter, declaring the Order of Mr. Hooper's *Deprivation from his Biſhopricks.* March 19. 1554.

FOraſmuch as a Rumour is ſpread abroad of the Talk had at my Lord Chancellor's, between him with other Commiſſioners there appointed, and Mr. *Hooper*, quite contrary to the Truth thereof, and therefore to be judged rather to be riſen of Malice, for the diſcrediting of the Truth by falſe Suggeſtions and evil Reports, than otherwiſe: I thought it my Duty, being preſent thereat myſelf, in Writing to ſet forth the whole Effect of the ſame; partly that the Verity thereof may be known to the doubtful People; and partly alſo to advertiſe them, how uncharitably Mr. *Hooper* was handled at their Hands, who with all Humility uſed himſelf towards them, deſiring, that with Patience he might have been permitted to ſpeak; aſſuring all Men, that where I ſtood in a mammering and Doubt, which of theſe two Religions to have credited, either that ſet forth by the King's Majeſty that is dead, or elſe that now maintained by the Queen's Majeſty; their unreverend Behaviour towards Mr. *Hooper* doth move me the rather to credit his Doctrine, than that which they with Railing and cruel Words defended, conſidering that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the Effect of their Talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myſelf: So I appeal to all the Hearers Conſciences that were then preſent (ſo they put Affection away) for the Witneſs of the ſame.

The Biſhops of Wincheſter, *of* London, *of* Durham, *of* Landaff, *of* Chicheſter, *ſate as Commiſſioners.*

AT Mr. *Hooper*'s coming in, the Lord Chancellor aſked, whether he was married.

Mr. *Hooper* examined before the Commiſſioners.

Hooper. Yea, my Lord, and will not be unmarried, till Death unmarry me.

Durham. That is Matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. That it is not, my Lord, except ye do againſt the Law.

The Matter concerning Marriage was no more talked of then for a great Space: But as well the Commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch Outcries, and laughed, and uſed ſuch Geſture as was unſeemly for the Place, and for ſuch a Matter. Dr. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, called Mr. *Hooper* Hypocrite, with vehement Words, and ſcornful Countenance. Biſhop *Tonſtal* called him Beaſt; ſo did *Smith*, one of the Clerks of the Council, and ſeveral others that ſtood by. At length the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, that all Men might live chaſte that would, and brought in this Text, *There be that have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matth. 19. 12.

Bleſſed are ye when Men ſhall ſpeak reviling Words againſt you for my Name's Sake.

Mr. *Hooper* ſaid, that Text proved not that all Men could live chaſte, but ſuch to whom it was given; and read that which goeth before in the Text. But there was a Clamour and Cry, mocking and ſcorning, with calling him Beaſt, that the Text could not be examined. Then Mr. *Hooper* ſaid, that it did appear by the old Canons, that Marriage was not forbidden unto Prieſts, and named the Decrees. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſent for another Part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But Biſhop *Hooper* ſaid, that Book was not it which he named.

Prieſts Marriage not forbid by the old Canons.

Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, You ſhall not have any other, until ye be judged by this. And then began ſuch a Noiſe, Tumult, and ſpeaking together of a great many that favoured not the Cauſe, that nothing was done or ſpoke orderly or charitably. Afterwards Judge *Morgan* began to rail at Mr. *Hooper* a long Time, with many opprobrious and foul Words of his Doing at *Gloceſter*, in puniſhing of Men, and ſaid, there was never ſuch a Tyrant as he was. After that Dr. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*

Judge *Morgan* ſhortly after fell into a Frenzy and Madneſs and died of the ſame.

ſaid, that the Council of *Ancyra*, which was before the Council of *Nice*, was againſt the Marriage of Prieſts.

Then the Lord Chancellor cried out, and many with him, that Mr. *Hooper* had never read the Councils.

The Council of *Nice* permitted Prieſts Marriage.

Yea, my Lord, quoth Mr. *Hooper*, and my Lord of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Day*, knoweth, that the great Council of *Nice*, by the Means of one *Paphnutius*, decreed, That no Miniſter ſhould be ſeparate from his Wife. But ſuch Clamours and Cries were uſed, that the Council of *Nice* was not ſeen.

After this long Talk, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* aſked Mr. *Hooper*, whether he believed the corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. And Mr. *Hooper* ſaid plainly, that there was none ſuch, neither did he believe any ſuch Thing.

Then the Biſhop of *Durham* would have read out of a Book, for his Purpoſe belike, (what Book it was I cannot tell) but there was ſuch a Noiſe and confuſed Talk on every Side, that he did not read it. Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* aſked Mr. *Hooper*, What Authority moved him not to believe the corporal Preſence? He ſaid, the Authority of God's Word, and alledged this Text, *Whom Heaven muſt hold until the latter Day*.

The corporal Preſence. Acts 3. 21.

Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* would have made that Text to ſerve nothing for his Purpoſe, and ſaid, he might be in Heaven, and in the Sacrament alſo.

Mr. *Hooper* would have ſaid more to have opened the Text, but all thoſe that ſtood next about the Biſhop, allowed his Saying with Clamours and Cries, that Mr. *Hooper* was not permitted to ſay any more againſt the Biſhop. Whereupon they bade the Notaries write, That he was married, and ſaid, that he would not go from his Wife; and that he believed not the corporal Preſence in the Sacrament; wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his Biſhoprick.

Articles taken againſt Mr. *Hooper*.

This is the Truth of the Matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confuſed and troubled Talk that was between them, and except it were haſty and uncharitable Words, this is the whole of their Diſcourſe at that Time.

The true Report of Mr. Hooper's *Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own Hand*, Jan. 7. 1554.

THE Firſt of *September*, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from *Richmond*, to have the Liberty of the Priſon; and within ſix Days after I paid five Pounds Sterling to the Warden for Fees, for my Liberty; who immediately upon Payment thereof, complained unto *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſo I was committed to cloſe Priſon one Quarter of a Year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and uſed very extremely. Then by the Means of a good Gentlewoman, I had Liberty to come down to Dinner and Supper, not ſuffered to ſpeak with any of my Friends; but as ſoon as Dinner and Supper was done, to repair to my Chamber again. Notwithſtanding whilſt I came down thus to Dinner and Supper, the Warden and his Wife picked Quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great Friend the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This good Gentlewoman is thought to be Mrs. *Wilkinſon*.

Babington Warden of the Fleet, a wicked Tyrant.

After one Quarter of a Year and ſomewhat more, *Babington* the Warden, and his Wife, fell out with me for the wicked Maſs: And thereupon the Warden reſorted to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and obtained to put me into the Wards where I have continued a long Time, having nothing appointed to me for my Bed, but a little Pad of Straw and a rotten Covering, with a Tick and a few Feathers therein, the Chamber being vile and ſtinking, until by God's Means good People ſent me Bedding to lie on. On one Side of which Priſon is the Sink and Filth of the Houſe, and on the other the Town Ditch, ſo that the Stench of the Houſe hath infected me with ſundry Diſeaſes. Anno 1555.

During which Time I have been ſick, and the Doors, Bars, Haſps, and Chains being all cloſed, and made faſt upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for Help, but the Warden when he hath known me many Times ready to die, and when the poor Men of the Wards have called to help me, hath commanded the Doors to be kept faſt, and charged that none of his Men ſhould come at me, ſaying, let him alone, it were a good Riddance of him. And, amongſt many other Times, he did thus *October* 18. 1553. as many can witneſs. The barbarous Cruelty of the Warden of the *Fleet* to Mr. *Hooper*.

I paid always like a Baron to the ſaid Warden, as well in Fees, as for my Board, which was 20 Shillings a Week, beſides my Man's Table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my Biſhoprick, and ſince that Time, I have paid him as the beſt Gentleman doth in his Houſe; yet hath he uſed me worſe, and more vilely, than the verieſt Slave that ever came to the Hall Commons.

William Downton Mr. *Hooper*'s Man.

The ſaid Warden hath alſo impriſoned my Man *William Downton*, and ſtripped him out of his Cloaths to ſearch for Letters, and could find none but only a little Remembrance of good People's Names, that gave me their Alms to relieve me in Priſon; and to undo them alſo, the Warden delivered the ſame Bill unto the ſaid *Stephen Gardiner*, God's Enemy and mine.

Mr. *Hooper* almoſt 18 Months in Priſon.

I have ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteen Months, my Goods, Livings, Friends, and Comfort taken from me; the Queen owing me by juſt Account fourſcore Pounds or more. She hath put me in Priſon, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there ſuffered any one to come at me whereby I might have Relief. I am with a wicked Man and Woman, ſo that I ſee no Remedy (ſaving God's Help) but I ſhall be caſt away in Priſon before I come to Judgment. But I commit my juſt Cauſe to God, whoſe Will be done, whether it be by Life or Death.

Thus much wrote he himſelf of this Matter.

Another Examination of Mr. Hooper.

THE Twenty-ſecond of *January*, 1555. *Babington* the Warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring Mr. *Hooper* before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with other Biſhops and Commiſſioners at the ſaid *Wincheſter*'s Houſe at St. *Mary Overies*: Where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the Name of himſelf and the reſt, moved Mr. *Hooper* earneſtly to forſake the evil and corrupt Doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the Days of King *Edward* the Sixth, and to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church, and to acknowledge the Pope's Holineſs to be Head of the ſame Church, according to the Determination of the whole Parliament, promiſing, that as he himſelf, with other his Brethren, had received the Pope's Bleſſing, and the Queen's Mercy; even ſo Mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the Pope's Holineſs.

Mr. *Hooper* again carried before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

He exhorteth Mr. *Hooper* to return to the Pope's Church.

Mr. *Hooper* anſwered, that foraſmuch as the Pope

Anno 1555. Pope taught Doctrine altogether contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted a Member of Chriſt's Church, much leſs to be Head thereof; wherefore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped Juriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the Church, whereof they call him Head, to be the catholick Church of Chriſt: For the Church only heareth the Voice of her Spouſe Chriſt, and flieth the Strangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any Point to me unknown, I have offended the Queen's Majeſty, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to her Mercy, if Mercy may be had with Safety of Conſcience, and without the Diſpleaſure of God.

The Pope not worthy to be a Member of Chriſt's Church.

Anſwer was made, that the Queen would ſhew no Mercy to the Pope's Enemies. Whereupon *Babington* was commanded to carry him to the *Fleet* again: Who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former Chamber into another, near to the Warden's own Chamber, where he remained ſix Days: And in the mean Time his former Chamber was ſearched by Dr. *Martin* and others, for Writings and Books, which Mr. *Hooper* was thought to have made, but none was found.

Queen *Mary* will ſhew no Mercy but to the Pope's Friends.

Another Examination of Mr. Hooper.

THE Twenty-eighth of *January*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other Commiſſioners ſate in Judgment at St. *Mary Overies*, where Mr. *Hooper* appeared before them in the Afternoon, and there, after much Reaſoning and Diſputation to and fro, he was commanded aſide, till Mr. *Rogers* (who was then come) had been likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffs of *London* were commanded, about four of the Clock, to carry them to the Compter in *Southwark*, there to remain till the Morrow at Nine a Clock, to ſee whether they would relent and come home again to the Catholick Church. So Mr. *Hooper* went before with one of the Sheriffs, and Mr. *Rogers* came after with the other, and being out of the Church Door, Mr. *Hooper* looked back, and ſtayed a little till Mr. *Rogers* drew near, unto whom he ſaid; Come Brother *Rogers*, muſt we two take this Matter firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe Faggots? Yea, Sir, ſaid Mr. *Rogers*, by God's Grace. Doubt not, ſaid Mr. *Hooper*, but God will give Strength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a Preſs of People in the Streets, who rejoiced at their Conſtancy, that they had much ado to paſs.

Another Examination of Mr. *Hooper* before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other Commiſſioners.

Mr. *Hooper*'s Words to Mr. *Rogers*.

By the Way, the Sheriff ſaid to Mr. *Hooper*, I wonder that ye were ſo haſty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did uſe no more Patience: He anſwered, Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, altho' I was earneſt in my Maſter's Cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth upon Life and Death, not the Life and Death of this World only, but alſo of the World to come. Then were they committed to the Keeper of the Compter, and appointed to ſeveral Chambers, with Command that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak one with another, neither any other permitted to come to them that Night.

Mr. *Hooper* earneſt in his Maſter's Cauſe.

The third and laſt Examination of Mr. *Hooper*.

Upon the next Day following, *January* 29. at the Hour appointed they were brought again by the Sheriffs before the ſaid Biſhop and Commiſſioners in the Church, where they were the Day before. And after long and earneſt Talk, when they perceived that Mr. *Hooper* would by no Means condeſcend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his Condemation. That done, Mr. *Rogers* was brought before them, and treated in like Manner; and then were both delivered to the ſecular Power, the two Sheriffs of *London*, who were ordered to carry them to the *Clink*, a Priſon not far from the Bioſhp of *Winchester*'s Houſe, and there to remain till Night.

Mr. *Hooper* condemned.

When it was dark, Mr. *Hooper* was led by one of the Sheriffs, with many Bills and Weapons, through the Biſhop *Winchester*'s Houſe, and over *London-Bridge*, through the City to *Newgate*, and by the Way ſome of the Serjeants were ſent before, to put out the Coſtermonger's Candles, who uſed to ſet with Lights in the Streets: Either fearing, of Likelihood, that the People would have made ſome Attempt to have taken him away from them by Force, if they had ſeen him go to that Priſon; or elſe, being burdened with an evil Conſcience, they thought Darkneſs to be a moſt fit Seaſon for ſuch a Buſineſs.

But notwithſtanding this Device, the People having ſome Foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their Doors with Lights, and ſaluted him, praiſing God for his Conſtancy in the true Doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen him in the ſame to the End. Mr. *Hooper* paſſed by, and required the People to make their earneſt Prayers to God for him, and ſo went thro' *Cheapſide* to the Place appointed, and was delivered as cloſe Priſoner to the Keeper of *Newgate*, where he remained ſix Days, no body being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, ſaving his Keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appointed thereto.

The People rejoicing at the Conſtancy of Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers*.

Mr. *Hooper* ſent to *Newgate*.

During this Time, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and others at his Appointment, as *Fecknam*, *Chedſey*, and *Harpsfield*, &c. reſorted ſeveral Times to him, to try if by any Means they could perſuade him to relent, and become a Member of their Church. All the Ways they could deviſe, they attempted. For, beſides the Diſputations and Allegations of Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and of antient Writings wreſted to a wrong Senſe, according to their accuſtomed Manner, they uſed alſo all outward Gentleneſs and Significations of Friendſhip, with many great Promiſes of worldly Wealth, not omitting alſo moſt grievous Threatnings, if with Gentleneſs they could not prevail; but they found him always the ſame Man, ſtedfaſt and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no Means reclaim him to their Purpoſe, with ſuch Perſuaſions and Offers as they uſed for his Converſion, then went they by falſe Rumours and Reports of Recantations (for it is well known that they and their Servants did firſt ſpread it abroad) to bring him and the Doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, in Diſcredit with the People. Which being thus ſpread abroad, and believed by ſome of the weaker Sort, by reaſon of the often Reſort of the Biſhop of *London* and others, it increaſed more, and at laſt came to Mr. *Hooper*'s Ears; who was greatly grieved thereat, that the People ſhould give Credit to ſuch falſe Rumours, having ſo ſimple a Ground; as may appear by the following Letter, which he wrote upon that Occaſion.

Biſhop *Bonner* and his Chaplains reaſon with Mr. *Hooper* in Priſon.

Falſe Rumours of Mr *Hooper*'s Recantation.

Mr. *Hooper*'s Letter for preventing certain Rumours ſpread abroad of his Recantation.

THE Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Chriſt. Amen.

Dear Brethren and Siſters in the Lord, and my Fellow Priſoners for the Cauſe of God's Goſpel, I do much rejoice and give Thanks unto God for your Conſtancy and Perſeverance in Affliction, unto whom I wiſh Continuance unto the End. And as I do rejoice in your Faith and Conſtancy in Afflictions that be in Priſon; even ſo do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear Brethren that yet have not felt ſuch Dangers for God's Truth, as we have, and do feel, and be daily like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile Death of the Fire: Yet ſuch is the Report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper, *a condemned Man for the Cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after Sentence of Death, (being Priſoner in* Newgate, *and looking daily for Execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this Talk ariſeth from this, that the Biſhop of* London *and his Chaplains reſort unto me. Doubtleſs, if our Brethren were as godly as I could wiſh them, they would think, that in Caſe I did refuſe to talk with them, they might have juſt Occaſion to ſay that I were unlearned, and durſt not ſpeak with learned Men, or elſe proud and diſdained to ſpeak with them. Therefore to avoid juſt Suſpicion of both, I have, and do daily ſpeak with them when they come, not doubting but they report, that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wiſh all Men to do as I do in this Point. For I fear not their Arguments, neither is Death terrible unto me, praying you to make true Report of the ſame, as Occaſion ſhall ſerve; and that I am more confirmed in the Truth which I have heretofore preached, by their coming.*

The Occaſion of this Rumour, how it riſeth.

Therefore, ye that may ſend to the weak Brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch Reports of Recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all Things of the World, and ſuffered great Pains and Impriſonment, and I thank God I am as ready to ſuffer Death, as a mortal Man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report ſuch Rumours that be untrue. We have Enemies enough of ſuch as know not God truly. But yet the falſe Report of weak Brethren is a double Croſs. I wiſh you eternal Salvation in Jeſus Chriſt, *and alſo require your continual Prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it unto the End.*

False Reports a grievous Croſs.

I have taught the Truth with my Tongue, and with my Pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhall confirm the ſame by God's Grace with my Blood. From Newgate, February 2. 1554.

Your Brother in Chriſt,

John Hooper.

Upon *Monday* Morning the Biſhop of *London* came to *Newgate*, and degraded Mr. *Hooper*, the Sentence of his Degradation here followeth:

The Sentence of Degradation againſt Mr. *Hooper*, tranſlated into *Engliſh.*

IN the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, Amen. *Whereas by a definitive Sentence from the reverend Father in Chriſt*, Stephen, *by divine Permiſſion, Lord Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *againſt you* John Hooper, *Preſbyter of his Juriſdiction, on account of Hereſy and Offence notoriouſly committed within his Dioceſs of* Wincheſter, *and of late juſtly and legally proved: It plainly appears to us*, Edmund, *Biſhop of* London, *that you the aforeſaid* John Hooper *have been and ſtill continue to be an open, obſtinate, and incorrigible Heretick, and it alſo appears by the aforeſaid Sentence, that you have been declared and pronounced an Heretick of this Sort, and have likewiſe incurr'd the Sentence of the greater Excommunication, and it plainly and fully appears that you are to be depoſed and degraded from your Order, and for theſe your Demerits are to be delivered to the ſecular Power, according to the Tenor of the aforeſaid Sentence to which we refer ourſelves in this Affair. We therefore the aforeſaid* Edmund, *Biſhop of* London, *as it concerns us and the Univerſity to do our alternate Endeavours, in whoſe Dioceſs you* John Hooper *have committed the ſame Hereſy then and oftentimes both before and after; for theſe I ſay and the aforeſaid Conſiderations, and that we may execute the aforeſaid Sentence in a better and more efficacious Manner, have thought fit to proceed to the actual Degradation of you the aforeſaid* John Hooper *(your Crime and Juſtice ſo requiring) and ſo we do really proceed according to the Direction of the Law, and the laudible Cuſtom of former Times, that we may rightly and legally deliver you to the ſecular Power, who are unwilling to continue in the Pale of the Church, and that this ought to be done, we do by theſe Preſents declare and pronounce in this our Sentence.* Anno 1555.

After the Sentence of the Degradation thus declared, now let us ſee the Form and Manner of their degrading, which here followeth. But firſt here is to be noted, that they degrading this bleſſed Biſhop, did not proceed againſt him as a Biſhop, but only as againſt a Prieſt, as they termed him; for ſuch as he was, theſe *Baalamites* accounted no Biſhop.

The Form and Manner uſed in the Degrading of Biſhop Hooper.

THE fourth Day of *February*, the Year above mentioned, in the Chappel of *Newgate*, the Biſhop of *London* there ſitting with his Notary and ſeveral other Witneſſes, *Alexander Andrew* the Goaler came in, bringing with him Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers*, being condemned before by the Lord Chancellor, where the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, at the Requeſt of the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, proceeded to the Degradation of Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers*, after this Form and Manner: Firſt, he put upon him all the Veſtures and Ornaments belonging to a Prieſt, with all other Things to the ſame Order appertaining, as tho' (being reveſted) they ſhould ſolemnly execute their Office. They being thus apparelled and reveſted, the Biſhop beginneth to pluck off, firſt the uttermoſt Veſture, and ſo by Degree and Order coming down to the loweſt Veſture, which they had only in taking *Benet* and *Collet*; and ſo being ſtript and depoſed, he deprived them of all Order, Benefit, and Privilege belonging to the Clergy; and conſequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the ſaid Parties ſo degraded, to be given perſonally to the ſecular Power, as the Sheriffs being for that Year, Mr. *Davy Woodrooffe*, and Mr. *William Cheſter*; who receiving firſt the ſaid Mr. *Rogers* at the Hands of the Biſhop, had him away with them, bringing him to the Place of Execution where he ſuffered. The Witneſſes there preſent

Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Rogers* degraded together.

Anno 1555. were Mr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, *Robert Coſin*, and *Robert Willerton*, Canons of St. *Paul*'s, *Thomas Montague*, and *George How*, Clerks, *Triſtram Swadock*, and *Ricnard Clumney*, Sumner, &c.

Mr. *Hooper* glad that he ſhould ſuffer among his own Flock.

The ſame *Monday* at Night, *February* 4. his Keeper gave him an Inkling that he ſhould be ſent to *Gloceſter* to ſuffer Death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his Eyes and Hands unto Heaven, and praiſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend him amongſt the People, over whom he was Paſtor, there to confirm with his Death the Truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him Strength to perform the ſame to his Glory: And immediately he ſent to his Servant's Houſe for his Boots, Spurs, and Cloak, that he might be in Readineſs to ride when he ſhould be called.

The next Day following, about Four of the Clock in the Morning, the Keeper with others came and ſearched him, and the Bed wherein he lay, to ſee if he had written any Thing, and then he was led by the Sheriffs of *London*, and their Officers, from *Newgate* to a Place appointed, not far from St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleetſtreet*, where ſix of the Queen's Guard were appointed to receive him, to carry him to *Gloceſter*, there to be delivered unto the Sheriff, who with the Lord *Shandois*, Mr. *Wicks*, and other Commiſſioners, were appointed to ſee Execution done. Which Guard brought him to the *Angel*, where he brake his Faſt with them, eating his Meat at that Time more liberal than he had uſed to do a good while before. About break of Day he went to Horſe, and leapt chearfully on Horſeback without Help, having a Hood upon his Head under his Hat that he ſhould not be known, and ſo took his Journey joyful towards *Gloceſter*; and by the Way the Guard enquired of him where he was accuſtomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another Inn.

Mr. *Hooper* carried to *Gloceſter* to be burnt.

Upon *Thurſday* following, he came to a Town in his Dioceſs called *Cirenceſter*, 15 Miles from *Gloceſter*, about Eleven of the Cloek, and there dined at a Woman's Houſe who had always ſpoken all the Evil ſhe could of Mr. *Hooper*. This Woman, perceiving the Cauſe of his coming, ſhewed him all the Friendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his Caſe with Tears, confeſſing that ſhe before had often reported, that if he were put to the Trial, he would not ſtand to his Doctrine.

Mr. *Hooper* cometh to *Gloceſter*.

After Dinner he rode forwards, and came to *Gloceſter* about Five of the Clock, and a Mile without the Town was much People aſſembled, who cried and lamented his Eſtate; inſomuch that one of the Guard rode poſt into the Town, to require Aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, fearing leſt he ſhould have been taken from them. The Officers and their Retinue repaired to the Gate with Weapons, and commanded the People to keep their Houſes, *&c.* but there was no Man that once gave any Signification of any ſuch Reſcue or Violence. He lodged at one *Ingram*'s Houſe in *Gloceſter*, and ſlept his firſt Sleep ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the Guard and others. After his firſt Sleep he continued the remaining Part of the Night in Prayer till the Morning, and then deſired that he might go into the next Chamber (for the Guard were alſo in the Chamber where he lay) that there being private, he might pray to God: So that all the Day, ſaving a little at Meat, and when he talked at any Time with ſuch as the Guard licenſed to ſpeak with him, he beſtowed in Prayer.

The quiet Mind of Mr. *Hooper*.

Amonſt others that ſpake with him, Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Knight, was one, Who, ſeeming in Time paſt his true Friend, was then appointed by the Queen's Letters, to be one of the Commiſſioners, to ſee Execution done upon him. Mr. *Kingſton* being brought into the Chamber, found him at his Prayers: And as ſoon as he ſaw Mr. *Hooper*, he burſt forth in Tears. Mr. *Hooper* at the firſt knew him not. Then, ſaid Mr. *Kingſton*, Why, my Lord, do you not know me an old Friend of yours, *Anthony Kingſton*.

Sir *Anthony Kingſton* cometh to Mr. *Hooper*.

Yes, Mr. *Kingſton*, I do now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in Health, and do praiſe God for the ſame.

But I am ſorry to ſee you in this Caſe, ſaid Mr. *Kingſton*, for I underſtand you be come hither to die. But, alas, conſider that Life is ſweet, and Death is bitter. Therefore ſeeing Life may be had, deſire to live; for Life hereafter may do good.

Sir *Anthony Kingſton*'s Perſuaſions.

Indeed it is true, Mr. *Kingſton*, I am come hither to end this Life, and to ſuffer Death here, becauſe I will not gainſay the former Truth that I have heretofore taught amongſt you in this Dioceſs, and elſewhere; and I thank you for your friendly Counſel, altho' it be not ſo friendly as I could have wiſhed it. True it is, Mr. *Kingſton*, that Death is bitter, and Life is ſweet: But, alas, conſider that the Death to come is more bitter, and the Life to come is more ſweet. Therefore for the Deſire and Love I have to the one, and the Terror and Fear of the other, I do not ſo much regard this Death, nor eſteem this Life, but have ſettled myſelf, thro' the Strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to paſs thro' the Torments and Extremities of the Fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the Truth of his Word deſiring you and others, in the mean Time, to commend me to God's Mercy in your Prayers.

Mr. *Hooper* replieth.

Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no Remedy, and therefore I will take my Leave of you: And I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a loſt Child: And by your good Inſtructions, where before I was both an Adulterer and a Fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

Sir *Anthony Kingſton* converted by Mr. *Hooper*.

If you have had Grace ſo to do, I do highly praiſe God for it: And if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his Fear. After theſe and many other Words, the one took Leave of the other, Mr. *Kingſton* with bitter Tears, Mr. *Hooper* with Tears alſo trickling down his Cheeks. At his Departure, Mr. *Hooper* told him, that all the Troubles he had ſuſtained in Priſon, had not cauſed him to utter ſo much Sorrow.

Mr. *Hooper*.

A blind Boy cometh to Mr. *Hooper*.

The ſame Day in the Afternoon, a blind Boy, after long Interceſſion made to the Guard, obtained Licenſe to be brought unto Mr. *Hooper*'s Speech. The ſame Boy not long before had ſuffered Impriſonment at *Gloceſter* for confeſſing of the Truth. Mr. *Hooper*, after he had examined him of his Faith, and the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, beheld him ſtedfaſtly, and (the Water appearing in his Eyes) ſaid unto him, Ah poor Boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward Sight, for what Reaſon he beſt knoweth; but he hath given thee another Sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy Soul with the Eye of Knowledge and Faith. God give thee Grace continually to pray unto him, that thou

loſe not that Sight, for then ſhouldeſt thou be blind both in Body and Soul.

After that another came to him whom he knew to be a Papiſt, and a wicked Man, who appear'd to pity him, ſaying; Sir, I am ſorry to ſee you thus. To ſee me? why, ſaid he, art thou ſorry? To ſee you, ſaid the other, in this Caſe. For I hear ſay, you are come hither to die, for which I am ſorry. Be ſorry for thyſelf Man, ſaid Mr. *Hooper*, and lament thine own Wickedneſs; for I am well, I thank God, and Death to me for Chriſt's Sake, is welcome.

Mr. *Hooper* committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *Gloceſter*.

The ſame Night he was committed by the Guard, their Commiſſion being then expired, into the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *Gloceſter*. The Name of the one was *Jenkins*, the other *Bond*, who with the Mayor and Aldermen repaired to Mr. *Hooper*'s Lodging, and at the firſt Meeting ſaluted him, and took him by the Hand. Unto whom *Hooper* ſpake on this Manner.

The Words of Mr. *Hooper* to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *Gloceſter*.

Mr. Mayor, I give moſt hearty Thanks to you, and to the reſt of your Brethren, that you have vouchſafed to take me a Priſoner and condemned Man by the Hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is ſomewhat apparent that your old Love and Friendſhip towards me is not altogether extinguiſhed: And I truſt alſo that all the Things I have taught you in Times paſt are not utterly forgotten, when I was here appointed to be your Biſhop and Paſtor. For which moſt true Doctrine, becauſe I will not now account it Falſehood and Hereſy, as many other Men do, I am ſent hither by the Queen's Command, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my Blood. And now Mr. Sheriffs, I underſtand by theſe good Men, and my very Friends (meaning the Guards) at whoſe Hands I have found ſo much Favour and Gentleneſs by the Way hitherward, as a Priſoner could reaſonably require (for which alſo I moſt heartily thank them) that I am committed to your Cuſtody, as unto them that muſt ſee me brought To-morrow to the Place of Execution. My

Mr. *Hooper*'s Petition to the Sheriffs.

Requeſt therefore to you ſhall be only, that there may be a quick Fire, ſhortly to make an End; and in the mean Time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourſelves would wiſh. If you think I do amiſs in any Thing, hold up your Finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my Life with worldly Gain; but as one willing to offer and give my Life for the Truth, rather than to conſent to the Religion of the Biſhop of *Rome*, received and ſet forth by the Magiſtrates in *England*, and I truſt by God's Grace To-morrow to die a faithful Servant of God, and an obedient Subject to the Queen.

Theſe and ſuch-like Words in Effect uſed Mr. *Hooper* to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding the two Sheriffs went aſide to conſult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common Goal of the Town, called *Northgate*, if the Guard had not made earneſt Interceſſion for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himſelf in the Way, adding thereto, that any Child might keep him well enough, and that they themſelves would rather take Pains to watch with him, than that he ſhould be ſent to the common Priſon. So it was determined at length that he ſhould ſtill remain in *Robert Ingram*'s Houſe; and the Sheriffs and Serjeants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that Night themſelves. His Deſire was, that he

The Guard ſpeak for Mr. *Hooper*.

might go to Bed that Night betimes, ſaying, that he had many Things to remember: And ſo he did at Five of the Clock, and ſlept one Sleep ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the Night in Prayer. After he got up in the Morning, he deſired that no Man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the Chamber, that he might be private till the Hour of Execution.

Anno 1555.

Mr. *Hooper* ſpendeth the Night in Prayer.

About Eight of the Clock came Sir *John Bridges*, Lord *Shandois*, with a great Band of Men, Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Sir *Edmund Bridges*, and other Commiſſioners appointed to ſee Execution done. At Nine of the Clock Mr. *Hooper* was ordered to prepare himſelf to be in a Readineſs, for the Time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his Chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with Bills, Glieves, and Weapons. When he ſaw the Multitude of Weapons, he ſpake to the Sheriffs on this wiſe; Mr. Sheriffs (ſaid he) I am no Traitor, neither needed you to have made ſuch a Buſineſs to bring me to the Place where I muſt ſuffer; for if ye had deſired me, I would have gone alone to the Stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the Multitude of People that were aſſembled, being by Eſtimation to the Number of 7000 (for it was Market-day, and many alſo came to ſee his Behaviour at his Death) he ſpake unto thoſe that were about him, ſaying: Alas, why be theſe People aſſembled and come together? peradventure they think to hear ſomething of me now, as they have in Times paſt, but alas Speech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the Cauſe of my Death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere Doctrine, and that out of the Word of God: Becauſe I will not now account the ſame to be Hereſy and Untruth, this Kind of Death is prepared for me.

Sir *John Bridges*, Lord *Shandois*, Sir *Edmund Bridges*, Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Commiſſioners.

So he went forward led between the two Sheriffs in a Gown of his Hoſt's, his Hat upon his Head, and a Staff in his Hand to ſtay himſelf withal. For the Grief of the Sciatica, which he had taken in Priſon, cauſed him ſomewhat to halt. All the Way, being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeak, he could not be perceived once to open his Mouth: but beholding the People all the Way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would ſometimes lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, and look very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew: And he was never known, during the Time of his being amongſt them, to look with ſo chearful and ruddy a Countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the Place appointed where he ſhould die, he ſmilingly beheld the Stake and Preparation made for him, which was near unto the great Elm-tree overagainſt the College of Prieſts, where he was wont to preach. The Place round about the Houſes, and the Boughs of the Tree were filled with Spectators; and in the Chamber over the College Gate ſtood the Prieſts of the College. Then he kneeled down (foraſmuch as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak unto the People) to Prayer, and beckned ſix or ſeven Times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the ſaid Prayer, to make Report thereof in Time to come; wherein he continued the Space of half an Hour. Now after he was ſomewhat entered into his Prayer, a Box was brought and laid before him upon a Stool, with his Pardon (or at leaſt-wiſe it was feigned to be his Pardon) from the Queen, if he would turn. At the Sight whereof he cried, *If you love my Soul, away with it; If you love my Soul, away with it.* The Box

Mr. *Hooper* forbidden to ſpeak to the People.

His chearful going to Death.

Mr. *Hooper* brought to the Place of Martyrdom.

Mr. *Hooper* refuſeth the Queen's Pardon.

being

Anno 1555. being taken away, the Lord *Shandois* ſaid, Seeing there is no Remedy, diſpatch him quickly. Mr. *Hooper* reply'd, Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhip will give me Leave to make an End of my Prayers.

Then the Lord *Shandois* ſaid to Sir *Edward Bridges*'s Son, who gave Ear before to Mr. *Hooper*'s Prayer at his Requeſt: *Edmund*, take Heed that he do nothing elſe but pray; if he do, tell me, and I ſhall quickly diſpatch him. While this Talk was, there ſtepped one or two uncalled, who heard him ſpeak theſe Words following:

Mr. *Hooper*'s Prayer. *LORD, ſaid he, I am Hell, but thou art Heaven; I am Swill and a Sink of Sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have Mercy therefore upon me moſt miſerable and wretched Offender, after thy great Mercy, and according to thine ineſtimable Goodneſs. Thou art aſcended into Heaven, receive me hence to be Partaker of thy Joys, where thou ſitteſt in equal Glory with thy Father. For well knoweſt thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to ſuffer, and why the Wicked do perſecute this thy poor Servant; not for my Sins and Tranſgreſſions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allow their wicked Doings, to the contaminating of thy Blood, and to the Denial of the Knowledge of thy Truth, wherewith it did pleaſe thee by thy Holy Spirit to inſtruct me; which with as much Diligence as a poor Wretch might (being thereto called) I have ſet forth to thy Glory. And well ſeeſt thou, my Lord and God, what terrible Pains and cruel Torments be prepared for thy Creature: Such, Lord, as without thy Strength none is able to bear, or patiently to paſs. But all Things that are impoſſible with Man, are poſſible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen me of thy Goodneſs, that in the Fire I break not the Rules of Patience; or elſe aſſwage the Terror of the Pains, as ſhall ſeem moſt to thy Glory.*

As ſoon as the Mayor had eſpied theſe Men who made Report of the foregoing Words, they were commmanded away, and could not be ſuffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himſelf for the Stake, and put off his Hoſt's Gown, and delivered it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to ſee it reſtored unto the Owner, and put off the reſt of his Apparel, unto his Doublet and Hoſe, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffs would not permit that, (ſuch was their Greedineſs) unto whoſe Pleaſures, good Man, he very obediently ſubmitted himſelf; and his Doublet, Hoſe, and Waiſtcoat were taken off. Then being in his Shirt, he took a Point from his Hoſe himſelf, and truſſed his Shirt between his Legs, where he had a Pound of Gun-powder in a Bladder, and under each Arm the like Quantity delivered him by the Guard. So deſiring the People to ſay the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with Tears during the Time of his Pains) he went up to the Stake. Now when he was at the Stake, three Irons, made to bind him to the Stake, were brought; one for his Neck, another for his Middle, and the Third for his Legs. But he refuſing them, ſaid, Ye have no need thus to trouble yourſelves. For I doubt not but God will give Strength ſufficient to abide the Extremity of the Fire, without Bands: Notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the Frailty and Weakneſs of the Fleſh, but having aſſured Confidence in God's Strength, I am content ye do as ye ſhall think good.

Mr. *Hooper* undreſſeth himſelf to the Fire.

So the Hoop of Iron prepared for his Middle was brought, which being made ſomewhat too ſhort (for his Belly was ſwoln with Impriſonment) he ſhrank and put in his Belly with his Hand, until it was faſtened: And when they offered to have bound his Neck and Legs with the other two Hoops of Iron, he utterly refuſed them, and would have none, ſaying, I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you. Mr. *Hooper* bound to the Stake.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the People, of whom he might be well ſeen (for he was both tall, and ſtood alſo on an high Stool) and beheld round about him: And in every Corner there was nothing to be ſeen but weeping and ſorrowful People. Then lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, he prayed to himſelf. By and By, he that was appointed to make the Fire, came to him, and aſk'd him Forgiveneſs. Of whom he aſked why he ſhould forgive him, ſaying, that he never knew any Offence he had committed againſt him. O Sir, ſaid the Man, I am appointed to make the Fire. Therein, ſaid Mr. *Hooper*, thou doſt nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy Sins, and do thine Office I pray thee. Then the Reeds were caſt up, and he received two Bundles of them in his own Hands, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put one of them under each Arm, and ſhewed with his Hand how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, and pointed to the Place where any was wanting. The People weep at Mr. *Hooper*'s burning. He forgiveth the Executioner.

Then Command was given that the Fire ſhould be kindled, and ſo it was. But becauſe there were put no fewer green Faggots than two Horſes could carry upon their Backs, it kindled not ſpeedily, and was a pretty while alſo before it took the Reeds upon the Faggots. At length it burned about him, but the Wind having full Strength in that Place, (it was a lowering and cold Morning) it blew the Flame from him, ſo that he was in a Manner little more than touch'd by the Fire. Fire put to Mr. *Hooper*.

Within a Space after, a few dry Faggots were brought, and a new Fire kindled with Faggots (for there were no more Reeds) and that burned at the nether Parts, but had ſmall Power above, becauſe of the Wind, ſaving that it did burn his Hair, and ſcorch his Skin a little. In the Time of which Fire, even as at the firſt Flame, he prayed, ſaying mildly, and not very loud, (but as one without Pains) *O Jeſus, the Son of David, have Mercy upon me, and receive my Soul.* After the ſecond Fire was ſpent, he wiped both his Eyes with his Hands, and beholding the People, he ſaid with an indifferent loud Voice; For God's Love, good People, let me have more Fire: And all this while his nether Parts did burn: For the Faggots were ſo few, that the Flame did not burn ſtrongly at his upper Parts. Another Fire kindled. Mr. *Hooper* called for more Fire.

The third Fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extream than the other two: And then the Bladders of Gun-powder brake, which did him little good, they were ſo placed, and the Wind had ſuch Power. In which Fire he prayed with a loud Voice, *Lord Jeſus have Mercy upon me, Lord Jeſus have Mercy upon me; Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* And theſe were the laſt Words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the Mouth, and his Tongue ſwoln, that he could not ſpeak, yet his Lips went till they were ſhrunk to the Gums: And he knocked his Breaſt with his Hands, until one of his Arms fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, while the Fat, Water, and Blood dropped out at his Finger's Ends, until by renewing of the Fire his Strength was gone, and his Hand did cleave faſt in knocking The bleſſed Martyr long tormented in the Fire.

ing to the Iron upon his Breaſt. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his Spirit.

Thus was he three Quarters of an Hour or more in the Fire. Even as a Lamb, patiently bearing the Extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any Side; but having his nether Parts burned, and his Bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a Child in his Bed: And he now reigneth as a bleſſed Martyr in the Joys of Heaven, prepared for the Faithful in Chriſt before the Foundations of the World: For whoſe Conſtancy all Chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A Poem made by Conrade Geſner, *on the Martyrdom of Mr.* John Hooper.

HOOPER, *unvanquiſh'd by* Rome's *Cruel-* [*ties,*
(Confeſſing Chriſt in his laſt Moments) dies:
Whilſt Flames his Body rack, his Soul doth fly,
Inflam'd with Faith, to Immortality:
His Conſtancy on Earth hath rais'd his Name,
And gave him Entrance at the Gates of Fame,
Which neither Storms, nor the cold North Wind's [*Blaſt,*
Nor all-devouring Time ſhall ever waſte:
For he whom God protects ſhall ſure attain
That Happineſs, which Wordlings ſeek in vain.
Example take by him, you who profeſs
Chriſt's holy Doctrines; ne'er the World careſs,
In Hopes of Riches; or if Fortune frown
With inauſpicious Looks be not caſt down;
For Man ne'er ſaw, nor can his Heart conceive,
What God beſtows on them that righteous live.

Mr. *Hooper*'s Letter to Mr. *Ferrar*, Biſhop of St. *David*'s, Dr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Philpot*, Priſoners in the *King*'s-*Bench* in *Southwark.*

THE Grace of God be with you all, Amen. *I am advertiſed by divers, as well ſuch as love the Truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I ſhall be carried ſhortly to* Cambridge, *there to diſpute for the Faith, and for the Religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we have and do profeſs. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not only to go to* Cambridge, *but alſo to ſuffer, by God's Help, Death itſelf in the Maintenance thereof.* Weſton *and his Complices have obtained forth the Commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he will put it in Execution. Wherefore, dear Brethren, I do advertiſe you of the Thing before for divers Cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the Time draweth near, and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtify before God's Enemies, God's Truth. The next, that ye ſhould prepare yourſelves the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what Ways I think ourſelves were beſt to uſe in this Matter, and alſo to hear of you your better Advice, if mine be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhall be Cenſors and Judges over us, breathe and thirſt for our Blood, and whether we, by God's Help, overcome after the Word of God, or by Force and Subtilty of our Adverſaries be overcome, this will be the Concluſion; our Adverſaries will ſay, they overcome, and ye perceive how they report of thoſe great learned Men and godly Perſonages at* Oxford.

Commiſſion given out for Mr. *Hooper* and others to diſpute at *Cambridge.*

Wherefore I mind never to anſwer them, except I have Books preſent, becauſe they uſe not only falſe Allegation of the Doctors, but alſo a Piece of the Doctors againſt the whole Courſe of the Doctor's Mind. The next, that we may have ſworn Notaries, to take Things ſpoken indifferently: Which will be very hard to have, for the Adverſaries will have the Overſight of all Things, and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worſe than it was. Then if we ſee that two or three, or more will ſpeak together, or with Scoffs and Taunts illude and mock us: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeal, to be heard before the Queen and the whole Council, and that would much ſet forth the Glory of God. For many of them know already the Truth, many of them err rather of Zeal than Malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould be anſwered fully to their Shame (I doubt not) altho' to our Smart and Blood-ſhedding. For of this I am aſſured, that the Commiſſioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing leſs than to hear the Cauſe indifferently; for they be Enemies unto us and our Cauſe, and be at a Point already to give Sentence againſt us: So that if it were poſſible with St. Stephen *to ſpeak ſo that they could not reſiſt us, or to uſe ſuch Silence and Patience as Chriſt did, they will proceed to revenging.* Anno 1555.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, in the Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, *I would be glad to know your Advice this Day or to Morrow; for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our Appeal, yet let us challenge the Appeal, and take Witneſs thereof of ſuch as be preſent, and require for Indifferency of hearing and Judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and the Council, or elſe before all the Parliament, as they were uſed in King* Edward's *Days. Further, for my Part I will require both Books and Time to anſwer. We have been Priſoners now three Quarters of a Year, and have lacked our Books; and our Memories, by cloſe keeping and Ingratitude of their Parts, be not ſo preſent and quick as theirs be. I truſt God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all Things in his Cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our Adverſaries, that ſhall be our Judges, may have their Purpoſe, we ſhall diſpute one Day, be condemned the next Day, and ſuffer the third Day. And yet there is no Law to condemn us (as far as I know) and ſo one of the Convocation-Houſe ſaid this Week to Dr.* Weſton. *To whom* Weſton *made this Anſwer, It forceth not, quoth he, for a Law, we have Commiſſion to proceed with them; when they be diſpatched let their Friends ſue the Law.*

The Counſel of Mr. *Hooper*, how and upon what Cautions to diſpute with Adverſaries.

Note how the Papiſts proceed againſt all Order and Law.

Now how ſoon a Man may have ſuch a Commiſſion at my Lord Chancellor's Hand, you know. It is as eaſy to be obtained as an Indictment for Chriſt at Caiaphas's *hand. Beſides that the Biſhops having the Queen ſo upon their Sides, may do all Things both without the Advice and alſo the Knowledge of the reſt of the Lords of the Temporality, who at this preſent have found out the Mark that the Biſhops ſhot at, and doubtleſs be not pleaſed with their Doings. I pray you help, that our Brother* Saunders *and the reſt in the* Marſhalſea *may underſtand theſe Things, and ſend me your Anſwer betime.* Judas *ſleepeth not; neither know we the Day nor the Hour. The Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *with his Holy Spirit comfort and ſtrengthen us all.* Amen. May 6. 1554.

Yours, and with you unto Death in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

I think it not inconvenient to annex a Letter written to Mr. *Hooper* by a famous learned Man,

The Martyrdom of John Hooper *at* Glocester.

D.r Taylor *rebuking a Popish Priest who was about to say Mass in* Hadley *Church*

B. sc.

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

Anno 1555. *Henry Bullinger*, chief Superintendent in the City of *Zurich*. Of whoſe ſingular Love and tender Affection towards Mr. *Hooper*, ye heard before in the Beginning of Mr. *Hooper*'s Life.

To the moſt reverend Father, Mr. *John Hooper*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, and now Priſoner for the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, my Fellow-Elder, and moſt dear Brother in *England*.

A Letter of Mr. *Bullinger* to Mr. *Hooper*, tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*.

THE heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all thoſe which are in Bands and Captivity for his Name's Sake, Grace and Peace thro' Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord, with Wiſdom, Patience, and Fortitude of the Holy Ghoſt.*

I have received from you two Letters, my moſt dear Brother, the former in the Month of September *of the Year paſt, the latter in the Month of* May *in this preſent Year, both written out of Priſon. But I doubting leſt I ſhould make Anſwer to you in vain, whilſt I feared that my Letters ſhould never come into your Hands, or elſe increaſe and double your Sorrow, did refrain from the Duty of Writing. In which Thing I doubt not but you will have me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole Year, to anſwer to my whole Libels rather than Letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing unto you: As alſo at this preſent, after I heard you were caſt in Priſon, I did not refrain from continual Prayer, beſeeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator* Jeſus Chriſt, *to grant unto you and to your Fellow-Priſoners Faith and Conſtancy unto the End. Now is that Thing happened unto you, my Brother, which we did oftentimes prophecy unto ourſelves, at your being with us, ſhould come to paſs, eſpecially when we did talk of the Power of Antichriſt, and of his Felicity and Victories. For you know the Saying of Daniel,* His Power ſhall be mighty, but not his Strength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make Havock of all Things, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy People after his own Will. *You know what the Lord warned us of before-hand, by* Matthew, *in chap.* 10. *by* John *in chap.* 15. 16. *and alſo what that choſen Veſſel St.* Paul *hath written in the Second of* Timothy *and third Chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by God's Grace) of your Faith and Patience, whilſt you know that thoſe Things which you ſuffer are not unlooked for, or come by Chance; but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy Quarrel: For what can be more true and holy than our Doctrine, which the Papiſts, thoſe Worſhippers of Antichriſt, do perſecute? All Things touching Salvation we attribute unto Chriſt alone, and to his holy Inſtitutions, as we have been taught of him and of his Diſciples: But they would have even the ſame Things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt, and to his Inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſs to withſtand than we read that* Elias *withſtood the* Baalamites, *for if* Jeſus *be Chriſt, then let them know, that he is the Fulneſs of his Church, and that perfectly: But if Antichriſt be King and Prieſt, then let them exhibit unto him that Honour. How long do they halt on both Sides? can they give unto us any one that is better than Chriſt? or who ſhall be equal with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apoſtle calleth the Adverſary? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his Church, what needeth this Patching and Piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to uſe theſe Diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught, and have taken Root in Chriſt, being perſuaded that you have all Things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.*

The Power of Antichriſt deſcribed in *Daniel*, chap. 8.

The Doctrine of Proteſtants what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Epheſ. 1. *2 Theſſ.* 2.

Go forwards therefore conſtantly to confeſs Chriſt, and to defy Antichriſt, being mindful of this moſt holy and moſt true Saying of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; He that overcometh ſhall poſſeſs all Things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my Son: But the Fearful, and the Unbelieving, and the Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all Liars, ſhall have their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond Death. *The firſt Death is ſoon overcome, altho' a Man muſt burn for the Lord's Sake: For they ſay well that do affirm this our Fire to be ſcarcely a Shadow of that which is prepared for Unbelievers, and them that fall from the Truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may eaſily overcome by his Power the firſt Death, which he himſelf did taſte and overcome; promiſing withal ſuch Joys as never ſhall have End, unſpeakable, and paſſing all Underſtanding, which we ſhall poſſeſs ſo ſoon as ever we do depart hence. For ſo again ſaith the Angel of the Lord*; if any Man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receive his Mark in his Forehead, or on his Hand, the ſame ſhall drink of the Wrath of God; yea, of the Wine which is poured into the Cup of his Wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in Fire and Brimſtone, before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the Smoak of their Torment ſhall aſcend evermore, and they ſhall have no Reſt Day nor Night which worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and whoſoever receiveth the Print of his Name. *Here is the Patience of Saints; here are they that keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of* Jeſus. *To this he added by and by*; I heard a Voice ſaying to me, write, bleſſed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, or ſpeedily, they be bleſſed, *John* 5. even ſo ſaith the Spirit; for they reſt from their Labours, but their Works follow them: for our Labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vain.

Rev. 21.

Rev. 14. God's Wrath upon the Beaſt, and them that take his Mark.

In this Time of Antichriſt is the Patience and Faith of God's Children tried, whereby they ſhall overcome all his Tyranny.

Therefore ſeeing you have ſuch a large Promiſe, be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good Fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the End: Conſider that Chriſt the Son of God is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, are your Fellow-Soldiers. They that perſecute and trouble us, are Men ſinful and mortal, whoſe Favour a wiſe Man would not buy with the Value of a Farthing: And beſides that our Life is frail, ſhort, brittle and tranſitory. Happy are we if we depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your Fellow-Priſoners, Faith and Conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt reverend Fathers and holy Confeſſors of Chriſt, Dr. Cranmer *Biſhop of* Canterbury, Dr. Ridley *Biſhop of* London, *and the good old Father* Dr. Latimer. *Them and all the reſt of the Priſoners with you for the Lord's Cauſe, ſalute in my Name, and in the Name of all my Fellow Miniſters, which do ſpeak unto you the Grace of God, and Conſtancy in the Truth.*

Read *Matth.* 24.

Concerning the State of our Church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your Country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profeſs the Faith with Words, but alſo expreſs the ſame effectually with good Works, to the Praiſe of our Lord. The Word of God increaſeth daily in that Part of Italy *that is near unto us, and in* France.

In the mean while the godly ſuſtain grievous Perſecutions, and with great Conſtancy and Glory, through Torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my Houſhold, with my Son-in-law and Kinſmen, are in good Health in the Lord. They do ſalute you, and pray for your Conſtancy, being ſorrowful for you and the reſt of the Priſoners. There came to us Engliſhmen *Students, both godly and learned. They be received of our Magiſtrate. Ten of them dwell together, the reſt remain here and there with good Men. Amongſt others, Mr.* Thomas Lever *is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any Thing wherein I may do any Pleaſure to your Wife and Children, they ſhall have me wholly at Commandment: Whereof I will write alſo to your Wife, for I underſtand ſhe abideth at* Frankfort. *Be ſtrong and merry in Chriſt, waiting for his Deliverance, when, and in what Sort it ſhall ſeem good unto him. The Lord* Jeſus *ſhew Pity upon the Realm of* England, *and illuminate the ſame with his Holy Spirit, to the Glory of his Name, and the Salvation of Souls. The Lord* Jeſus *preſerve and deliver you from all Evil, with all them that call upon his Name. Farewel, and farewel eternally.* October 10. 1554. *From* Zurich.

Mr. *Thomas Lever.*

You know my Hand,

Henry Bullinger.

The Life and Acts of Dr. Rowland Taylor, *who ſuffered Martyrdom* February 9. 1555.

THE Town of *Hadley* was one of the firſt that received the Word of God in all *England*, at the Preaching of Mr. *Thomas Bilney*; by whoſe Induſtry the Goſpel of Chriſt had ſuch good Succeſs, and took ſuch Root there, that a great Number in that Pariſh became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well Women as Men, ſo that a Man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have ſaid a great Part of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles by heart. Their Children and Servants were alſo brought up and trained ſo diligently in the right Knowledge of God's Word, that the whole Town ſeemed rather an Univerſity of the Learned, than a Town of Cloth-making, or labouring People. And what is moſt to be commended, they were for the moſt Part faithful Followers of God's Word in their Living.

Dr. *Taylor* a Doctor in both Laws, and a Divine.

In this Town Dr. *Rowland Taylor*, Doctor in both the Civil and Canon Laws, was Miniſter. Who at his firſt entering into his Benefice, did not let out his Benefice to a Farmer, that ſhall gather up the Profits, and ſet in an ignorant unlearned Prieſt to ſerve the Cure, and ſo they have the Fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the Fock: But on the contrary, he left *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canierbury*, in whoſe Family he before lived, and made his perſonal Abode and Dwelling in *Hadley* among the People committed to his Charge. Where he, as a good Shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his Sheep, gave himſelf wholly to the Study of the holy Scriptures, moſt faithfully endeavouring himſelf to fulfil that Charge which the Lord gave unto *Peter*, ſaying; *Peter, loveſt thou me? Feed my Lambs, feed my Sheep, feed my Sheep.* This Love of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no *Sunday* or Holy-Day paſſed, nor other Time when he might get the People together, but he preached to them the Word of God, the Doctrine of their Salvation.

A good Shepherd and his Conditions. *John* 21. Feed with Word.

Anno 1555.

Nor only was his Word a preaching unto them, but all his Life and Converſation was an Example of unfeigned Chriſtian Life and true Holineſs. He was void of all Pride, humble and meek as any Child; ſo that none were ſo poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, reſort unto him; neither was his Lowlineſs childiſh or fearful, but as Occaſion, Time, and Place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinful and evil Doers; ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell him plainly his Fault, with ſuch earneſt and grave Rebukes as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a Man very mild, void of all Rancour, Grudge, or evil Will, ready to do good to all Men, readily forgiving his Enemies, and never ſought to do Evil to any.

Feed with Example.

To the Poor that were blind, lame, ſick, Bed-rid, or that had many Children, he was a very Father, a careful Patron, and diligent Provider; inſomuch that he cauſed the Pariſhioners to make a general Proviſion for them; and he himſelf (beſides the continual Relief that they always found at his Houſe) gave an honeſt Portion yearly to the common Alms-Box. His Wife alſo an honeſt, diſcreet, and ſober Matron, and his Children well nurtured, brought up in the Fear of God and good Learning.

Feed with Alms.

Commendation of Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife and Children.

To conclude, he was a right and lively Pattern of all thoſe virtuous Qualities deſcribed by St. *Paul* in a true Biſhop, a good Salt of the Earth, ſavourly, biting the corrupt Manners of evil Men, a Light in God's Houſe ſet upon a Candleſtick for all good Men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good Shepherd among his Flock, governing and leading them through the Wilderneſs of this wicked World, all the Days of the pious King of bleſſed Memory, *Edward* the Sixth. But after it pleaſed God to take King *Edward* from this Vale of Miſery unto his moſt bleſſed Reſt, the Papiſts, who ever diſſembled, both with King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* his Son, now ſeeing the Time convenient for their Purpoſe, uttered their falſe Hypocriſy, openly refuſing all good Reformation made by the ſaid two Kings; and contrary to what they had in theſe two Kings Days preached, taught, written, and ſworn, they violently overthrew the true Doctrine of the Goſpel, and perſecuted with Sword and Fire all thoſe that would not agree to receive again the *Romiſh* Biſhop as ſupream Head of the Univerſal Church, and allow all the Errors, Superſtitions, and Idolatries, that before by God's Word were diſproved and juſtly condemned, as though now they were good Doctrine, virtuous, and true Religion.

The Papiſts and their Nature.

In the Beginning of this Rage of Antichriſt, a certain petty Gentleman after the Sort of a Lawyer, called *Foſter*, being a Steward and Keeper of Courts, a Man of no great Skill, but a bitter Perſecutor in thoſe Days, with one *John Clerk* of *Hadley*, which *Foſter* had ever been a ſecret Favourer of all *Romiſh* Idolatry, conſpired with the ſaid *Clerk* to bring in the Pope and his Idolatry again into *Hadley* Church. For as yet Dr. *Taylor*, as a good Shepherd, had retained and kept in his Church the Church-Service and Reformation made by King *Edward*, and moſt earneſtly preached againſt the popiſh Corruptions, which had infected the whole Country round.

Foſter a Lawyer, and *John Clerk* of *Hadley*, two notorious Papiſts.

Therefore the aforeſaid *Foſter* and *Clerk* hired

Anno 1555. one *John Averth*, Parſon of *Aldam*, a popiſh Idolater, and an open Whoremonger, a very fit Miniſter for their Purpoſe, to come to *Hadley*, and there to give the Onſet to begin again the popiſh Maſs.

John Averth a right popiſh Prieſt. Mark how unwilling the People were to receive the Papacy again.

To this Purpoſe they built up the Altar with all Haſte poſſible, intending to bring in their Maſs about *Palm Monday*. But this their Device took no Effect; for in the Night the Altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the ſecond Time, and ſet a diligent Watch leſt any ſhould again break it down.

On the Day following came *Foſter* and *John Clerk*, bringing with them their popiſh Sacrificer, who brought with him all his Implements and Garments to play the popiſh Pageant, whom they and their Men guarded with Swords and Bucklers, leſt any Man ſhould diſturb him in his miſſal Sacrifice.

Dr. *Taylor*'s Cuſtom to ſtudy.

When Dr. *Taylor*, who (according to his Cuſtom) ſate at his Book, ſtudying the Word of God, heard the Bells ring, he aroſe and went into the Church, ſuppoſing ſomething had been there to be done, according to his paſtoral Office: And coming to the Church, he found the Church Doors ſhut and faſt barred, ſaving the Chancel Door, which was only latched. Where he entering in, and coming in the Chancel, ſaw a popiſh Sacrificer in his Robes, with a broad new ſhaven Crown, ready to begin his popiſh Sacrifice, beſet round about with drawn Swords and Bucklers, leſt any Man ſhould approach to diſturb him.

Maſs brought into *Hadley* with Sword and Buckler.

Dr. *Taylor* rebuketh the popiſh Prieſt.

Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, Thou Devil, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this Church of Chriſt, to profane and defile it with this abominable Idolatry? With that *Foſter* ſtarts up, and with an angry and furious Countenance ſaid to Dr. *Taylor*; Thou Traitor, what doeſt thou here, to hinder and diſturb the Queen's Proceedings? Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, I am no Traitor, but I am the Shepherd that God my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feed this his Flock; wherefore I have good Authority to be here: And I command thee, thou popiſh Wolf, in the Name of God, to avoid hence, and not to preſume here with ſuch popiſh Idolatry to poiſon Chriſt's Flock.

The Papiſts call all their Trumpery the Queen's Proceedings. For you muſt remember that Antichriſt reigneth by another Arm and not by his own Power.

Then ſaid *Foſter*, wilt thou traiterouſly, Heretick, make a Commotion, and reſiſt violently the Queen's Proceedings?

Dr. *Taylor* there playeth a right *Elias*. 1 *Kings* 18.

Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, I make no Commotion, but it is you Papiſts that make Commotions and Tumults. I reſiſt only with God's Word, againſt your popiſh Idolatries, which are againſt God's Word, the Queen's Honour, and tend to the utter Subverſion of this Realm of *England*. And further, thou doſt againſt the Law, which commandeth, that no Maſs be ſaid but at a conſecrate Altar.

* *Super-Altare*, is a Stone conſecrated by the Biſhops, commonly of a Foot long, which the Papiſts carry inſtead of an Altar, when they Maſs for Money in Gentlemens Houſes.

When the Parſon of *Aldam* heard that, he began to ſhrink back, and would have left his ſaying of Maſs: Then ſtarts up *John Clerk*, and ſaid, Maſter *Averth*, be not afraid, you have a * *Super Altare*, go forth with your Buſineſs Man.

Then *Foſter*, with his armed Men, took Dr. *Taylor*, and led him with ſtrong Hand out of the Church, and the popiſh Prieſt proceeded in his *Romiſh* Idolatry. Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife, who followed her Huſband into the Church, when ſhe ſaw her Huſband thus violently thruſt out, kneeled down and held up her Hands, and with a loud Voice ſaid; *I beſeech God the righteous Judge to avenge the Injury, that this popiſh Idolater this Day doth to the Blood of Chriſt.* Then they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut the Doors; for they feared that the People would have rent their Sacrificer in Pieces. Notwithſtanding one or two threw in great Stones at the Windows, and miſſed very little the popiſh Maſſer.

Within a Day or two after, with all Haſte poſſible, this *Foſter* and *Clerk* made a Complaint of Dr. *Taylor*, by a Letter written to *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor.

Dr. *Taylor* cited by a Letter miſſive.

When the Biſhop heard this, he ſent a Letter miſſive to Dr. *Taylor*, commanding him within certain Days to come and appear before him upon his Allegiance, to anſwer ſuch Complaints as were made againſt him.

When Dr. *Taylor*'s Friends heard of this, they were exceeding ſorry; foreſeeing to what End the Matter would come, ſeeing that all Truth and Juſtice were trodden under Foot, and Falſhood with cruel Tyranny bore the Sway: His Friends, I ſay, came to him, and earneſtly counſelled him to fly, alledging unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to ſpeak his Conſcience and Mind, nor yet look for Juſtice or Favour from the ſaid Chancellor, who, as it was well known, was moſt fierce and cruel; but muſt needs (if he went up to him) wait for Impriſonment and cruel Death at his Hands.

Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor* to his Friends, Dear Friends, I moſt heartily thank you, that you have ſo tender a Care over me. And although I know that there is neither Juſtice nor Truth to be looked for at my Adverſaries Hands, but rather Impriſonment and cruel Death; yet know I my Cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the Truth ſo ſtrong upon my Side, that I will by God's Grace go and appear before them, and to their Beards reſiſt their falſe Doing.

Then ſaid his Friends, Maſter Doctor, we think it not beſt ſo to do. You have ſufficiently done your Duty, and teſtified the Truth both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſting the Parſon of *Aldam*, with others that came hither to bring again the popiſh Maſs. And foraſmuch as our Saviour Chriſt willeth us, that *when they perſecute us in one City, we ſhould fly unto another*; we think in flying at this Time ye would do beſt, keeping yourſelf againſt another Time, when the Church ſhall have great need of ſuch diligent Teachers. *Matth.* 10.

Oh, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, what will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked Days. Fly you, and do as your Conſcience leadeth you; I am fully determined, with God's Grace, to go to the Biſhop, and tell him to his Face, that he doth naught: God ſhall well hereafter raiſe up Teachers of his People, who ſhall with much more Diligence and Fruit teach them than I have done. For God will not forſake his Church, tho' now for a Time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a juſt Cauſe. As for me, I believe before God, I ſhall never be able to do God ſo good Service, as I may do now; nor ſhall I ever have ſo glorious a Calling as I now have, nor ſo great Mercy of God proferred me, as is now at this preſent. For what chriſtian Man would not gladly die againſt the Pope and his Adherents? I know that the Papacy is the Kingdom of Antichriſt, altogether full of Lies, altogether full of Falſhood, ſo that all their Doctrine, even from Chriſt's * Croſs be my ſpeed, and St. *Nicholas* unto the End of their Apocalypſe, is nothing but Idolatry, Superſtition, Errors, Hypocriſy, and Lies.

Dr. *Taylor* refuſeth to fly.

* Meaning from the Croſs in the Beginning of the Hornbook to the laſt Word in the *Revelations*.

Where-

Wherefore I befeech you, and all other my Friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me Strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine Adverſaries ſhall have Shame of their Doings.

When his Friends ſaw him ſo conſtant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping Eyes, commended him to God; and he within a Day or two prepared himſelf to his Journey, leaving his Cure with a Pious old Prieſt, named Sir *Richard Yoeman*, who afterwards was burnt at *Norwich*.

John Alcork of Hadley, caſt into Priſon, where he died.

There was alſo in *Hadley* one *Alcock*, a very pious Man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who after Sir *Richard Yoeman* was driven away, uſed daily to read a Chapter, and to ſay the *Engliſh* Litany in *Hadley* Church: But him they fetcht up to *London*, and caſt him in Priſon in Newgate; where after a Year's Impriſonment he died.

But let us return to Dr. *Taylor* again; who being accompanyed with a Servant of his own, named *John Hull*, took his Journey towards *London*. By the Way, this *John Hull* laboured to counſel and perſwade him very earneſtly to fly, and not come to the Biſhop, and proferred himſelf to go with him to ſerve him, and in all Perils to venture his Life for him, and with him.

Dr. Taylor again adviſed to fly, but he refuſed ſo to do.

But in no wiſe would Dr. *Taylor* conſent or agree thereunto, but ſaid, Oh *John*, ſhall I give Place to this thy Counſel and worldly Perſwaſion, and leave my Flock in this Danger? Remember the good Shepherd Chriſt, who not only fed his Flock, but alſo died for his Flock. Him muſt I follow, and with God's Grace will do. Therefore good *John*, pray for me, and if thou ſeeſt me weak at any Time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly Enterpriſe and Purpoſe. Thus they came up to *London*, and ſhortly after

The firſt meeting between Wincheſter and Dr. Taylor.

Dr. *Taylor* preſented himſelf to *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Now when Biſhop *Gardiner* ſaw Dr. *Taylor*, he, according to his common Cuſtom, reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretick, with many other Names, which Dr. *Taylor* heard patiently, and at laſt ſaid unto him:

My Lord, quoth he, I am neither Traitor nor Heretick, but a true Subject, and a faithful chriſtian Man, and am come, according to your Commandment, to know what is the Cauſe that your Lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then, ſaid the Biſhop, art thou come, thou Villain? how dareſt thou look me in the Face for Shame? knoweſt thou not who I am?

Yes, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, I know who you are. Ye are Dr. *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a mortal Man I trow. But if I ſhould be afraid of your lordly Looks; why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? how dare ye for Shame look any Chriſtian Man in the Face, ſeeing ye have forſaken the Truth, denied our Saviour Chriſt and his Word, and done contrary to your own Oath and Writing; with what Countenance will ye appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt, and anſwer to your Oath made firſt unto King *Henry* the Eighth, and afterward unto King *Edward* the Sixth, his Son?

The notable Anſwer of Dr. Taylor to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Here the Biſhop confeſſeth unlawful Oaths ought not to be kept.

The Biſhop anſwered, Tuſh, Tuſh, that was *Herod*'s Oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our Mother the Catholick Church of *Rome*, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, Should I forſake the Church of Chriſt which is founded upon the true Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, to approve thoſe Lies, Errors, Superſtition, and Idolatries, that the Popes and their Company at this Day ſo blaſphemouſly do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Chriſt and his Word, and thruſt out of the Church ſuch abominable Idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will chriſtian Men turn unto him. You wrote truly againſt him, and were ſworn againſt him. Anno 1555.

I tell thee, quoth the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, it was *Herod*'s Oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: And our Holy Father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, But you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtleſs will require it at your Hands, as a lawful Oath made to our Leige and Soveraign Lord the King, from whoſe Obedience no Man can quit you, neither the Pope nor any of his.

I ſee, quoth the Biſhop, thou art an arrogant Knave, and a very Fool.

Railing Words become not a Magiſtrate.

My Lord, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, leave your unſeemly railing at me, which is not ſeemly for ſuch an one in Authority as you are. For I am a chriſtian Man, and you know, that *He that ſaith to his Brother, Racha, is in danger of a Council, and he that ſaith, Thou Fool, is in danger of Hell Fire*, Mat. 5. 22.

The Biſhop anſwered, Ye are falſe, and Liars all the Sort of you. Nay, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, we are true Men, and know that it is written, *The Mouth that lieth, ſlayeth the Soul*: And again, *Lord God, thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak Lies*. And therefore we abide by the Truth of God's Word, which ye, contrary to your own Conſciences, deny and forſake.

Marriage objected to Dr. Taylor. Marriage defended.

Thou art married, ſaid the Biſhop. Yea, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, that I thank God I am, and have had nine Children, and all in lawful Matrimony, and bleſſed be God that ordained Matrimony, and commanded that every Man, that hath not the Gift of Continency, ſhould marry a Wife of his own, and not live in Adultery or Whoredom.

One Idolater holdeth with another.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Thou haſt reſiſted the Queen's Proceedings, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the Parſon of *Aldam*, a very virtuous and devout Prieſt, to ſay Maſs in *Hadley*. Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, My Lord, I am Parſon of *Hadley*, and it is againſt all Right, Conſcience, and Laws, that any Man ſhould come into my Charge, and preſume to infect the Flock committed to me, with Venom of the Popiſh idolatrous Maſs.

With that the Biſhop waxed very angry, and ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous Heretick indeed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed Sacrament (and put off his Cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy Maſs, which is made a Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, Nay, I blaſpheme not the Bleſſed Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reverence it as a true chriſtian Man ought to do, and confeſs, that Chriſt ordained the holy Communion in the Remembrance of his Death and Paſſion, which when we keep according to his Ordinance, we, through Faith, eat the Body of Chriſt, and drink his Blood, giving Thanks for our Redemption, and this is our Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, to give Thanks for his merciful Goodneſs ſhewed to us, in that he gave his Son Chriſt unto the Death for us.

The true Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, what it is.

Thou ſay'ſt well, ſaid the Biſhop. It is all that thou haſt ſaid, and more too; for it is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. Then anſwered Dr. *Taylor*, Chriſt gave himſelf

himſelf to die for our Redemption upon the Croſs, whoſe Body there offered was the propitiatory Sacrifice full, perfect, and ſufficient unto Salvation for all them that believe in him. And this Sacrifice did our Saviour Chriſt offer in his own Perſon himſelf once for all, neither can any Prieſt any more offer him, nor need we any more propitiatory Sacrifice: And therefore I ſay with *Chryſoſtom*, and all the Doctors; Our Sacrifice is only memorative, in the Remembrance of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving; and therefore the Fathers called it *Euchariſtia*: And no other Sacrifice hath the Church of God.

Propitiatory Sacrifice offered never more than once.

Our Sacrifice is only memorative.

It is true, quoth the Biſhop, the Sacrament is called *Euchariſtia*, a Thankſgiving, becauſe we there give Thanks for our Redemption, and it is alſo a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead, which thou ſhalt confeſs e're thou and I have done. Then the Biſhop called his Men, and ſaid, Have this Fellow hence, and carry him to the King's-Bench, and charge the Keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

Winchester's ſtrong Argument carry him to Priſon.

Then Dr. *Taylor* kneeled down, and held up both his Hands, and ſaid, Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable Errors, Idolatries, and Abominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praiſed for good King *Edward*. So they carried him to Priſon to the King's-Bench where he lay Priſoner almoſt two Years.

This is the Sum of their firſt Talk, as I ſaw it mentioned in a Letter that Dr. *Taylor* wrote to a Friend of his, thanking God for his Grace, that he had confeſſed his Truth, and was found worthy for Truth to ſuffer Priſon and Bands, beſeeching his Friends to pray for him, that he might perſevere conſtant unto the End.

The Behaviour and Converſation of Dr. *Taylor* in Priſon.

Being in Priſon, Dr. *Taylor* ſpent all his Time in Prayer, Reading the Holy Scriptures, Writing, Preaching, and exhorting the Priſoners, and ſuch as reſorted to him, to Repentance and Amendment of Life.

Dr. *Taylor* brought forth to be deprived.

After that Dr. *Taylor* had lain ſome Time in Priſon, he was cited to appear in the Arches at Bow-church, to anſwer unto ſuch Matter as ſhould there be objected againſt him. At the Day appointed he was led thither, his Keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his Marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctors of the primitive Church, by both Laws Civil and Canon, that it is lawful for Prieſts to marry, and that ſuch as have not the Gift of Continency are bound in pain of Damnation to marry. This he did ſo plainly prove, that the Judge could give no Sentence of Divorce againſt him, but gave Sentence he ſhould be deprived of his Benefice, becauſe he was married.

Dr. *Taylor* defendeth Marriage of Prieſts.

Dr. *Taylor* deprived of his Benefice becauſe of his Marriage.

You do me wrong then, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, and alledged many Laws and Conſtitutions for himſelf, but all prevailed not. For he was again carried to Priſon, and his Livings taken away, and given to another. As for *Hadley* Benefice, it was given or ſold, I know not which, to one Mr. *Newealle*, whoſe great Virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. *Taylor* his Predeceſſor, as the poor Pariſhioners full well have found.

After a Year and three Quarters, or thereabouts, in which Time the Papiſts got certain old Laws which were put down by King *Henry* the Eighth, and by King *Edward*, to be again reviewed by Parliament; ſo that now they might, *Ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their own Suſpicion, and charge him with what Articles they pleaſed, and except they in all Things agreed to their Purpoſe, burn them: When theſe Laws were once eſtabliſhed, they ſent for Dr. *Taylor* with ſeveral other Priſoners, who were again convened before the Chancellor and other Commiſſioners about *January*. The Purport and Effect of which Talk between them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelf in his own Letter written to a Friend of his, I have annexed the ſaid Letter as followeth.

Dr. *Taylor* brought again before the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, *relating the Diſcourſe between him and the Lord Chancellor, and other Commiſſioners,* January 22.

WHereas you would have me write the Talk between the King and Queen's moſt honourable Council and me on *Tueſday January* 22. ſo far as I remember: Firſt my Lord Chancellor ſaid, You among others are at this preſent Time ſent for, to enjoy the King's and Queen's Majeſty's Favour and Mercy, if you will riſe again with us from the Fall which we generally have received in this Realm, from which (God be praiſed) we are now clearly delivered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with us now, and receive Mercy now offered, you ſhall have Judgment according to your Demerit. To this I anſwered, That ſo to riſe ſhould be the greateſt Fall that ever I could receive; for I ſhould ſo fall from my dear Saviour Chriſt to Antichriſt: For I do believe, that the Religion ſet forth in King *Edward*'s Days, was according to the Vein of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the Rules of our chriſtian Religion, from which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I live, by God's Grace.

The Parſons profered.

Note this Anſwer.

Then Mr. Secretary *Bourne* ſaid; Which of the Religions mean ye of in King *Edward*'s Days? For ye know there were divers Books of Religion ſet forth in his Days. There was a Religion ſet forth in a Catechiſm by my Lord of *Canterbury*. Do you mean that you will ſtick to that?

I anſwered, My Lord of *Canterbury* made a Catechiſm to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, which Book was not of his own making; yet he ſet it forth in his own Name: And truly that Book for the Time did much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt Innocent King *Edward* (for whom God be praiſed everlaſtingly) the whole Church-ſervice, with great Deliberation, and the Advice of the beſt learned Men in the Realm, and authorized by the Parliament, and received and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realm: Which Book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one Reformation it was ſo fully perfected, according to the Rules of our chriſtian Religion in every behalf, that no chriſtian Conſcience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that Book reformed.

A Teſtimony of the Book of Service ſet out in King *Edward*'s Days.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Didſt thou never read the Book that I ſet forth of the Sacrament?

I anſwered, that I had read it.

Then he ſaid, How likeſt thou that Book? With that one of the Council (whoſe Name I know not) ſaid, My Lord, that is a good Queſtion; for I am ſure that Book ſtoppeth all their Mouths. Then ſaid I, My Lord, I think many Things be far wide from the Truth of God's Word in that Book.

Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art a very Varlet.

To that I anſwered, That is as ill as Racha, or Fool.

Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art an ignorant Beetle-brow. To that I anſwered, I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. *Auguſtine*'s Works through, St. *Cyprian*, *Euſebius*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, with ſeveral other Books through; once therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Beſides theſe, my Lord, I profeſſed the civil Laws, as your Lordſhip did, and I have read over the canon Law alſo.

Dr. *Taylor* learned in Divinity, and alſo in the civil Law.

Then my Lord ſaid, With a corrupt Judgment thou readeſt all Things: Touching my Profeſſion, it is Divinity, in which I have written ſeveral Books. Then ſaid I, My Lord, ye did write one Book, *De Vera Obedientia*; I would you had been conſtant in that: For indeed you never did declare a good Conſcience that I heard of but in that one Book.

Gardiner's Book *De vera Obedientia.*

Then my Lord ſaid, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote gainſt *Bucer* in Prieſts Marriages: But ſuch Books pleaſe not ſuch Wretches as thou art, who haſt been married many Years.

To that I anſwered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine Children in holy Matrimony, I thank God: And this I am ſure of, that your Proceedings now at this Time againſt Prieſts Marriages, is the Maintenance of the Doctrine of Devils, againſt natural Law, civil Law, canon Law, general Councils, Canons of the Apoſtles, ancient Doctors, and God's Laws.

Prieſts Marriage confirmed by Dr. *Taylor.*

Then my Lord of *Durham* ſpake, ſaying, You have profeſſed the civil Law, as you ſay. Then you know that *Juſtinian* writeth, That Prieſts ſhould at their taking of Orders, ſwear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apoſtolorum.*

To that I anſwered, That I did not remember any ſuch Law of *Juſtinian*. But I am ſure, that *Juſtinian* writeth in *Titulo de indicta viduitate*, in God. That if one would bequeath to his Wife in his Teſtament a Legacy, under a Condition that ſhe ſhould never marry again, and take an Oath of her for accompliſhing the ſame, yet ſhe may marry again if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid Conditions, and Oath taken and made againſt Marriage: And an Oath is another manner of Obligation made to God, than is a papiſtical Vow made to Man.

Juſtinian's Law approveth Marriage, and condemneth Oaths againſt it.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a Man doth ſet free his Handmaid, under a Condition that ſhe ſhall never marry; yet ſhe may marry, and her Patron ſhall loſe *Jus Patronatus*, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful Condition againſt Matrimony.

Tonſtal thoroughly anſwered by the civil Law.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſayeſt that Prieſts may be married by God's Law. How proveſt thou that?

Scripture approveth Prieſts Marriage, but the Pope muſt be heard before the Scripture. *Chryſoſtom* calleth it an Hereſy to ſay that a Prieſt may not be married.

I anſwered, By the plain Words and Sentences of St. *Paul*, both to *Timothy*, and to *Titus*, where he ſpeaks moſt evidently of the Marriage of Prieſts, Deacons, and Biſhops. And St. *Chryſoſtom* writing upon the Epiſtle to *Timothy*, ſaith, It is an Hereſy to ſay that a Biſhop may not be married.

Then ſaid my Lord Chancellor, Thou lieſt of *Chryſoſtom*. But thou doſt as all thy Companions do, bely ever without Shame both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Didſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the canon Law, Prieſts may be married? which is moſt untrue, and the contrary is moſt true.

Canon Law approveth Prieſts Marriages.

I anſwered, We read in the Decrees, that the Four general Councils, *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Epheſine*, *Chalcedon*, have the ſame Authority that the four Evangeliſts have. And we read in the ſame Decrees (which is one of the chief Books of the canon Law) the Council of *Nice*, by the Means of one *Paphnutius*, did allow Prieſts and Biſhops Marriages: Therefore by the beſt Part of the canon Law, Prieſts may be married. Anno 1555.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou falſifieſt the general Council. For there is expreſs Mention in the ſaid Decree, That Prieſts ſhould be divorced from their Wives, which be married.

Then ſaid I, if thoſe Words be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great Head of mine; let the Book be fetched.

Then ſpake my Lord of *Durham*; Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria*, which *Euſebius* wrote, out of which Book the Decree was taken.

To that ſaid I, It is not like that the Pope ſhould leave out any ſuch Sentence, having ſuch Authority, and making ſo much for his Purpoſe.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, *Gratian* was but a Patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch up ſuch a Patch as maketh for thy Purpoſe.

I anſwered, my Lord, I cannot but marvel, that you do call one of the chief Papiſts that ever was, but a Patcher.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Nay I call thee a Snatcher and Patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the Catholick Church; and with that he roſe.

And I ſaid, by God's Grace I will never depart from Chriſt's Church. Then I required that I might have ſome of my Friends to come to me in Priſon; and my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſhalt have Judgment within this Week: And ſo was I delivered again unto my Keeper. My Lord of *Durham* would that I ſhould believe as my Father and my Mother did. I alledged St. *Auguſtine*, that we ought to prefer God's Word before all Men.

Dr. *Taylor* ſent again to Priſon.

And thus much was contained in the aforeſaid Letter of Dr. *Taylor* for that Matter.

The Conſtancy of theſe Men.

The laſt Day of *January* following, Dr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Saunders*, were again called to appear before the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Norwich*, *London*, *Saliſbury*, and *Durham*, and there were again charged with Hereſy and Schiſm, and therefore a determinate Anſwer was required, Whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the *Roman* Biſhop, and abjure their Errors, or elſe they would according to their Laws proceed to their Condemnation.

When Dr. *Taylor* and his Fellows, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Saunders* heard this, they anſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the Truth which they had preached in King *Edward*'s Days, neither would they ſubmit themſelves to the *Romiſh* Antichriſt; but they thanked God for ſo great Mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his Word and Truth.

When the Biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and unmoveably fixed in the Truth, they read the Sentence of Death upon them, which when they had heard, they moſt joyfully gave God Thanks, and ſtoutly ſaid unto the Biſhops: *We doubt not but God the righteous Judge will require our Blood at your Hands; and the Proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiving again of Antichriſt, and your Tyranny that ye now ſhew againſt the Flock of Chriſt.*

Sentence of Death given upon Innocents.

Dr. *Taylor* being condemned, was committed to the Clink, and the Keepers were charged to

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keep him ſtraitly: For ye have now another manner of Charge, quoth the Lord Chancellor, than ye had before; therefore look ye, take heed to it.

When the Keeper brought him toward the Priſon, the People flocked out to gaze upon him; unto whom he ſaid, *God be praiſed, good People, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the Truth with my Blood.* He was confined in the *Clink* till it was toward Night, and then he was removed to the Compter by the *Poultry*.

Dr. *Taylor* removed from the *Clink* to the Compter by Night.

When Dr. *Taylor* had lain in the ſaid Compter in the *Poultry* a Seven-night or thereabouts Priſoner, *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, with others, came to the ſaid Compter to degrade him. Being come, he called for the ſaid Dr. *Taylor* to be brought unto him; the Biſhop being then in the Chamber where the Keeper of the Compter and his Wife lay. So Dr. *Taylor* was brought down from the Chamber above that, to the ſaid *Bonner*. And at his coming the Biſhop ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I wiſh you would remember yourſelf, and turn to your Mother holy Church, ſo may you do well enough, and I will ſue for your Pardon. Whereunto Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, I wiſh you and your Fellows would turn to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turn to Antichriſt. Well, ſaid the Biſhop, I am come to degrade you: Wherefore put on theſe Veſtures. No, ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, I will not. Wilt thou not, ſaid the Biſhop? I ſhall make thee e'er I go. Quoth Dr. *Taylor*, You ſhall not by the Grace of God. Then he charged him upon his Obedience to do it, but he would not.

Biſhop *Bonner* cometh to the Compter to degrade Dr. *Taylor*.

So he ordered another to put them upon his Back, and when he was throughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his Hands to his Side, walking up and down, and ſaid; How ſay you, my Lord, am not I a goodly Fool? How ſay you, my Maſters? If I were in *Cheapſide*, ſhould I not have Boys enough to laugh at theſe apiſh Toys, and toying Trumpery? So the Biſhop ſcraped his Fingers, Thumbs, and the Crown of his Head, and did the reſt of ſuch like deviliſh Obſervances.

At the laſt, when he ſhould have given Dr. *Taylor* a Stroke on the Breaſt with his Croſier-Staff, the Biſhop's Chaplain ſaid, My Lord, ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike again. Yea, by St. *Peter* will I, quoth Dr. *Taylor*. The Cauſe is Chriſt's, and I were no good Chriſtian, if I would not fight in my Maſter's Quarrel. So the Biſhop laid his Curſe upon him; but ſtruck him not. Then Dr. *Taylor* ſaid, Though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſs me. I have the Witneſs of my Conſcience, that ye have done me Wrong and Violence, and yet I pray God, if it be his Will, forgive you. But from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his deteſtable Enormities, good Lord deliver us. And in going up to his Chamber, he ſtill ſaid, God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you. And when he came up, he told Mr. *Bradford* (for they both lay in one Chamber) that he had made the Biſhop of *London* afraid; for, ſaid he, laughingly, his Chaplain gave him Counſel not to ſtrike me with his Croſier-Staff, for that I would ſtrike again; and by my troth, ſaid he, rubbing his Hands, I made him believe I would do ſo indeed.

Dr. *Taylor* prayeth againſt the Pope and his deteſtable Enormities.

Bonner afraid of Dr. *Taylor*.

The Night after he was degraded, his Wife and his Son *Thomas* reſorted unto him, and were by the Gentleneſs of the Keepers permitted to ſup with him. For this Difference was ever found between the Keepers of the Biſhops Priſons, and the Keepers of the King's Priſons: That the Biſhops Keepers were evet cruel, blaſphemous, and tyrannous like their Maſters; but the Keepers of the King's Priſons ſhewed, for the moſt Part, as much Favour as they poſſibly might.

So came Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife, his Son, and *John Hull* his Servant, to ſup with him: And at their coming in afore Supper, they kneeled down and prayed, ſaying the Litany.

After Supper walking up and down, he gave God Thanks for his Grace, that had ſo called him, and given him Strength to abide by his holy Word: And turning to his Son *Thomas*, *My dear Son*, ſaid he, *Almighty God bleſs thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to be a true Servant of Chriſt, to learn his Word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his Truth all thy Life long. And, my Son, ſee that thou fear God always. Flee from all Sin, and wicked Living: Be virtuous, ſerve God with daily Prayer, and apply thy Book. In any wiſe ſee that thou be obedient to thy Mother, love her and ſerve her: Be ruled by her now in thy Youth, and follow her good Counſel in all Things. Beware of lewd Company, of young Men that fear not God, but follow their lewd Luſts and vain Appetites. Fly from Whoredom, and hate all filthy Living, remembring, that I thy Father do die in the Defence of holy Marriage. Another Day, when God ſhall bleſs thee, love and cheriſh the poor People, and count that thy chief Riches is, to be rich in Alms: And when thy Mother is waxed old, forſake her not; but provide for her to thy Power, and ſee that ſhe lack nothing: For ſo will God bleſs thee, and give thee long Life upon Earth and Proſperity; which I pray God to grant thee.*

Dr. *Taylor*'s pious Exhortation to his Son, worthy to be marked by all Youths.

Then turning to his Wife, *My dear Wife*, quoth he, *continue ſtedfaſt in the Fear and Love of God; keep yourſelf undefiled from their popiſh Idolatries and Superſtitions. I have been unto you a faithful Yoke-fellow, and ſo have you been unto me; for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear Wife, but God will reward it. Now the Time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the Wedlock Bond towards me: Therefore I will give you my Counſel what I think moſt expedient for you. You are yet a Child-bearing Woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for you to marry. For doubtleſs you ſhall never be at a convenient Stay for yourſelf and our poor Children, nor out of Trouble till you be married. Therefore as ſoon as God will provide it, marry with ſome honeſt faithful Man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honeſt Huſband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to your and my Children: Whom I pray you bring up in the Fear of God, and in Learning, to the uttermoſt of your Power, and keep them from the* Romiſh *Idolatry.* When he had thus ſaid, they with weeping Tears prayed together, and kiſſed one another: And he gave to his Wife a Book of the Church-Service, ſet out by King *Edward*, which he in the Time of his Impriſonment, daily uſed. And unto his Son *Thomas* he gave a *Latin* Book containing the notable Sayings of the old Martyrs, gathered out of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and in the End of that Book he wrote his Teſtament and laſt Farewel, as hereafter followeth.

Dr. *Taylor* counſelleth his Wife.

His laſt Token to his Wife and his Son.

The

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, *Parson of* Hadley.

I Say to my Wife, and to my Children; The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me; blessed be the Name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparrows, and for the Hairs of our Heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any Father or Husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the Means of our dear Saviour Christ's Merits: Believe, love, fear, and obey him: Pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long Home. I go to the rest of my Children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, *and* Zachary: *I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.*

Job 1. 2. *Apoc.* 14. *Luke* 12.

I say to my dear Friends of Hadley, *and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet Conscience, as touching my Doctrine, for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little Talent, declared to others those Lessons that I gathered out of God's Book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an Angel from Heaven should preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have received, God's great Curse upon that Preacher.*

A grave Warning against Popery.

Beware for God's Sake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the Word of Faith, lest God decline from you, and so ye do everlastingly perish. For God's Sake beware of Popery, for though it appear to have in it Unity, yet the same is Vanity and Antichristianity, and not in Christ's Faith and Verity.

Beware of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a Light opened so plainly and simply, truly, throughly and generally to all England.

The Lord grant all Men his good and holy Spirit, Increase of his Wisdom, contemning the wicked World, hearty Desire to be with God and the heavenly Company, through Jesus Christ, *our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteousness, Life, Sanctification, and Hope,* Amen, Amen. *Pray, pray.*

Rowland Taylor *departing hence in sure Hope, without all doubting of eternal Salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through* Jesus Christ *my certain Saviour.* Amen.

February 5. 1555.

The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear? Psal. 27. 1.

God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn? Rom. 8. 33, 34.

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Psal. 31. 1.

On the next Morning, after that Dr. *Taylor* had supped with his Wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth Day of *February*, the Sheriff of *London* with his Officers came to the Compter by Two of the Clock in the Morning, and so brought forth Dr. *Taylor*, and without any Light led him to the *Woolpack*, an Inn without *Aldgate*. Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife, suspecting that her Husband would that Night be carried away, watched all Night in St. *Botolph*'s Church porch, without *Aldgate*, having with her two Children, the one named *Elizabeth* of thirteen Years of Age (who being left without Father or Mother, Dr. *Taylor* had charitably brought up from three Years old,) the other named *Mary*, Dr. *Taylor*'s own Daughter. Anno 1555.

Dr. *Taylor* led from the Compter by Night towards *Hadley*.

Now when the Sheriff and his Company came against St. *Botolph*'s Church, *Elizabeth* cried saying, *O my dear Father; Mother, Mother, here is my Father led away.* Then his Wife said, *Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?* For it was a very dark Morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. *Taylor* answered, *Dear Wife, I am here, and stayed.* The Sheriffs Men would have led him forth; but the Sheriff said, *Stay a little Masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his Wife,* and so they stayed.

Dr. *Taylor* taking Leave of his Wife and Children. This Sheriff was Mr. *Chester*.

Then she came to him, and he took his Daughter *Mary* in his Arms; and he, his Wife, and *Elizabeth*, kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer. At which Sight the Sheriff wept apace, and so did several others of the Company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his Wife, and shook her by the Hand, and said, *Farewel my dear Wife, be of good Comfort, for I am quiet in my Conscience. God shall stir up a Father for my Children.* And then he kissed his Daughter *Mary*, and said, *God bless thee, and make thee his Servant:* And kissing *Elizabeth*, he said, *God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his Word, and keep you from Idolatry.* Then said his Wife, *God be with thee, dear* Rowland, *I will with God's Grace meet thee at* Hadley.

Dr. *Taylor* brought to the Sign of the *Woolpack*.

And so he was led forth to the *Woolpack*, and his Wife followed him. As soon as they came to the *Woolpack*, he was put into a Chamber, wherein he was kept with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriffs Men. Dr. *Taylor* as soon as he was come into the Chamber, fell down on his Knees, and gave himself wholly to Prayer. The Sheriff then seeing Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife there, would in no Case grant her to speak any more with her Husband, but gently desired her to go to his House and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her Mother's, whither the Officers led her, and charged her Mother to keep her there till they came again.

The Sheriff's Gentleness shewed to Dr. *Taylor*'s Wife.

Dr. *Taylor* remained at the *Woolpack*, kept by the Sheriff and his Company, till Eleven of the Clock; at which Time the Sheriff of *Essex* was ready to receive him: And so they set him on Horseback within the Inn, the Gates being shut.

At coming out of the Gates, *John Hull* before spoken of, stood at the Rails with *Thomas*, Dr. *Taylor*'s Son. When Dr. *Taylor* saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither my Son *Thomas*. And *John Hull* lifted the Child up, and set him on the Horse before his Father: And Dr. *Taylor* put off his Hat, and said to the People that stood there looking on him, Good People, this is mine own Son, begotten of my Body in lawful Matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful Matrimony. Then he lifted up his Eyes towards Heaven and prayed for his Son, laid his Hat upon the Child's Head, and blessed him, and so delivered the Child to *John Hull*, whom he took by the Hand and said, Farewel *John Hull*, the faithfullest Servant that ever Man had. And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of *Essex* with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriff's Men leading him.

Dr. *Taylor* taketh his Leave of his Son *Thomas*, and *John Hull*.

When they were come almost at *Burntwood*, one *Arthur Faysy*, a Man of *Hadley*, who before

Anno 1555. fore Time had been Dr. *Taylor*'s Servant, met with them, and he, ſuppoſing him to have been at Liberty, ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I am glad to ſee you again at Liberty, and came to him and took him by the Hand. Soft Sir, quoth the Sheriff, he is a Priſoner; what haſt thou to do with him? I cry your Mercy, ſaid *Arthur*, I knew not ſo much, and I thought it no Offence to talk to a true Man. The Sheriff was very angry with this, and threatned to carry *Arthur* with him to Priſon; notwithſtanding he bade him get quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to *Burntwood*; where they cauſed to be made for Dr. *Taylor* a cloſe Hood, with two Holes for his Eyes to look out at, and a Slit for his Mouth to breath at. This they did, that no Man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any Man. Which Practice they uſed alſo with others. Their own Conſciences told them, that they led innocent Lambs to the Slaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the People ſhould have heard them ſpeak, or have ſeen them, they might have been much more ſtrengthened by their pious Exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt in God's Word, and to fly the Superſtitions and Idolatries of the Papacy.

A cloſe Hood made for Dr. *Taylor*, that no Man ſhould know him.

All the Way Dr. *Taylor* was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himſelf going to a moſt pleaſant Banquet or Marriage. He ſpake many notable Things to the Sheriffs and Yeomen of the Guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep thro' his earneſt calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked Living. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and rejoice, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, void of all Fear, joyful in Heart, and glad to die. Of theſe Yeomen of the Guard, Three uſed Dr. *Taylor* friendly, but the Fourth (whoſe Name was *Homes*) uſed him very unkindly and churliſhly.

Dr. *Taylor* is joyful in his Way.

At *Chelmsford* the Sheriff of *Suffolk* met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into *Suffolk*. And being at Supper, the Sheriff of *Eſſex* perſwaded him to return to the Popiſh Religion, thinking with fair Words to perſwade him, and ſaid, Good maſter Doctor, we are right ſorry for you, conſidering what the Loſs is of ſuch a One as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great Learning and Wiſdom, wherefore ye have been in great Favour and Reputation in times paſt with the Council and Higheſt of this Realm. Beſides this, ye are a Man of goodly Perſonage, in your beſt Strength, and by Nature like to live many Years, and without doubt, ye ſhould in time to come be in as good Reputation as ever ye were, or rather better: For ye are well beloved of all Men, as well for your Virtues as your Learning: And methinks it were great Pity you ſhould caſt away yourſelf willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a painful and ſhameful Death. Ye ſhould do much better to revoke your Opinions, and return to the Catholick univerſal Church of *Rome*, acknowledge the Pope's Holineſs to be the ſupream Head of the Church, and reconcile yourſelf to him. You may do well yet, if you will: Doubt ye not but ye ſhall find Favour at the Queen's Hands, I and all theſe your Friends will be Suiters for your Pardon: Which no doubt, ye ſhall obtain. This Counſel I give you, good Mr. Doctor, of a good Heart, and good Will towards you: And thereupon I drink to you. In like Manner ſaid all the Yoemen of the Guard; upon that Condition, Mr. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

The Sheriff of *Eſſex* perſwadeth Dr. *Taylor* to return to Popery.

When they had all drank to him, and the Cup was come to him, he ſtayed a little, as one ſtudying what Anſwer he might give. At laſt he thus anſwered and ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, and my Maſters all, I heartily thank you for your good Will, I have hearkened to your Words, and marked well your Counſels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myſelf, and am like to deceive a great many at *Hadley* of their Expectation. With that Word they all rejoiced. Yea, good Maſter Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, God's Bleſſing on your Heart: Hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt Word that we have heard you ſpeak yet. What ſhould ye caſt away yourſelf in vain? Play a wiſe Man's Part, and I dare warrant it, ye ſhall find Favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the Word, and were very merry.

Dr. *Taylor* maketh a Jeſt of Death, with a fit Anſwer for ſuch Doctors and Counſellors.

At laſt, good Mr. Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye ſay ye think ye have been deceived yourſelf, and think ye ſhall deceive many one in *Hadley*? Would ye know my Meaning plainly, quoth he? Yes, quoth the Sheriff, good Mr. Doctor, tell it us plainly.

Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I ſhall deceive a great many. I am, as you ſee, a Man that hath a very great Carcaſs, which I thought ſhould have been buried in *Hadley* Church-yard, if I had died in my Bed, as I well hoped I ſhould have done; but herein I ſee I was deceived: And there are a great Number of Worms in *Hadley* Church-yard, which ſhould have had jolly feeding upon this Carrion, which they have looked for many a Day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this Carcaſs muſt be burnt to Aſhes, and ſo ſhall they loſe their Bait and Feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

When the Sheriff and his Company heard him ſay ſo, they were amazed and looked at one another, marvelling at the Man's conſtant Mind, that thus without all Fear made but a Jeſt at the cruel Torment and Death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their Expectation clean diſappointed.

But let us return to Dr. *Taylor*, who at *Chelmsford* was delivered to the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, and by him conducted to *Hadley*, where he ſuffered. When they were come to *Lanham*, the Sheriff ſtayed there two Days; and thither came to him a great Number of Gentlemen and Juſtices upon great Horſes which all were appointed to aid the Sheriff. Theſe Gentlemen laboured earneſtly with Dr. *Taylor*, to reduce him to the *Romiſh* Religion, promiſing him his Pardon, which, ſaid they, we have here for you. They promiſed him great Promotions, yea a Biſhoprick, if he would take it: But all their Labour and flattering Words were in vain.

Lanham is a Town in *Suffolk*.

After two Days, the Sheriff and his Company led Dr. *Taylor* towards *Hadley*, and coming within two Miles of *Hadley*, he deſired to alight off his Horſe to make Water; which done, he leapt, and ſet a Friſk or Twain, as Men commonly do in dancing. Why Maſter Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, how do you now? He anſwered, Well, God be praiſed, good Maſter Sheriff. Never better: For now I know I am almoſt at Home. I lack not paſt two Stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's Houſe. But Maſter Sheriff, *ſaid he*, ſhall we not go thro' *Hadley*? Yes, ſaid the Sheriff, you ſhall go through *Hadley*. Then *ſaid he*, O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall yet once e're I die ſee my Flock, whom thou, Lord, knoweſt I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bleſs them, and

keep them ſtedfaſt in thy Word and Truth.

When they were now come to *Hadley*, and came riding over the Bridge, at the Bridge-foot waited a poor Man with five ſmall Children; who when he ſaw Dr. *Taylor*, he and his Children fell down upon their Knees, and held up their Hands, and cried with a loud Voice, and ſaid, O dear Father and good Shepherd, Dr. *Taylor*, God help and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a Time ſuccoured me and my poor Children. Such Witneſs had this Servant of God of his virtuous and charitable Alms given in his Life time. For God would now the Poor ſhould teſtify of his good Deeds to his ſingular Comfort, to the Example of others, and Confuſion of his Perſecutors and tyrannous Adverſaries. For the Sheriff and others that led him to Death, were wonderfully aſtoniſhed at this: And the Sheriff rebuked the poor Man for ſo crying. The Streets of *Hadley* were beſet on both ſides the Way with Men and Women of the Town and Country, who waited to ſee him: Whom when they beheld ſo led to Death, with weeping Eyes and lamentable Voices they cried, ſaying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good Shepherd from us, that ſo faithfully hath taught us, ſo fatherly hath cared for us, and ſo godly hath governed us: O merciful God! what ſhall we poor ſcattered Lambs do? What ſhall come of this wicked World? Good Lord ſtrengthen him, and comfort him: With ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous Voices. Wherefore the People were ſore rebuked by the Sheriffs and Catchpoles his Men, that led him. And Dr. *Taylor* always ſaid to the People; I have preached to you God's Word and Truth, and am come this Day to ſeal it with my Blood.

A poor Man with five Children comforted Dr. *Taylor*.

The People lament Dr. *Taylor*.

Dr. *Taylor* confeſſeth the Truth, and confirmeth the ſame with his Blood.

Coming againſt the Almſhouſes, which he well knew, he caſt Money to the poor People, which remained of what had been given him in the Time of his Impriſonment: As for his Living, they took it from him at his firſt going to Priſon, ſo that he was ſuſtained all the Time of his Impriſonment by the charitable Alms of good People that viſited him.

Therefore the Money that now remained he put in a Glove, ready for the ſame Purpoſe, and as is ſaid gave it to the poor Almſmen ſtanding at their Doors to ſee him. And coming to the laſt of the Almſhouſes, and not ſeeing the Poor that dwelt there, ready at their Doors, as the others were, he asked; Is the blind Man and blind Woman that dwelt here, alive? It was anſwered, Yea, they are within. Then he threw the Glove and all in at the Window, and ſo rode forth.

Thus this good Father and Provider for the Poor now took his Leave of thoſe, for whom all his Life he had a ſingular Care and Study. For it was his Cuſtom, once in a Fortnight at leaſt, to call upon Sir *Anthony Doyl*, and others of the rich Cloth-makers, to go with him to the Almſhouſes, and there to ſee how the Poor lived; what they lacked in Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Bedding, or any other Neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poor Men that had many Children, or were ſick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found Cauſe, rebuke the unruly, and what they wanted, that gave he after his Power: And what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy Men to miniſter unto them. Thus ſhewed he himſelf in all Things an Example to his Flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his Deeds, what a great Treaſure Alms is to all ſuch as chearfully for Chriſt's Sake do it.

At laſt, coming to *Aldham* Common, the Place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeeing a great Multitude of People gathered thither, he asked, What Place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much People are gathered hither? It was anſwered, It is *Aldham* Common, the Place where you muſt ſuffer: And the People are come to look upon you. Then ſaid he, Thanked be God, I am even at Home, and ſo alighted from his Horſe, and with both his Hands rent the Hood from his Head.

Anno 1555.

Aldham Common.

But when the People ſaw his reverend and ancient Face, with a long white Beard, they burſt out with weeping Tears, and cried, ſaying, God ſave thee, good Dr. *Taylor*; Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghoſt comfort thee; with ſuch other like good Wiſhes. Then would he have ſpoken to the People, but the Yeomen of the Guard were ſo buſy about him, that as ſoon as he opened his Mouth, one or other thruſt a Tipſtaff into his Mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeak.

The People wiſh God to help him.

Dr. *Taylor* could not be ſuffered to ſpeak to the People.

Then he deſired Licence of the Sheriff to ſpeak; but the Sheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his Promiſe to the Council.

Well, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, Promiſe muſt be kept. What this Promiſe was, is unknown: But the common Fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Council ſent for them, and threatned them they would cut their Tongues out of their Heads, except they would promiſe, that at their Deaths they would keep Silence, and not ſpeak to the People. Wherefore they, deſirous to have the Uſe of their Tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promiſed Silence.

Dr. *Taylor* perceiving that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, ſat down, and ſeeing one named *Soyce*, he called him, and ſaid, *Soyce*, I pray thee come and pull off my Boots, and take them for thy Labour: Thou haſt long looked for them, now take them. Then he roſe up, and put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he ſaid with a loud Voice, Good People, I have taught you nothing but God's Holy Word, and thoſe Leſſons that I have taken out of God's Bleſſed Book, the Holy Bible: And I am come hither this Day to ſeal it with my Blood. With that Word, *Homes*, Yeoman of the Guard aforeſaid, who had uſed Dr. *Taylor* very cruelly all the Way, gave him a great Stroke upon the Head with a Waſter, and ſaid, Is that the keeping of thy Promiſe, thou Heretick? Then he, ſeeing they would not permit him to ſpeak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor Woman that was among the People ſtepped in and prayed with him; but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her down with their Horſes: Notwithſtanding ſhe would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the Stake, and kiſſed it, and ſet himſelf into a Pitch-barrel, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his Back upright againſt the Stake, with his Hands folded together, and his Eyes towards Heaven, and ſo he continually prayed.

Dr. *Taylor* confeſſeth the Truth.

Dr. *Taylor* prayeth.

Then they bound him with Chains, and the Sheriff called one *Richard Donningham* a Butcher, and commanded him to ſet up the Faggots: But he refuſed to do it, and ſaid, I am lame, Sir, and not able to lift a Faggot. The Sheriff threatned to ſend him to Priſon; notwithſtanding he would not do it.

Then he appointed one *Mulleine* of *Carſey*, a Man

Anno 1555. Man for his Virtues fit to be a Hangman, and *Soyce* a very Drunkard, and *Warwick*, who, in the Commotion-time in King *Edward*'s Days, loſt one of his Ears for his ſeditious Talk, amongſt whom alſo was one *Robert King*, a Deviſer of Enterludes.

Theſe four were appointed to ſet up the Faggots, and to make the Fire, which they moſt diligently did; and this *Warwick* cruelly caſt a Faggot at him, which ſtruck him on his Head, and brake his Face, that the Blood ran down. Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, O Friend, I have Harm enough, what needed that?

Dr. *Taylor* is patient.

Furthermore, Sir *John Shelton* there ſtanding by as Dr. *Taylor* was ſpeaking, and ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* in *Engliſh*, ſtruck him on the Lips; Ye Knave, ſaid he, ſpeak *Latin*, I will make thee. At laſt they kindled the Fire, and Dr. *Taylor*, holding up both his Hands, called upon God, and ſaid, Merciful Father of Heaven, for *Jeſus Chriſt* my Saviour's Sake, receive my Soul into thy Hands. So ſtood he ſtill without either crying or moving, with his Hands folded together, till *Soyce* with an Halberd ſtruck him on the Head that the Brains fell out, and the Corps fell down into the Fire.

Dr. *Taylor*'s laſt Words.

Soyce ſtrikeeth him down with an Halberd.

Thus rendred the Man of God his bleſſed Soul into the Hands of his merciful Father, and to his moſt dear and certain Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he moſt intirely loved, faithfully and earneſtly preached, obediently followed in Living, and conſtantly glorified in Death.

The Proceedings of the Papiſts in maintaining their Religion.

After that *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had got the Laws, and the ſecular Arm on his Side, with full Power and Authority to rule as he pleaſed, and had brought theſe pious Biſhops and reverend Preachers under Foot, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, Mr. *Latimer*, Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Saunders*, Dr. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Bradford*, all which he had now preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned; he ſuppoſed now all had been cock-ſure, and that Chriſt had been conquered for ever, ſo that the People, being terrified with the Example of theſe learned Men condemned, never would, nor durſt once ſpeak againſt their Religion: Not much unlike the Manner of the *Turks*, who when they cannot maintain their Sect by good Learning and Truth of God's Word, think by Violence of Sword to force whom they can to their Belief; and that done, afterward make Laws, no Man under pain of Hereſy to diſpute, or once to call in Queſtion any of their Proceedings. Even ſo *Stephen Gardiner* and his Fellows, when they ſee they cannot prevail by Trial of God's Word, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeek for Truth where it is to be found, they take Exceptions againſt God's Word, affirming it to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to be its own Judge, and therefore that of Neceſſity it muſt be judged by the Pope's Church; and ſo having Kings and Queens on their Side, they ſeek not to perſuade by the Word of God, nor to win by Charity, but inſtead of the Law of God, they compel Men by Death, Fire, and Sword, to believe that in very Deed they think not. And thus condemned they theſe pious learned Preachers and Biſhops aforeſaid, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that all the reſt would ſoon be quailed by their Example. But they were deceived: For within eight or nine Days after that *Stephen Gardiner* had given Sentence againſt Mr. *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Saunders*, Dr. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Bradford*, being the Eighth of *February*, ſix other good Men were brought likewiſe before the Biſhops for the ſame Cauſe of Religion, to be examined, whoſe Names were, *William Pigot*, Butcher, *Stephen Knight*, Barber, *Thomas Tomkins*, Weaver, *Thomas Haukes*, Gentleman, *John Laurence*, Prieſt, *William Hunter*, Apprentice.

The Manner of Proceeding alike in the Catholicks and *Turks*.

Stephen Gardiner ſeeing thus his Device diſappointed, and that Cruelty in this Caſe would not ſerve his Expectation, gave over the Matter as utterly diſcouraged, and from that Day meddled no more in ſuch Kind of Condemnations, but referred the whole Doing thereof to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*; who cruelly ſupplied that Part, as in the further Proceſs of this Hiſtory will evidently appear. This Biſhop *Bonner*, taking the Matter in Hand, called before him in his Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s (the Lord Mayor and ſeveral Aldermen ſitting with him) the ſix Perſons aforenamed, upon the eighth Day of *February* in the Year aforeſaid, and on the next Day, being the Ninth of *February*, read the Sentence of Condemnation upon them, as appeareth in *Bonner*'s own Regiſters: Such quick Speed theſe Men could make in diſpatching their Buſineſs at once. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the Death of theſe condemned Martyrs did not follow till the next Month of *March*, I will defer the proſecuting of their Matter, till I come to the Time of their Suffering.

Stephen Gardiner giveth over his murdering Office to Biſhop *Bonner*.

Six Men condemned by Biſhop *Bonner*.

In the mean Time, what was the Cauſe that their Execution was ſo long deferred after their Condemnation, I have not preciſely to ſay, unleſs peradventure the Sermon of *Alphonſus* the *Spaniſh* Frier, and the King's Confeſſor, did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when thoſe ſix Perſons aforeſaid were caſt upon *Saturday* the Ninth of *February*, upon *Sunday* following, which was the Tenth of *February*, the ſaid *Alphonſus*, a Gray Frier, preached before the King; in which Sermon he did earneſtly inveigh againſt the Biſhops for burning of Men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his Conſcience; but the contrary, that they ſhould live and be converted: With many other Things more to the ſame Purport.

Alphonſus, King *Philip*'s Confeſſor, preaching againſt the burning of Hereticks.

Upon *February* 14, Mr. *Robert Ferrar*, Biſhop of St. *David*'s, was ſent towards St. *David*'s, there to be condemned and executed. Concerning whoſe Martyrdom, foraſmuch as it fell not before the Month of *March*, we will defer the Hiſtory thereof till we come to the Day and Time of his Suffering.

Furthermore the fourteenth Day of *February* aforeſaid, the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops, cauſed the Image of *Thomas Becket* to be ſet over the *Mercers* Chappel Door in *Cheapſide* *London*, in the Form and Shape of a Biſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two Days after his Erection, his two bleſſing Fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next Day (being the Seventeenth of *February*) his Head alſo was ſtricken off: Whereupon aroſe great Trouble, and many were ſuſpected; among whom one Mr. *John Barnes*, Mercer, dwelling over-againſt the ſame Chappel, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellor charged withal, as the Doer thereof, and the rather, for that he was a Profeſſor of the Truth. Wherefore he and three of his Servants were committed to Priſon; and at his Delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great Sum of Money, as well to build it up again as often as it ſhould be broke down, as alſo to watch and keep the ſame. And therefore at this his compelled Charges the Image was again ſet up the ſecond Day of *March* then next enſuing; but the four-

Thomas Becket's Image ſet up at *Mercer*'s Chappel.

The Head of the Image broke off.

Mr. *John Barnes*, Mercer, troubled for it.

teenth Day of the ſame Month in the Night, the Head was again the ſecond Time broke off: Which Thing was ſo heinouſly taken, that the next Day, being the 15th Day, there was a Proclamation made in *London*, that whoſoever would tell who did ſtrike off his Head (though he were of Counſel, and not the principal Doer) he ſhould have not only his Pardon, but alſo One hundred Crowns of Gold, with hearty Thanks. But it was not known who did it.

Becket's Image again broke down.

The 18th of *February*, Queen *Mary* at length, after long Delay, made full Anſwer to the King of *Denmark*'s Letters, who had written before two Letters to the ſaid Queen, in the Behalf of Mr. *Coverdale* for his Deliverance, who at that Time went under Sureties, and was in great Danger, had he not been reſcued by the great Suit and Letters of the ſaid King of *Denmark*.

The Matter and Copy of which his Suit and Letters, as they came to our Hands, we have here ſet forth and expreſt, whereby the ſingular Love of this good King, towards the Truth of God's Word, and the Profeſſors thereof, might the better appear to the World.

Firſt, This pious King *Chriſtianus*, hearing of the Captivity of *Miles Coverdale*, of whom he had had ſome Knowledge before (being there in *Denmark* in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time) and lamenting his dangerous Caſe, and partly thro' the Interceſſion of Mr. *Machabæus*, Superintendent in *Denmark*, who was partly * Kin to Mr. *Coverdale*'s Wife, made Interceſſion by Letters to Queen *Mary*, deſiring and requeſting the ſaid *Miles Coverdale* to be ſent unto him. The Date of which his Letters was about the Kalends of *May*, 1554. The Copy whereof, now tranſlated into *Engliſh*, here followeth.

* Mr. *Machabæus* and Mr. *Coverdale* married two Siſters.

CHRISTIANUS by the Grace of God King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. To the moſt noble and moſt mighty Princeſs and Lady MARY, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, our moſt dearly beloved Couſin, wiſheth Proſperity.

MOST noble Princeſs, and dearly beloved Couſin, conſidering the mutual Affinity and Alliance, not only of our Royal Name, but alſo of our Kindred, eſpecially for that it has for a long Continuance of Time been propagated and preſerv'd on both Sides in theſe our Realms, as well as for the mutual Commerce and Faithfulneſs which has been kept up by us in all kind Offices; We cannot but write to your Majeſty in Regard to the Piety and excellent Literature of the truly reverend Mr. John Machabæus, *Doctor, and egregious Profeſſor of Divinity, our well beloved Subject and Miniſter, being mov'd hereto by his humble Supplications and Intreaties; who has declared to us, that in the late Diſorder and Commotion of the Kingdom of* England *(which that it has happened we are heartily ſorry, and now hope it will prove for the better) one* Miles Coverdale, *late of the Dioceſs of* Exon, *of pious and laudible, Memory, conſtituted Biſhop by the Authority of the laſt King your Majeſty's Brother, and our dearly beloved Couſin, that he (the ſaid* Miles Coverdale) *is now involv'd in moſt dreadful Calamities, in Priſon, and Danger of his Life, for no heinous Offence committed, but by Reaſon of the fatal Deſtruction of the Times. Which Things this our truſty Subject* Machabæus, *being a-kin to him, and (which is more grievous) like him in Piety, Learning and Morality, as a kind Brother, reckons to appertain to himſelf. And therefore he implores our Aſſiſtance to beſtow upon him that Favour and Kindneſs he deſerves, by endeavouring to to rid him from his Afflictions becauſe he is innocent. We are indeed (and not without Reaſon) mov'd with Compaſſion on the Man, whom for his Merit we greatly reſpect, and chiefly for the Teſtimony he gives of the Innocence and Integrity of the impriſoned Prelate: Of which indeed there's ſo much the more Reaſon to hope, becauſe tho' many guilty Perſons have already ſuffer'd Death, you have ſtill preſerv'd him alive. Wherefore we have been eaſily perſuaded earneſtly to beſeech your Majeſty for our Sake to deal gently with your Priſoner Mr.* Coverdale, *and that it may pleaſe you to deliver him as well from the Imputation of Villany, as from the Fierceneſs of Puniſhment, and that the Offences of the Times, whereat it's likely he is alſo troubled, through our Intreaty, eſpecially this being the firſt Time, may be by you graciouſly forgiven: So far at leaſt, that if peradventure in this State of Affairs his Preſence ſeems grievous to you, he may with his Friends be ſafely diſmiſs'd to our Dominions. The granting of which will be taken as a very great Favour by us, and will redound to the Praiſe of your Majeſty's Clemency throughout your flouriſhing Kingdoms: Which that they may be always proſperous, and profitable to your Majeſty we heartily pray; and will do our Endeavour, when we have underſtood what Regard you pay to our Royal Amity and Friendſhip, the more earneſtly to labour to retaliate thoſe Favours, by expreſſing our Gratitude in all kind Offices to your Majeſty and your whole Realm.* Anno 1555.

God grant that for his Glory and the publick Safety, your Majeſty may be crown'd with proſperous Succeſs in all Things, and may your ſelf be in perpetual Security.

Given at our Tower at *Colding*,
May 25. 1555.

Your Couſin, Brother, and Friend,

CHRISTIANUS, *R.*

To this Letter of the King, Queen *Mary* anſwered again, declaring that the ſaid *Miles Coverdale* was not impriſoned for Religion, but for a certain Debt; ſo neither plainly granting, or expreſly denying his Requeſt, but uſing a colourable Excuſe for ſhifting off the Matter, as appeareth by his ſecond Letter ſent to the Queen, dated *September* 24, as followeth.

CHRISTIANUS by the Grace of God King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. To the moſt noble Princeſs and Lady, MARY, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, our moſt dearly beloved Siſter and Couſin, wiſheth Proſperity with good and lucky Succeſs of all Things.

WE have received your Majeſty's Letter, whereby Anſwer is rendered, and that very graciouſly, unto our Petition which we made for the Safeguard of Mr. Coverdale, *late called Biſhop of* Exon. *So that we perceive, though he be in Danger for another Cauſe than was ſignified unto us before, yet your Majeſty will ſo regard our Interceſſion, that* Coverdale *himſelf ſhall under-*

Anno 1555. *ſtand it to have done him good. To which regal Promiſe, ſeeing we, (as Reaſon would we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting upon the ſame, we doubt not, whereas he being in Captivity, his Friends, whom we eſpecially tender, are therefore in Heavineſs and Care, your good Promiſe doth call them from ſuch Sorrow and Solicitude, to the Hope and Expectation of his aſſured Welfare: We could not do otherwiſe, but render Thanks unto your Majeſty for ſuch your ready and gracious Goodwill, not only in reſpect of this Benefit, but alſo of the Conſervation and keeping of perpetual Amity between us and our Realms, and ſo, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that might conduce to the nouriſhing and Continuance of theſe fortunate Beginnings. Neither had we ever any Doubt concerning the Clemency and Moderation of your Goodneſs, whom we heartily beſeech Almighty God ever more and more to proſper, unto the Glory of his Name, and Profit of the Common-wealth. Wherefore, ſeeing your Majeſty writeth, that Mr.* Coverdale *is in Danger for certain Accompts of Money, and not for any other more grievous Offence, we have Cauſe on his Behalf to rejoice: And therefore we doubt ſo much the leſs, that at our Requeſt he ſhall graciouſly have his Deliverance given him, and be out of Danger. For as touching the Biſhoprick, by reaſon whereof he came in Debt, we underſtand he yielded it up, that no Payment might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any Time ſo great Commodity of it. Moreover, tho' it be poſſible to find ſome Perplexity in the Account, or haply ſome other Cauſe, yet your Majeſty's Letters, offering ſuch Favour and Benignity, have taken from us all Carefulneſs and Doubt: Inſomuch, that we think your Majeſty, as much as may be, will have more reſpect unto our Honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your Majeſty by repeating of our Petition, but to declare how greatly we eſteem it, that your Majeſty would gratify us herein: Whereof we plainly hope for an End, that* Coverdale *himſelf ſhall ſhortly in our Preſence make Declaration concerning the Benefit of his Welfare obtain'd of your Majeſty. And of this we deſire your Majeſty to be ſpecially aſſured again, that we will not only omit no Occaſion or Opportunity to requite this Benefit, but alſo to eſtabliſh and amplify our mutual Love and Amity between us and our Realms on either Side. Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in proſperous Health and Felicity.*

Given at our City at *Otton*,
September 24. 1554.

Your Brother and Couſin,

CHRISTIANUS, *R.*

It was a great while before the Queen made Anſwer to theſe Letters. At length after great Suit made, the next Year, *February* 18. ſhe anſwered again on this wiſe.

To the moſt ſerene Prince CHRISTIAN, by the Grace of God, King of *Denmark*, &c. Duke of *Sleſwick*, &c. Earl of *Oldenburgh*, &c. Our moſt dear Brother and Friend.

MARY, *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, *and* Ireland, *&c. To the moſt ſerene Prince* CHRISTIAN *by the ſame Grace of God, King of* Denmark, Norway, *and of the* Vandals; *Duke of* Sleſwick, Holſton, Stormar, *and* Detmarſh; *Earl of* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorſt, *&c. our moſt dear Friend and Brother, wiſheth Health and Increaſe of Proſperity. When we underſtood by your Letters (which this Meſſenger has brought us) your Deſire of obtaining Leave of Mr.* Coverdale *to depart from our Kingdom into yours, we readily granted your Deſire, and altho' he is our born Subject, and is not as yet diſcharged from a Debt which he lawfully owes to our Exchequer, yet we have regarded your Deſire before our own Debt, and ſhall for our mutual Friendſhip at all Times when Opportunity ſerves, endeavour to gratify your Majeſty; may God long preſerve your Serene Highneſs in Health.*

Mr. *Coverdale* delivered and ſent to the King of *Denmark.*

Given at our Court at *Weſtminſter*,
February 18, 1555.

The Effect of Biſhop *Bonner*'s Intimation ſent into his Dioceſs, to receive the Cardinal's Abſoluiton, and to be reconciled to the Pope in *Lent* next following.

On *February* 19. there was a certain Intimation ſet forth and printed in the Name of Biſhop *Bonner*, wherein was contained a general Monition, and ſtrict Charge given to every Man and Woman within his Dioceſs, to prepare themſelves againſt Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad Tidings of Peace and Reconciliation ſent from the Pope *Julius* III, by *Poole*, his Cardinal and Legate *de Latere*, and ſo receive alſo the joyful Benefit of Abſolution, being ſent firſt from the Cardinal to *Bonner*, and from him to every of his Archdeacons, to be miniſtred to every private Perſon within his Dioceſs, that would come the ſaid holy Time of Lent to his Paſtor or Curate to be confeſſed, and to receive of him wholſome Counſel, Penance, and Abſolution: Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the aforeſaid Cardinal, ſo he for the ſame Purpoſe had indued with the like Authority all and ſingular Paſtors and Curates within his Dioceſs, to reconcile and abſoil from their former Hereſy and Schiſm, and from the Cenſures of the Church, ſuch as would reſort unto them. And leſt any Scruple or Doubt, riſing peradventure in their Conſciences, ſhould be any Stay or Hindrance in this Behalf, he hath aſſigned and deputed therefore through his Dioceſs certain learned Men, to whom they might reſort, or elſe might open their Griefs to any of his Archdeacons, or elſe come to his own Perſon, and ſo ſhould be reſolved.

And therefore all Manner of Doubts and Obſtacles ſet aſide, he ſtraitly willed and commanded every Man and Woman to come to Confeſſion, and to enjoy this Benefit of Reconciliation, and Abſolution, againſt the firſt *Sunday* next after *Eaſter* enſuing, and not to fail. For which Purpoſe he had ſpecially commanded the Paſtors and Curates of every Pariſh to certify up in Writing the Names of every Man and Woman ſo reconciled, and ſo forth. The Copy of which Intimation here followeth:

The Declaration of the Biſhop of *London*, to be publiſhed to the Lay-People of his Dioceſs, concerning their Reconciliation.

EDMUND, *by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *unto all and ſingular the Lay-people of his Dioceſs, doth ſend greeting in our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt.

Whereas this noble Realm of England, *dividing itſelf from the Unity of the Catholick Church, and from the Agreement in Religion with all other*

chriſtian Realms, hath been, beſides many other Miſeries and Plagues, which God's Indignation hath poured upon it, grievouſly alſo vexed, and ſore infected with many and ſundry ſorts of Sects of Hereticks, as Arians, Anabaptiſts, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, *and many others, all which Sects be moſt repugnant, and contrary one againſt another, and all againſt God's Truth, and Chriſt's catholick Faith; whereupon hath grown ſuch Slander to the Realm, ſuch Malice and Diſagreement among ourſelves, the Inhabitants thereof, ſuch Treaſons, Tumults, and Inſurrections againſt our Prince, ſuch Blaſphemy and Diſhonour unto God, as no Man's Tongue or Pen is able to expreſs: It hath pleaſed the Goodneſs of God to caſt his Eye of Mercy and Clemency upon us, and to move the Pope's Holineſs to ſend his moſt godly Meſſenger, the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal* Poole, *Legate* de Latere, *to bring us the glad Tidings of Peace and Reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the Fold the loſt Sheep that were gone aſtray: Whoſe Meſſage, as it hath been honourably received of the King and Queen's Majeſties, even ſo the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons at the laſt Parliament have received it, revoking all Laws which in the Time of Schiſm were promulgate againſt the Authority of the Pope's Holineſs, and reſtoring the ſame, and the Church of* Rome *to all that Power which they had in this Realm before the ſaid Schiſm, which Reconciliation was alſo moſt gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the Clergy and Convocation of the Province of* Canterbury, *as alſo of many other Perſons, and being ſo great and neceſſary to be extended to every Perſon of the Realm, it hath pleaſed the Lord Legate's Grace to give and impart unto me the ſaid Biſhop of* London, *for my ſaid Dioceſe, and to all ſuch as I ſhall appoint in that Behalf, Power and Authority to abſolve and reconcile all and every Perſon thereof, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, and as well Men as Women, who will renounce their Errors, and, being penitent, will humbly require to be reſtored to the Unity of the catholick Church, as by the Letters of the ſaid Lord Legate's Grace ſent unto me, and from me ſent unto every of the Archdeacons within my Dioceſe, more at large may and doth appear. And foraſmuch as in mine own Perſon, as well for the Multitude of People, as Diſtance of Places, I cannot miniſter this Benefit unto every private Perſon myſelf, and for that alſo the holy Time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true chriſtian Man ought to come unto his own Paſtor and Curate, to be of him confeſſed, and to receive at his Hand wholeſome Counſel, Penance, and Abſolution; theſe are therefore as well to give Knowledge unto every one of you, as alſo to ſignify and declare, that for that Purpoſe, I have by the ſaid Authority choſen, named, and deputed, and ſo by theſe Preſents do chuſe and depute all and ſingular Paſtors and Curates, having Cure of Souls within my Dioceſs, and being themſelves reconciled herein, that they and every of them by Authority hereof, ſhall have full Power and Authority to abſolve all ſuch as be Lay perſons of their Pariſhes from Hereſy and Schiſm, and from the Cenſures of the Church, into which they be fallen by occaſion thereof alſo, and to reconcile to the Church all ſuch who ſhall declare themſelves penitent, and deſirous to enjoy the Benefit of the ſaid Reconciliation. And whereas divers Paſtors and Curates in ſundry Pariſhes peradventure be not able to ſatisfy the Minds, and to appeaſe the Conſciences of ſome of their Pariſhioners in Caſes that ſhall trouble them, I have therefore given alſo Authority to every Archdeacon of my Dioceſs within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain certain of the beſt Learned in every Deanary of their Archdeaconry, to ſupply that lack, ſo that every Man ſo troubled, may repair to any one of them within the ſaid Deanary, whom he ſhall like beſt, to be inſtructed and appeaſed in that Behalf. And alſo I have appointed, that if this being done, there ſhall yet remain any Scruple in the Party's Conſcience, and himſelf not ſatisfied, then the ſaid Party ſhall repair unto one of mine Archdeacons or Chaplains, unto whom his Mind ſhall be moſt inclined, or elſe to repair unto mine own ſelf, to be reſolved in his ſaid Scruple or Doubt, and to receive and take ſuch Order therein, as to one of the ſaid Archdeacons, or unto me, ſhall therein appear to be moſt expedient.* Anno 1555.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given Commandment herein to all my Archdeacons, that they admoniſh and command every Paſtor and Curate within their Archdeaconries, that they, having Knowledge hereof, do on the firſt Holiday next then following, at the Maſs-time, when the Multitude of People is preſent, declare all theſe Things unto their Pariſhioners, and exhort them that they eſteem this Grace accordingly, and reconcile themſelves to the Church before the firſt Sunday after Eaſter *next enſuing: Which thing I alſo do command by the Tenor hereof, with Intimation that the ſaid Time being once paſt, and they not ſo reconciled, every one of them ſhall have Proceſs made againſt him, according to the Canons, as the Cauſe ſhall require: For which Purpoſe the Paſtors and Curates of every Pariſh ſhall be commanded by their Archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every Man and Woman's Name that is not ſo reconciled.*

Further, herewith I do ſignify and declare unto you, that our Holy Father the Pope Julius III. *of that Name, like a moſt tender and natural Father, hearing of the Return and Recovery of his prodigal Child, this Realm of* England, *hath himſelf made much Joy and Gladneſs hereat, and alſo other true chriſtian Realms have done the like. Exhorting you therefore in our Lord not to be unthankful yourſelves, or negligent in this Behalf, but diligently to ſeek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to uſe it, remembring withal the Monition and Charge which came from me the laſt Year, concerning your coming to Confeſſion in Lent, and receiving the Sacrament at* Eaſter: *Which Monition to all Effects and Purpoſes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and alſo all your Curates therewith. And becauſe all our Duties is earneſtly and devoutly to pray for the proſperous Eſtate of our Soveraigns, the King and the Queen of this Realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majeſties accordingly; and eſpecially that it may pleaſe Almighty God, to ſend unto her Grace a good Time, and to make her a glad Mother, which cannot be but unto us all great Joy, much Comfort and ineſtimable Preſit.*

Given at *London* the nineteenth Day of *February*, in the Year of our Lord God, after the Computation of the Church of *England*, 1554. and of my Tranſlation the 16th.

The Form of Abſolution to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates in private Confeſſions, concerning this Reconciliation.

The Abſolution of Biſhop *Bonner* to be uſed in his Dioceſs.

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt abſolve you, and by the apoſtolick Authority to me granted and committed,

Anno 1555. *committed, I abſolve you from the Sentences of Excommunication, and from all other Cenſures and Pains, into which you be fallen by reaſon of Hereſy, or Schiſm, or any other Ways: And I reſtore you unto the Unity of our holy Mother the Church, and the Communion of all Sacraments, diſpenſing with you for all Manner of Irregularity; and by the ſame Authority I abſolve you from all your Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Amen.

The lamentable Hiſtory of Judge *Hales.*

IN the Life of Mr. *Hooper* mention was made of Judge *Hales*, of whom we will more particularly ſpeak in this Place; beginning with the Communication between the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and him, declaring withal how falſe and untrue the Excuſe is of the Papiſts, who ſo preciſely by the Law defend themſelves, and ſay, that in all their Doings they did nothing but by the Law, to bear them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they then to *Anne Aſkew?* What Law had they, when they had condemned her firſt for a dead Woman, then afterwards to rack her? By what Law did they call up Mr. *Hooper*, and impriſon him for the Queen's Debt, when the Queen in very Deed did owe him fourſcore Pounds; and kept him a Year and a half in Priſon, and gave him never a Penny? By what Law did Biſhop *Bonner* condemn and burn *Richard Mekins*, a Lad of 15 Years, when the firſt Jury had acquitted him, and he at the Stake revoked all Hereſies, and praiſed the ſaid *Bonner* to be a good Man; and alſo having him in Priſon, would not ſuffer his Father and Mother to come to him, to comfort their own Child? What Law had they to put Mr. *Rogers* in Priſon, when he did neither preach nor read Lecture after the Time of the Queen's Inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own Houſe half a Year, being not deprived of his Living, yet would not let him have an half Penny of his own Livings to relieve him, his Wife, and eleven Children? By what Law was *Thomas Tomkins*'s Hand burnt, and afterward his Body conſumed to Aſhes? What good Law or Honeſty was there to burn the three poor Women at *Guernſey*, with the infant Child falling out of the Mother's Womb, when as they all before their Death recanted their Words and Opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewiſe in this Caſe, what Order or Right of Laws did *Stephen Gardiner* follow in troubling and impriſoning Judge *Hales*, when he had done nothing neither againſt God's Law nor Man's, in proceeding by Order of Law againſt certain preſumptuous Perſons, who both before the Law, and againſt the Law then in force, took upon them to ſay their Maſs? as ye ſhall hear in theſe his Anſwers and Communication had with *Stephen Gardiner* hereunder enſuing.

The Catholicks proved to do againſt the Law in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales, *in* Weſtminſter-hall, *being there among other Judges, to take his Oath*, Oct. 6. 1553.

Lord Chan. MR. *Hales*, ye ſhall underſtand, that like as the Queen's Highneſs hath heretofore conceived good Opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her Cauſe of juſt Succeſſion, refuſing to ſet your Hand to the Book among others that were againſt her Grace in that Behalf; ſo now, through your own late Deſerts againſt ſome of her Highneſs's Proceedings, ye ſtand not well in her Graces Favour; and therefore before you take any Oath it will be neceſſary for you to clear yourſelf.

Hales. I pray you my Lord, for what Cauſe?

L. Chan. Information is given, that ye have indicted ſeveral Prieſts in *Kent* for ſaying Maſs.

Hales. My Lord, it is not ſo, I indicted none; but indeed certain Indictments of the like Nature were brought before me at the laſt Aſſizes there held, and I gave Order therein as the Law required. For I have profeſſed the Law, againſt which, in Caſes of Juſtice, I will never, God willing proceed, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my Conſcience, and if it were to do again, I would do no leſs than I did.

L. Chan. Yes, Mr. *Hales*, your Conſcience is known well enough, I know you lack no Conſcience.

Hales. My Lord, you may do well to ſearch your own Conſcience, for mine is better known to myſelf than to you: And to be plain, I did as well uſe Juſtice in your ſaid Maſs-caſe by my Conſcience, as by Law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in Trial to the uttermoſt that can be objected. And if I have therein done any Injury or Wrong, let me be judged by the Law; for I will ſeek no better Defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my Profeſſion.

L. Chan. Why Mr. *Hales*, although you had the Rigour of the Law on your Side, yet ye might have had regard to the Queen's Highneſs preſent doings in that Caſe. And further, although ye ſeem to be more than preciſe in the Law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the Extremity of ſuch Advantage as might be gathered againſt your Proceedings in the Law, as ye have ſome time taken upon you in place of Juſtice, and if it were well tried, I believe ye ſhould not well be able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Hales. My Lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may err for lack of Knowledge. But both in Conſcience, and ſuch Knowledge of the Law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: And if my Goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoiſe the Caſe, my Body ſhall be ready to ſerve the Turn; for they be all at the Queen's Highneſs's Pleaſure.

Chan. Ah Sir, ye be very quick and ſtout in your Anſwers. But as it ſhould ſeem, that which you did was more of a Will favouring the Opinion of your Religion againſt the Service now uſed, than for any Occaſion or Zeal for Juſtice, ſeeing the Queen's Highneſs doth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing all her faithful ſubjects to embrace it accordingly: And where you offer both Body and Goods in your Trial, there is no ſuch matter required at your Hands, and yet ye ſhall not have your own Will neither.

Hales. My Lord, I ſeek not wilful Will, but to ſhew myſelf as I am bound in Love to God and Obedience to the Queen's Majeſty, in whoſe Cauſe willingly for Juſtice ſake, all other Reſpects ſet apart, I did of late, as your Lordſhip knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my Religion, I truſt it be ſuch as pleaſeth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my Life as my Subſtance, if I be called thereunto. And ſo in

in lack of mine own Power and Will, the Lord's Will be fulfilled.

Chan. Seeing you be at this Point, Mr. *Hales*, I will presently make an End with you. The Queen's Highness shall be informed of your Opinion and Declaration. And as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have Knowledge. Until such Time ye may depart as ye came, without your Oath, for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the Place appointed.

Hales. I thank your Lordship: And as for my Vocation, being both a Burden and a Charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the Queen's Highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due Contentation obey the same; and so he departed from the Bar.

A few Days after this Communication in *Westminster*-Hall, which was *Oct.* 6, 1553, Mr. *Hales* at the Command of the Bishop, was committed to the *King's Bench*, where he remained until *Lent*; then he was removed to the Compter in *Breadstreet*, and from thence to the *Fleet*.

Mr. *Hales* committed to the *King's Bench.*

Being in the *Fleet*, what it was that he had granted to the Bishops, by their fraudulent Persuasions (namely, of Dr. *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, and of Judge *Portman*, as it is thought, overcome at last) I have not to say.

This is certain, that shortly after, calling himself better to Remembrance, he was brought to great Repentance and Terror of Conscience: Insomuch, that for very Anguish of Heart he was ready to kill himself with his Penknife when he was in Prison, and, doubtless, had done so, had not the merciful Providence of God miraculously prevented him, as ye shall hear.

It happened when Supper-time came that he should be called down, but he having little or no Stomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all Night sobbing and groaning, and took little Rest or Sleep. At length, when Morning came, about Six of the Clock he sent his Servant for a Cup of Beer, under Pretence as though he were thirsty and desirous to drink; whether this Cause were true or feigned it is unknown; but this followed, his Man was scarce got out of the Chamber, when he with his Penknife had wounded himself in divers Places of his Body, and, no doubt, intended to destroy himself, had not the Goodness of God given present Help in Time of Opportunity. Whereby it is evident for all Men to understand, that God's Favour was not absent from him, altho' he thought himself utterly forsaken for his Denial, as by the Sequel may appear.

Mr. *Hales* about to kill himself in Prison.

For as soon as he had sent his Man out of his Chamber, even before the Chamber-door the Butler met him; who being desired to fill the Drink, and taking the Cup, the other returned again unto his Master, at the very Time when he was working his own Destruction; whereby Mr. *Hales* at that Time was hindred of his Purpose. When the Bishop of *Winchester* had Knowledge of it, he straitway took Occasion thereby to blaspheme the Doctrine of the Gospel, which he openly in the Star-Chamber called Doctrine of Desperation. Mr. *Hales* being within a while after recovered of those Wounds, and delivered out of Prison, return'd home to his House; where he, either for the Greatness of his Sorrow, or Want of good Counsel, or for that he would avoid the Necessity of hearing Mass, having all Things set in Order, a good while before that, pertaining to his last Will and Testament, casting himself into a shallow River, was drowned therein. Anno 1555.

Judge *Hales* drowned himself.

The unhappy Chance of this worthy Judge was the Cause of great Sorrow to all good Men, and it likewise gave Occasion to some Divines to doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which Matter it is not for me to determine; for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is that will lay all Things open when the Time cometh. This in the mean Time is certain, that the Deed of the Man in my Mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the Man's Reason. But if he did it in Frenzy, and as being out of his Senses, then do I greatly pity his Case.

The Cause of Judge *Hales*'s drowning considered.

A Verse on J. *Hales*.

Had Faith with Piety sincere conjoin'd,
Adorn'd the moral Virtues of thy Mind,
Thy Body sound and strong would yet remain,
And thou 'mongst Saints the chiefest Place would gain,
But whoso leads his Life from Sin so free,
That all his Actions unpolluted be?
Then seeing Blemishes deform the best,
Thy own Endeavour do, commit to God the rest.

The History of Thomas Tomkins, *a Weaver.*

Mention was made before of six Prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop *Bonner* the eighth of *February*, whose Names were *Tompins*, *Pigot*, *Knight*, *Haukes*, *Laurence*, and *Hunter*. All which, though they received their Condemnation together the Seventh of *February*, yet because the Time of their Execution was put off from *February* till the Month of *March*, I did therefore refer the Story of them to this Place. Of which six, *Thomas Tomkins* was first burned in *Smithfield*, the Sixteenth of *March*, 1555.

This *Thomas Tomkins*, was a Weaver by his Occupation, and dwelt in *Shoreditch*, in the Dioceses of *London*, and was of a pious Conversation and Disposition. This also is recorded of him, that Dr. *Bonner* Bishop of *London* kept the said *Tomkins* with him in Prison half a Year: During which Time the said Bishop was so rigorous to him, that he beat him bitterly about the Face, whereby his Face was swelled. Whereupon the Bishop caused his Beard to be shaven, and gave the Barber Twelve-pence.

Tomkins maketh the Bishop's Hay.

Touching which shaving of *Thomas Tomkins*'s Beard, this is more to be added; Bishop *Bonner* having *Tomkins* Prisoner with him at *Fulham*, in the Month of *July*, did set him with his other Work-folks to make Hay. And seeing him to labour so hard, the Bishop sitting down, said, Well, I like thee well, for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good Catholick. My Lord, said he, St. *Paul* saith, *He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat.* *Bonner* said, Ah, St. *Paul* is a * great Man with thee. And so after such other Talk, the Bishop wished that *Tomkins*'s Beard was off, saying, that so he would look like a Catholick. My Lord, said *Tomkins*, before my Beard grew, I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be my Beard being on. But *Bonner* in fine sent for the Barber, and caused his Beard to be shaven off. The very

* And so should he be with you if you were a right Bishop.

Cause

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The Martyrdom of Dr. Taylor *who was burnt on Aldham Common.*

The Burning of Thomas Tomkins's *Hand by Bishop Bonner.*

Anno 1555.

Cauſe was, becauſe *Bonner* had pluck'd off a Piece of his Beard before.

The Rage of this Biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but his Conſtancy was much greater with Patience to bear it: Who although he had not the Learning as others have, yet he was ſo indued with God's Spirit, and ſo planted in the perfect Knowledge of God's Truth, that by no Means could he be removed from the Confeſſion of Truth to Impiety and Error. Whereupon Biſhop *Bonner* being greatly vexed againſt the poor Man, when he ſaw that by no Perſuaſions he could prevail with him, deviſed another Practice not ſo ſtrange as cruel, further to try his Conſtancy, to the Intent, that ſeeing he could not by Argument convince him, yet he might overcome him by ſome fore-feeling and Terror of Death. So having with him Mr. *Harpsfield*, Mr *Pembleton*, Dr. *Chedſey*, Mr. *Willerton*, and others ſtanding by, he called for *Thomas Tomkins*, who coming before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was wont in Defence of his Faith, the Biſhop fell from beating to burning. Who having there a Taper or Wax Candle of three or four Wicks ſtanding upon the Table, thought there to repreſent unto us as it were the old Image of King *Porſenna*; for as he burned the Hand of *Scævola*, ſo this catholick Biſhop took *Tomkins* by the Fingers, and held his Hand directly over the Flame, ſuppoſing that being terrified by the Smart and Pain of the Fire, he would leave off the Defence of the Doctrine which he had received.

Biſhop *Bonner* burneth *Tomkin's* Hand with a wax Taper.

Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe but there preſently to die, began to commend himſelf unto the Lord, ſaying, *O Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, &c. In the Time that his Hand was burning, the ſame *Tomkins* afterward reported to one *James Hinſe*, that his Spirit was ſo wrapt, that he felt no Pain. In which burning he never ſhrunk, till the Veins ſhrunk, and the Sinews burſt, and the Water did ſpirt in Mr. *Harpsfield's* Face: Inſomuch that the ſaid Mr. *Harpsfield*, moved with Pity, deſired the Biſhop to ſtay, ſaying that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the Hall at *Fulham*.

And where the Biſhop thought by that Means to drive him from his Opinions, it proved much otherwiſe: For this chriſtian *Scævola* ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and endure that burning, that we have leſs Cauſe hereafter to marvel at the Manfulneſs of the *Roman Scævola*: I would to God the other had as well followed the Example of that *Hetruſcan* Tyrant. For he, after the left Hand of *Scævola* was half burned, either ſatisfied with his Puniſhment, or overcome by his Manhood, or driven away by Fear, ſent him home ſafe unto his People: Whereas *Bonner* not contented with the burning of his Hand, reſted not until he had conſumed his whole Body into Aſhes in *Smithfield*.

But before we come to his Suffering, we will firſt treat of ſome Part of his Examination and Articles, with his Anſwers and Confeſſion thereunto annexed.

The firſt Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

AFTER that *Thomas Tomkins* had been half a Year in Priſon, about the Eighth of *February* he was brought with ſeveral others before Biſhop *Bonner* ſitting in his Conſiſtory, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certain Bill or Schedule ſubſcribed (as appeareth) with his own Hand, the fifth Day of the ſame Month, containing theſe Words following:

Thomas Tomkins *of* Shoreditch, *and of the Dioceſs of* London, *hath believed and doth believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *in Subſtance, but only a Token and Remembrance thereof, the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being only in Heaven, and no where elſe.*

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The Confeſſion of *Tomkins*, ſubſcribed with his own Hand.

Whereupon he was aſked, whether he did acknowledge the ſame Subſcription to be of his owa Hand. To which he granted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done, the Biſhop went about to perſuade him, with Words, rather than with Reaſons, to relinquiſh his Opinions, and to return again to the Unity of the catholick Church, promiſing if he would do ſo, to remit all that was paſt. But he conſtantly denied ſo to do. When the Biſhop ſaw he could not ſo convince him, he brought forth and read to him another Writing, containing Articles and Interrogatories, whereunto he ſhould come the next Day and anſwer; in the mean Time he ſhould deliberate with himſelf what to do: And ſo the next Day, at Eight of the Clock in the Morning to be preſent at the ſame Place again, to give his determinate Anſwer what he would do in the Premiſes, and then either to revoke and reclaim himſelf, or elſe in the Afternoon the ſame Day to come again and have Juſtice (as he called it) adminiſtred unto him. The Copy of which Articles here followeth.

Articles objected and adminiſtred againſt *Thomas Tomkins*, with his own Hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.

THOU doſt believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is not, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his holy Word, really, truly and in very Deed, the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *as touching the Subſtance thereof, which was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin* Mary, *and hanged upon the Croſs, Suffering, Paſſion, and Death there for the Life of the World.*

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that after the Conſecration of the Bread and Wine prepared for the Uſe of the Sacrament of the Altar, there doth remain the Subſtance of material Bread and material Wine, not changed nor altered in Subſtance by the Power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

Subſtance of Bread remained in the Sacrament.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that it is an untrue Doctrine, and a falſe Belief, to think or ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is, after Conſecration of the Bread and Wine, the Subſtance of Chriſt's natural Body and Blood, by the omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his holy Word.

The natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament denied.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that thy Parents, Kinsfolks, Friends and Acquaintance, and alſo thy Godfathers

The Error of the Fore-elders touching the Sacrament.

ond Godmothers, and all People did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after Conſecration, the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that there did not remain the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine.

I do ſo believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

THE next Day at Eight of the Clock before Noon, the ſaid *Thomas Tomkins* (according to the former Commandment) was brought again into the Place aforenamed, before the Biſhop and his other Aſſiſtants, where the aforeſaid Articles were propounded unto him: Whereunto he anſwered as followeth:

Anſwer of *Tomkins* to the Articles.

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo believe, as in the ſame is contained.

To the Second he ſaid, that it was only Bread and a Participation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, and ſo do the Scriptures teach.

To the Third he ſaid and did believe, it was a falſe Doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this Article.

To the Fourth, he did alſo believe the ſame.

After this Anſwer, he did alſo ſubſcribe his Name to the ſaid Articles. Whereupon, the Biſhop drawing out of his Boſom another Confeſſion ſubſcribed with *Tomkins*'s own Hand, and alſo that Article that was the firſt Day objected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his ſaid Opinions; which he utterly refuſed to do; and therefore he was commanded to appear before the Biſhop again in the ſame Place at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Names of them that ſate upon *Thomas Tomkins* at this Seſſions were theſe; *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, *John Fecknam* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, *John Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, *John Morven* Maſter of Arts, *Thomas Morton* Parſon of *Fulham*, *Triſtram Swadell*, *Thomas Moore*, *Thomas Bekinſaw*, *James Cline*, Clerks.

The laſt Appearance of Thomas Tomkins *before Biſhop* Bonner *and the Commiſſioners.*

THE ſame Day and Place at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he was the laſt Time brought before the Biſhops of *London*, *Bath*, and St. *David*'s, with others; where he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop of *Bath* to revoke and leave off his Opinions. Unto whom he anſwered, My Lord, I was born and brought up in Ignorance until now of late Years, and now I know the Truth I will continue therein unto Death.

Then *Bonner* cauſed all his Articles and Confeſſion to be again openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed Manner perſuaded him to recant. To whom he finally ſaid, My Lord, I cannot ſee but that you would have me forſake the Truth, and to fall into Error and Hereſy. The Biſhop ſeeing he would not recant, did proceed in his Law, and ſo gave Sentence of Condemnation upon him.

Sentence of Condemnation read againſt him

Then he delivered him to the Sheriff of *London*, who ſtraitway carried him to *Newgate*, where he remained moſt joyful and conſtant until the 16th of *March* following: On which Day he was conveyed by the ſaid Sheriff into *Smithfield*, and there ſealed up his Faith in the flaming Fire, to the Glory of God's holy Name, and Confirmation of the Weak.

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T. Tomkins burnt in *Smithfield*, *March* 16.

The Hiſtory of William Hunter, *a young Man of Nineteen Years.*

THE 26th of *March*, the Year aforeſaid, followed the Martyrdom of *William Hunter*, a pious young Man, nineteen Years of Age, born of good Parents; by whom he was not only inſtructed in true Religion and Piety, but alſo confirmed by them unto Death, after a rare and ſtrange Example, worthy to be noted and had in Admiration by all Parents.

William Hunter, being an Apprentice in *London* in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*, was commanded at the *Eaſter* next following to receive the Communion at a Maſs, by the Prieſt of the Pariſh where he dwelt, called *Coleman-ſtreet*; which becauſe he refuſed to do, he was very much threatned that he ſhould be therefore brought before the Biſhop of *London*. Wherefore *William Hunter*'s Maſter, one *Thomas Taylor* a Silk Weaver, required *William Hunter* to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhould come in Danger becauſe of him, if he continued in his Houſe. For which Cauſe, *William Hunter* took leave of his ſaid Maſter, and went to *Burntwood* where his Father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the Space of half a Quarter of a Year.

W. Hunter Apprentice in *Coleman-ſtreet* with Mr. *Taylor*.

His Maſter deſires him to depart from him.

He takes leave of his Maſter, and goes to his Father to *Burntwood*.

After this it happened within five or ſix Weeks, that *William* going into the Chappel of *Burntwood*, and finding there a Bible lying on a Deſk, did read therein. In the mean Time there came in one Father *Atwell* a Sumner, who hearing *William* read in the Bible, ſaid to him, Why meddleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt? and canſt thou expound the Scriptures?

Talk between Father *Atwell* and *W. Hunter* concerning the Bible.

To whom *William* anſwered and ſaid, Father *Atwell*, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were diſpenſed withal; but finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my Comfort. To whom *Father Atwell* ſaid, It was never merry World ſince the Bible came abroad in *Engliſh*.

To which Words *William* anſwered, ſaying, Father *Atwell*, ſay not ſo for God's Sake: For it is God's Book, out of which every one that hath Grace may learn to know both what Things pleaſe God, and alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſaid Father *Atwell*, Could we not tell before this Time as well as now, how God was ſerved? *William* anſwered, No, Father *Atwell*, nothing ſo well, as we may now, if that we might have his bleſſed Word amongſt us ſtill as we have had. It is true, ſaid Father *Atwell*, if it be as you ſay.

Well, ſaid *William Hunter*, it pleaſeth me very well, and I pray God that we may have the bleſſed Bible amongſt us continually. To which Words Father *Atwell* ſaid, I perceive your Mind well enough, you are one of them that miſliketh the Queen's Laws; and therefore you came from *London*, I hear ſay: You learned theſe Ways at *London*. But for all that, ſaid Father *Atwell*, you muſt turn another Leaf, or elſe you, and a great many more Hereticks will broil

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broil for it, I warrant you. To which Words *William* ſaid, God give me Grace, that I may believe his Word, and confeſs his Name, whatſoever come thereof. Confeſs his Name! quoth old *Atwell*; No, no, ye will go to the Devil all of you, and confeſs his Name.

Father *Atwell* not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the Innocent.

What! ſaid *William*, you ſay not well Father *Atwell*: At which Words he went out of the Chappel in a great Fury, ſaying, I am not able to reaſon with thee: But I will fetch one ſtraightway which ſhall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou Heretick. And he leaving *William Hunter* reading in the Bible, immediately brought one *Thomas Wood*, who was then Vicar of *Southwell*, which was at an Ale-houſe over againſt the ſaid Chappel; who hearing old *Atwell* ſay, that *William Hunter* was reading of the Bible in the Chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the Matter very heinouſly, ſaying; Sirrah, who gave thee Leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

The Vicar of *Southwell* angry with *W. Hunter* for reading in the Bible.

Then *William* anſwered, I expound not the Scriptures, Sir, but read them for my Comfort. What meddleſt thou with them at all, ſaid the Vicar? It becometh not thee, nor none ſuch to meddle with the Scriptures.

But *William* anſwered, I will read the Scriptures, God willing, while I live; and you ought, Maſter Vicar, not to diſcourage any Man for that Matter, but rather exhort Men diligently to read the Scriptures for your Diſcharge and their own.

Unto which the Vicar reply'd, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I ſee thou art an Heretick by thy Words. *William* ſaid, I am no Heretick for ſpeaking the Truth. But the Vicar ſaid, It is a merry World when ſuch as thou art ſhall teach us what is the Truth. Thou art medling, Father *Atwell* tells me, with the Sixth of *John*, wherein thou mayſt perceive how Chriſt ſaith, *Except that ye eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* *William* ſaid, I read the Sixth of St. *John* indeed; howbeit, I made no Expoſition on it.

The Papiſts in no wiſe will be controuled.

Then ſaid Father *Atwell*, When you read it, I ſaid, that you there might underſtand how that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſt's very natural Body and Blood; unto which you anſwered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great Expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed withal.

W. Hunter examined of the Sacrament.

Ah, ſaid the Vicar, What ſay you to the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Believeſt thou not in it, and that the Bread and Wine is tranſubſtantiated into the very Body and Blood of Chriſt? *William* anſwered, I learn no ſuch Thing in the Sixth of *John* as you ſpeak of. Why, ſaid the Vicar, doſt thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? I believe, ſaid *William Hunter*, all that God's Word teacheth. Why, ſaid the Vicar, thou mayſt learn this which I ſay, plainly in the Sixth of *John*.

Then ſaid *William*, You underſtand Chriſt's Words much like the carnal *Capernaites*, which thought, that Chriſt would have given them his Fleſh to feed upon: Which Opinion our Saviour Chriſt corrected, where he ſaid, *The Words which I ſpeak to you, are Spirit and Life.*

Hereſy miſtaken with the Papiſts.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I have found you out: Now I ſee that thou art an Heretick indeed, and that thou doſt not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid *William Hunter*, whereas you doubt my Belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our Faith. Yea, thou Heretick, ſaid the Vicar, wouldſt thou have it ſo tried? *William Hunter* anſwered, That which you call Hereſy, I ſerve my Lord God withal.

Then ſaid the Vicar, Canſt thou ſerve God with Hereſy? But *William* anſwered, I would that you and I were even now faſt tied to a Stake, to prove whether that I or you would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our Faith. But the Vicar anſwered, It ſhall not be ſo tried. No, quoth *William*, I think ſo; for if I might, I think I know who would ſooneſt recant; for I durſt ſet my Foot againſt yours, even to Death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed; the Vicar threatning *William* much, how that he would complain of him; with other Communication which they had together.

The Vicar complaineth to Juſtice *Brown* of *William Hunter*.

Immediately after, this Vicar of *Welde* told Mr. *Brown* of the Communication which *William Hunter* and he had together. Which when Mr. *Brown* underſtood, immediately he ſent for *William*'s Father and the Conſtable, one *Robert Salmon*. For immediately after *William Hunter* and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he took his Leave of his Father and fled, becauſe *Wood* the Vicar threatned him. Now when the Conſtable and *William*'s Father were come, and were before Mr. *Brown*, he asked where *William Hunter* was. His Father anſwered, ſaying, If it pleaſe you, Sir, I know not were he is gone: No, quoth Maſter *Brown*? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth alſo e're I done with thee. Sir, ſaid *William*'s Father, I know not where he is, nor where to ſeek for him.

Juſtice *Brown* ſendeth for *Hunter*'s Father.

Then ſaid Mr. *Brown*, Why didſt thou not bring him when thou hadſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will ſend thee to Priſon, till I ſhall get him. Wherefore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or elſe it is not beſt to look me in the Face any more, nor you to reſt in *Burntwood*. Well, quoth Mr. *Brown* to *William*'s Father, ſee that thou ſeek him forth, and bring him to me.

An unreaſonable Requeſt of Juſtice *Brown*.

William's Father anſwered, Sir, would you have me ſeek my Son to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth Mr. *Brown*, I will deal well enough for that Matter, thou ſhalt not need to care for the Matter. Fetch him, and thou ſhalt ſee what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackeſt Money, quoth he, thou ſhalt have ſome, and bade the Conſtable Mr. *Salmon* to give him a Crown, but *William*'s Father would not take it. Howbeit Mr. *Brown* would never reſt, till *William*'s Father had promiſed him to ſeek out his Son. And thus Mr. *Brown* ſent the Conſtable Home again, and *William*'s Father, commanding him to ſeek out his Son, and then come again and bring him to him.

The Father pretends to ſeek the Son.

The Son meeteth with him in the Way.

After that old Father *Hunter* had rode two or three Days Journey to ſatisfy Mr. *Brown*'s Expectation, it happened that *William* met with his Father in the High-way as he travelled, and he firſt ſeeing his Father, came to him and ſpake to him, and told him, that he thought he ſought for him: And then his Father confeſſing it, wept ſore, and ſaid, that Mr. *Brown* charged him to ſeek him, and bring him to him; Howbeit, *ſaid he*, I will return Home again, and ſay I cannot find you. But *William* ſaid, Father, I will go Home with you, and ſave you harmleſs, whatſoever cometh of it.

The working of Nature between the Father and Son.

And thus they came Home together; but *William*, as ſoon as he was come Home, was taken by the ſaid Conſtable, and laid in the Stocks till the Day. Mr. *Brown* hearing that *William Hunter* was come Home, ſent for him to the Conſtable, who brought him immediately to Mr. *Brown*.

Now

W. Hunter brought before Juſtice *Brown.*

Now when *William'* was come, Mr. *Brown* ſaid to him, Ah Sirrah, are ye come? and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought, and opened it, and then began to reaſon with *William* on this Manner, ſaying, I hear ſay you are a Scripture-man, and can reaſon much of the Sixth of *John*, and expound as pleaſeth you; and turned the Bible to the Sixth of St. *John*, and then he laid to his Charge what an Expoſition he made, when the Vicar and he talked together. And *William* ſaid, He urged me to ſay ſo much as I did.

Talk between *W. Hunter* and Juſtice *Brown* about the Sacrament.

Well, quoth Mr. *Brown*, becauſe you can expound that Place ſo well, how ſay you to another Place, turning to the 22d. of St. *Luke?* and Mr. *Brown* ſaid, Look here, for Chriſt ſaith, that the Bread is his Body.

To which *William* anſwered, The Text ſaith, how Chriſt took Bread, but not that he changed it into another Subſtance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was Bread, as is evident by the Text: For elſe he ſhould have had two Bodies, which to affirm I ſee no Reaſon, ſaid *William.*

At which Anſwer Mr. *Brown* was very angry, and took up the Bible, and turned the Leaves, and then flung it down again in ſuch a Fury, that *William* could not well find the Place again whereof they reaſoned.

Then Mr. *Brown* ſaid, Thou naughty Boy, wilt thou not take Things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Chriſt call the Bread his Body plainly, and thou wilt not believe, that the Bread is his Body after the Conſecration? Thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a Lyar.

But *William Hunter* anſwered, I mean not ſo, Sir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearch what the Mind of Chriſt is in that holy Inſtitution, wherein he commendeth unto us the Remembrance of his Death, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and coming again, ſaying, *This do in the Remembrance of me.* And alſo though Chriſt call the Bread his Body, as he doth alſo ſay that he is *a Vine*, *a Door*, &c. yet is not his Body turned into Bread, no more than he is turned into a Door or Vine. Wherefore Chriſt called the Bread his Body by a Figure.

How Chriſt called Bread his Body.

Juſtice *Brown* in a Rage.

At that Word Mr. *Brown* ſaid, Thou art a Villain indeed. Wilt thou make Chriſt a Lyar yet ſtill? And was in ſuch a Fury with *William*, and raged ſo, that *William* could not ſpeak a Word, but he croſſed him, and ſcoffed at every Word. Wherefore *William* ſeeing him in ſuch Fury, deſired him that he would either hear him quietly, and ſuffer him to anſwer for himſelf, or elſe ſend him away. To which Mr. *Brown* anſwered, Indeed I will ſend thee to Morrow to my Lord of *London*, and he ſhall have thee under Examination: And thus left off the Talk, and wrote a Letter immediately, and ſent *William Hunter* with the Conſtable to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, who received *William.*

Mr. *Brown* ſendeth up *W. Hunter* to Biſhop *Bonner.*

After that he had read the Letter, and the Conſtable returned Home again, the Biſhop cauſed *William* to be brought into a Chamber, where he began to reaſon with him in this Manner: I underſtand *William Hunter*, quoth he, by Mr. *Brown*'s Letter, how that you have had certain Communication with the Vicar of *Welde*, about the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon Mr. *Brown* ſent for thee to bring thee to the Catholick Faith, from which, he ſaith, that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt have no harm for any thing that thou haſt ſaid or done in this Matter.

Bonner's Words to *W. Hunter.*

William anſwered, ſaying; I am not fallen from the Catholick Faith of Chriſt, I am ſure, but do believe it, and confeſs it with all my Heart.

Why, quoth the Biſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Wilt thou not recant thy Saying, which thou confeſſedſt before Mr. *Brown*, how that Chriſt's Body is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, the ſame that was born of the Virgin *Mary*?

To which *William* anſwered, ſaying, My Lord, I underſtand that Mr. *Brown* hath certified you of the Talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I ſaid to him, which I will not recant by God's Help. Then ſaid the Biſhop, I think thou art aſhamed to bear a Faggot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy Sayings, I will promiſe thee that thou ſhalt not be put to open Shame: But ſpeak the Word here now between me and thee, and I will promiſe thee it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go Home again without any hurt.

Bonner's fair Promiſes to *Hunter.*

William anſwered and ſaid, My Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my Conſcience, I will go to my Father and dwell with him, or elſe with my Maſter again, and ſo if no Body will diſquiet nor trouble my Conſcience, I will keep my Conſcience to myſelf.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to the Church, and receive, and go to Confeſſion, and ſo continue a good Catholick Chriſtian. No, quoth *William*, I will not do ſo for all the good in the World.

Then, quoth the Biſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth *William*, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the Biſhop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no Means? No, quoth *William*, never while I live, God willing.

W. Hunter refuſes to recant.

Then the Biſhop (this Talk ended) commanded his Men to put *William* in the Stocks in his Gate-houſe, where he ſate two Days and Nights, only with a Cruſt of brown Bread and a Cup of Water.

Bonner commandeth *Will. Hunter* to the Stocks, where he ſate two Days and two Nights, only with a Cruſt of Bread and a Cup of Water.

At the two Days End the Biſhop came to him, and finding the Cup of Water and the Cruſt of Bread ſtill by him upon the Stocks, ſaid to his Men; Take him out of the Stocks, and let him break his Faſt with you. Then they let him forth of the Stocks, but would not ſuffer him to eat with them, but called him Heretick. And he ſaid, he was as loth to be in their Company, as they were to be in his.

After Breakfaſt the Biſhop ſent for *William*, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But *William* made him Anſwer, how that he would never recant that which he had confeſſed before Men, as concerning his Faith in Chriſt.

Then the Biſhop ſaid that he was no Chriſtian, but he denied the Faith in which he was baptized. But *William* anſwered, I was baptized in the Faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God aſſiſting me with his Grace.

Hunter ſent to Priſon and loaded with Irons.

Then the Biſhop ſent him to the Convict Priſon, and commanded the Keeper to lay Irons upon him as many as he could bear; and moreover aſked him, how old he was; and *William* ſaid that he was nineteen Years of Age.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, you will be burned e'er you be twenty Years old, if you will not yield yourſelf better than you have done yet. *William* anſwered, God ſtrengthen me in his Truth: And then he parted, and the Biſhop allowing him a Halfpenny a Day to live on in Bread and Drink.

Thus

Anno 1555.

Thus he continued in Priſon three Quarters of a Year. In which Time he had been before the Biſhop five Times, beſides the Time when he was condemned in the Conſiſtory in St. *Paul*'s the ninth Day of *February*; at which Time his Brother *Robert Hunter* was preſent, when and where I heard the Biſhop condemn him and five others.

Theſe five were *Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Hauks,* and *Lanrence.*

And then the Biſhop called *William*, aſked him if he would recant, and ſo read to him his Examination and Confeſſion, as is above rehearſed; and then rehearſed how that *William* confeſſed that he did believe, that he received Chriſt's Body ſpiritually, when he did receive the Communion. Doſt thou mean, quoth the Biſhop, that the Bread is Chriſt's Body ſpiritually?

William anſwered, I mean not ſo, but rather when I receive the holy Communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Chriſt ſpiritually through Faith in my Soul, and am made Partaker of all the Benefits which Chriſt hath brought unto all Faithful Believers through his precious Death, Paſſion, and Reſurrection, and not that the Bread is his Body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

Then ſaid the Biſhop to *William*, Doſt thou not think (holding up his Cap) that for Example here of my Cap, thou may'ſt ſee the Squareneſs and Colour of it, and yet that not to be the Subſtance, which thou judgeſt by the Accidents?

William anſwered, If you can ſeparate the Accidents from the Subſtance, and ſhew me the Subſtance without the Accidents, I could believe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above Man's Capacity. Yes, ſaid *William*, I muſt needs believe that; for daily Experience teacheth all Men that Thing plainly: But our Queſtion is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy Supper.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, I always have found thee at this Point, and I ſee no Hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholick Faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt Member, and then pronounced Sentence upon him, how that he ſhould go from that Place to *Newgate* for a Time, and ſo from thence to *Burntwood*, where, ſaid he, thou ſhalt be burned.

Then the Biſhop called for another, and ſo when he had condemned them all, he called for *William Hunter*, and reaſoned with him, ſaying, if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a Freeman in the City, and give thee forty Pound in good Money to ſet up thine Occupation withal; or I will make thee Steward of my Houſe, and ſet thee in Office; for I like thee well, thou haſt Wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant.

The large Offer of Biſhop *Bonner* to *William Hunter.*

But *William* anſwered, I thank you for your great Offers: Notwithſtanding, my Lord, ſaid he, if you cannot perſuade my Conſcience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my Heart to turn from God for the Love of the World; for I count all worldly Things but Loſs and Dung, in reſpect of the Love of Chriſt.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, if thou dieſt in this Mind thou art condemned for ever. *William* anſwered, God judgeth righteouſly, and juſtifieth them whom Man condemneth unjuſtly.

W. Hunter ſent down to *Burntwood* to be burnt.

Thus *William* and the Biſhop departed, *William* and the reſt to *Newgate*, where they remained about a Month, who afterward were ſent down, *William* to *Burntwood*, and the others into divers Places of the Country. Now when *William* was come down to *Burntwood*, which was the *Saturday* before the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary* that followed on the *Monday* after, *William* remained till the *Tueſday* after, becauſe they would not put him to Death then, for the Holineſs of the Day.

In the mean Time *William*'s Father and Mother came to him, and deſired heartily of God that he might continue to the End in that good Way which he had begun, and his Mother ſaid to him, that ſhe was glad that ever ſhe was ſo happy to bear ſuch a Child, which could find in his Heart to loſe his Life for Chriſt's Name's Sake.

His Father and Mother exhort him to be conſtant.

Then *William* ſaid to his Mother, for my little Pain I ſhall ſuffer, which will ſoon be at an End, Chriſt hath promiſed me, Mother, ſaid he, a Crown of Joy; may you not be glad of that? With that his Mother kneeled down on her Knees, ſaying, I pray God ſtrengthen thee, my Son, to the End: Yea, I think thee as well beſtowed as any Child that ever I bare.

At which Words Mr. *Higbed* took her in his Arms, ſaying, I rejoice (and ſo ſaid the others) to ſee you in this Mind, and you have a good Cauſe to rejoice. And his Father and Mother both ſaid, that they always were of that Mind, and praying for him, that as he had begun to confeſs Chriſt before Men, he might likewiſe continue ſo to the End. *William*'s Father ſaid, I was afraid of nothing but that my Son ſhould have been killed in the Priſon by Hunger and Cold, the Biſhop was ſo hard to him. But *William* confeſſed, after a Month that his Father was charged with his Board, that he lacked nothing, but had Meat and Cloathing enough, yea even out of the Court, both Money, Meat, Cloaths, Wood, and Coals, and all Things neceſſary.

Mark here whether *Bonner* did nothing but by the Law.

Thus they continued in their Inn, being the *Swan* in *Burntwood*, whither reſorted many People of the Country, to ſee thoſe good Men which were there; and many of *William*'s Acquaintance came to him, and reaſoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the Abomination of popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry.

Thus paſſing away *Saturday*, *Sunday* and *Monday*, on *Monday* at Night it happened, that *William* had a Dream, wich was this: That he was at the Place where the Stake was pitch'd, where he ſhould be burned, which (as he thought in his Dream) was at the Town's End where the Butts ſtood, which was ſo indeed; and alſo he dreamed, that he met with his Father as he went to the Stake, and alſo that there was a Prieſt at the Stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he ſaid (as he thought in his Dream) Away falſe Prophet; that he exhorted the People to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: Which Things came to paſs indeed. It happened that *William* made a Noiſe to himſelf in his Dream, which cauſed Mr. *Higbed* and the others to awake him out of his Sleep, to know what he wanted. When he awaked, he told them his Dream in order as is ſaid.

W. Hunter led to the Place of Martyrdom.

Next Morning the Sheriff Mr. *Brocket* called to ſet forward to the burning of *William Hunter*; and the Sheriff's Son came to him, and embraced him in his Right Arm, ſaying, *William*, be not afraid of theſe Men which are here preſent with Bows, Bills and Weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the Place where you ſhall be burned. To whom he replied, I thank God I am not afraid; for I have reckoned what it will coſt me already. Then the Sheriff's Son could ſpeak no more to him for weeping.

William Hunter then plucked up his Gown, and went forward chearfully, the Sheriff's Servant taking him by one Arm, and his Brother by another; and going along he met with his Father according to his Dream, and he ſpake to his Son weeping, God be with thee, Son *William*.

His Words to his Father.

And *William* ſaid, God be with you, good Father, and be of good Comfort; for I hope we ſhall meet again when we ſhall be merry. His Father ſaid, I hope ſo, *William*, and ſo departed. He then went to the Place where the Stake ſtood, even according to his Dream, where all Things were not ready; and taking a wet Broom Faggot, he kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty firſt Pſalm, till he came to theſe Words, *The Sacrifice of God is a contrite Spirit, a contrite and a broken Heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe.*

Then ſaid Mr. *Tyrill* of the *Braches*, called *William Tyrill*, Thou lieſt, ſaid he, thou readeſt falſe; for the Words are an humble Spirit. But *William* ſaid, The Tranſlation ſaith a contrite Heart. Yea, quoth Mr. *Tyrill*, the Tranſlation is falſe, ye tranſlate Books as ye pleaſe yourſelves, like Hereticks. Well, quoth *William*, there is no great difference in thoſe Words. Then ſaid the Sheriff, Here is a Letter from the Queen: If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt live; if not, thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth *William*, I will not recant, God willing. *William* then roſe up and went to the Stake, and ſtood upright to it. When came one *Richard Ponde* a Bailiff, and made the Chain faſt about *William*.

W. Hunter refuſeth the Queen's Pardon.

Then ſaid Mr. *Brown*, Here is not Wood enough to burn a Leg of him: then ſaid *William*, Good People pray for me; and make ſpeed and diſpatch me quickly: And pray for me while you ſee me alive, good People, and I will pray for you likewiſe.

No, quoth Mr. *Brown*, pray for thee, I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog. To whom *William* anſwered, Mr. *Brown*, now you have that which you ſought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge in the laſt Day; howbeit I forget you. Then Mr. *Brown* ſaid, I aſk no Forgiveneſs of thee. Well, ſaid *William*, if God forgive you, I ſhall not require my Blood at your Hands.

Then ſaid *William*, Son of God ſhine upon me; and immediately the Sun in the Element ſhone out of a dark Cloud ſo full in his Face, that he was conſtrained to look another Way; whereat the People muſed, becauſe it was ſo dark a little Time afore. Then *William* took up a Faggot of Broom, and embraced it in his Arms.

The End and Martyrdom of *W. Hunter*, *March* 26.

Then the Prieſt, which *William* dreamed of, came to his Brother *Robert* with a Popiſh Book to carry to *William*, that he might recant, which Book his Brother would not meddle withal.

William then ſeeing the Prieſt, and perceiving how he would have ſhewed him the Book, ſaid, Away thou falſe Prophet. Beware of them, good People, and come away from their Abominations, leſt that you be Partakers of their Plagues. Then the Prieſt ſaid, look how thou burneſt here, ſo ſhalt thou burn in Hell. *William* anſwered, Thou lieſt thou falſe Prophet; away thou falſe Prophet away.

Hunter's Words to a Popiſh Prieſt.

There was a Gentleman preſent which ſaid, I pray God have Mercy upon his Soul. The People ſaid, *Amen*, *Amen*. Immediately the Fire was made.

Then *William* caſt his Pſalter into his Brother's Hand, who ſaid, *William*, think on the holy Paſſion of Chriſt, and be not afraid of Death.

Hunter comforted by his Brother *Robert*.

And *William* anſwer'd, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his Hands to Heaven, and ſaid, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit; and caſting down his Head again into the ſmothering Smoak, he yielded up his Life for the Truth, ſealing it with his Blood to the Praiſe of God. Anno 1555.

The Hiſtory of Mr. *Higbed* and *Mr. Cauſton*, who were burned in *Eſſex*, March 26. 1555.

Although the Condemnation of Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Cauſton* followed after the Condemnation of thoſe Martyrs who were condemned with *Tomkins* and *Hunter* above mentioned, yet becauſe the Time of their Execution was before the Burning of the aforeſaid four Martyrs, ſuffering the ſame Day that *William Hunter* did, which was the twenty ſixth of *March*, I thought fit therefore here to place the ſame.

This Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Cauſton*, two worſhipful Gentlemen in the County of *Eſſex*, the one at *Hornden* on the Hill, the other of the Pariſh of *Thundurſt*, being zealous and religious in the true Service of God; as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the World, ſo in time of blind Superſtition and wretched Idolatry, they could not long lye hid and obſcure in ſuch a Number of malignant Adverſaries, Accuſers, and Servants of this World, but at length they were perceived, and diſcovered to the aforeſaid *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, by whoſe Command they were committed to the Officers of *Colcheſter* to be ſafely kept, and with them alſo a Servant of *Thomas Cauſton*, who was nothing inferiour to his Maſter in true Piety.

Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Cauſton* detected to *Bonner*.

Biſhop *Bonner* perceiving theſe two Gentlemen to be of good Eſtate, and of great Eſtimation in that Country, leſt any Tumult ſhould thereby ariſe, came thither himſelf, accompanied with Mr. *Fecknam* and ſeveral others, thinking to reclaim them to his Religion.

Biſhop *Bonner* goeth to *Colcheſter*.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them aſſent to their Doings, at length they came to this Point, that they required certain Reſpite to conſult with themſelves what was beſt to do. Which time of Deliberation being expired, and they remaining ſtill conſtant in their profeſſed Doctrine, and ſetting out alſo their Confeſſion in writing, the Biſhop ſeeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to *London*, and with them certain other Priſoners alſo, who about the ſame Time were apprehended in thoſe Parts.

Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Cauſton* carried to *London*.

It was not long after this, but theſe Priſoners being at *London* committed to ſtrait Priſon, and there attempted ſundry Ways by the Biſhop and his Chaplains to revoke their Opinions; at length when no Perſuaſions would ſerve, they were brought forth to open Examination at the Conſiſtory in St. *Paul*'s, *February* 17, 1555. where they were demanded as well by the ſaid Biſhop, as alſo by the Biſhop of *Bath* and others, whether they would recant their Errors and perverſe Doctrine, as they termed it, and ſo come to the Unity of the Popiſh Church. But on their refuſing ſo to do, the Biſhop aſſigned them to appear again the next Day, being the 18th of *February*.

On which Day, among many other Things, he read unto them ſeverally certain Articles, and gave them reſpite until the next Day to anſwer

The Burning of Thomas Tomkins.

The Burning of William Hunter.

Away thou false Prophet

The Martyrdom of John Laurence *at* Colchester.

B. Cole sculp.

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Anno 1555. unto the ſame, and ſo committed them again to Priſon. The Copy of which Articles hereunder followeth.

Articles laid by Biſhop *Bonner* to Mr. *Higbed* and *Cauſton*.

Firſt, That thou *Thomas Cauſton* (or *Thomas Higbed*) haſt been and art of the Dioceſs of *London*, and alſo of the Juriſdiction now of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*.

Item, That thou waſt in time paſt, according to the Order of the Church of *Englund*, baptied and chriſtened.

Item, That thou hadſt Godfathers and Godmother, according to the ſaid Order.

Item, That the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then promiſe for thee, and in thy Name, the Faith and Religion that then was uſed in the Realm of *England*.

Item, That that Faith and Religion which they did profeſs and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the Faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Chriſtian People: And ſo it was in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the Age of Diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the Age of fourteen Years, didſt not miſlike nor diſallow that Faith, that Religion, or Promiſe then uſed and approved, and promiſed by the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother, but for a Time didſt continue in it, as others (taking themſelves for chriſtian People) did likewiſe.

Item, That at that Time, and alſo before, it was taken for a Doctrine of the Church, Catholick and True, and every where in *Chriſtendom* then allowed for Catholick and True, and to be the Profeſſion of chriſtan Men, to believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Conſecration, there was and is by the omnipotent Power and Will of Almighty God, and his Word, without any Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, the True and Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in Subſtance, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs, really, truly, and in very Deed.

Item, That at that Time thy Father and Mother, all thine Anceſtors, all thy Kindred, Acquaintance and Friends, and thy ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then ſo believe, and think in all the ſame as the ſaid Church did therein believe.

Item, That thyſelf haſt had no juſt Cauſe or lawful Ground to depart or ſwerve from the ſaid Religion or Faith, nor any Occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous Opinion or Belief, that hath been againſt the common Order of the Church, brought in by certain diſordered Perſons of late, at the uttermoſt within theſe thirty or forty Years laſt paſt.

Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that Dr. *Robert Barnes*, *John Frith*, *Thomas Gerrard*, *Hierome Laſſels*, *Anne Aſkew*, *John Hooper* late Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Sir *Laurence Saunders* Prieſt, *John Bradford*, Sir *John Rogers* Prieſt, Sir *Rowland Taylor* Prieſt, Sir *John Laurence* Prieſt, *William Pigot*, *Stephen Knight*, *William Hunter*, *Thomas Tomkins*, and *Thomas Haukes*, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as Hereticks, and alſo condemned as Hereticks, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly; eſpecially in holding and believing certain damnable Opinions, againſt the Verity of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and all the ſame Perſons, ſaving *John Bradford*, Sir *John Laurence*, *W. Pigot*, *Stephen Knight*, *W. Hunter*, *Thomas Tomkins*, and *Thomas Haukes*, have ſuffered Pains of Death by Fire, for the Maintenance and Defence of their ſaid Opinions and miſbelief.

Alſo Sir *Edmund Bonner*, Prieſt, before the Death of *Cromwel*, to be of that Opinion, and was ſworn twice againſt the Pope.

Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Nicholas Ridley*, naming himſelf Biſhop of *London*, *Robert Ferrar* late Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and *Hugh Latimer* ſometime Biſhop of *Worceſter*, have been, and are at this preſent reputed, accounted, and taken as Hereticks and Miſbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable Opinions againſt the Verity of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Verity taken for Hereſy by miſbeleving Hereticks.

Item, That thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſaid Perſons ſo erring and believing, (or at leaſtwiſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholick People, and their ſaid Opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and uttermoſt of thy Power thou haſt allowed, maintained and defended at ſundry Times.

Item, That thou having heard, known and underſtood all the Premiſſes thus to be as is aforeſaid, haſt not regarded all or any Part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and every Part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſſing, and breaking the Promiſe, Faith, Religion, Order and Cuſtom aforeſaid, and haſt become, and art an Heretick and Miſbeliever in the Premiſſes, denying the Verity of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and obſtinately affirming, That the Subſtance of the materal Bread and Wine are there remaining, and that the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, taken of the Virgin *Mary*, are not there in the ſaid Sacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the Premiſſes be true, notorious, famous and manifeſt, and that upon all the ſame, there have and be amongſt the ſaid good People of the City of *London*, and Dioceſs of the ſame, in great Multitude, commonly and publickly, a common and publick Fame and Opinion, and alſo in all Places where thou haſt been, within the ſaid Dioceſs of *London*.

Theſe Articles being given to them in Writing by the Biſhop, the next day following was aſſigned to them to give up and exhibit their Anſwers unto the ſame.

On the firſt Day of *March* the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton* and *Thomas Higbed*, Gentlemen, being brought before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory, they there exhibited their Anſwers to the Articles aforeſaid; the Tenor of which Anſwers here followeth:

The Anſwers of *Thomas Cauſton* and *Thomas Higbed*, to the foreſaid Articles.

To the Firſt, they anſwer and confeſs the ſame to be true.

To the Second, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the Third, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the Fourth, they anſwer and think the ſame to be true.

To the Fifth, until this Clauſe [and ſo was it in very Deed] they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true. And unto that Clauſe [and ſo was it in very Deed] they anſwer negatively, and believe that it was not in very Deed.

To the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the Ninth, they anſwer and ſay, that they think they have a juſt and lawful Cauſe and Ground to ſwerve and go from the ſaid Faith and Religion, becauſe they have now read more Scripture,

Scripture, than either themſelves, or their Parents and Kinsfolk, Godfathers or Godmothers have read or ſeen heretofore in that Behalf.

To the Tenth, they anſwer, ſay, and believe, that the ſaid Perſons articulate have been named, taken, and counted for Hereticks, and ſo condemned for Hereticks; yet about three Years paſt, they were taken for good chriſtian Perſons. And foraſmuch as theſe Reſpondents did never hear them preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſaid and preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the Sacrament, but that there is remaining the Subſtance of Bread and Wine.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

To the Eleventh, they anſwer and ſay, that howſoever other Folks do repute and take the ſaid Perſons articulate, yet theſe Reſpondents themſelves did never, nor yet do ſo account and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſaid Perſons articulate named in this Article have preached, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is very material Wine, and not the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood under the Forms of Bread and Wine, when they preached well and truly, and theſe Reſpondents themſelves do ſo believe.

To the Twelfth, they anſwer and ſay, that where other Folk have diſpraiſed the ſaid Perſons articulate, and diſallowed their Opinions, theſe Reſpondents (for ought that they at any Time have heard) did like and allow the ſaid Perſons, and their Sayings.

To the Thirteenth, they anſwer and ſay, that they have not broken or condemned any Promiſe made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their Baptiſm, and that they are no Hereticks nor Miſbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that Chriſt's natural Body is not there, but in Heaven; for they ſay, that the Scriptures ſo teach them.

To the Fourteenth, they anſwer and believe, that the Premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious, and manifeſt.

After theſe Anſwers exhibited and peruſed, the Biſhop ſpake unto them after this Sort, beginning firſt with *Thomas Cauſton*: Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſuddenly trapped, and that Men ſhall not ſay that I go about to ſeek Snares to put you away: I have hitherto reſpited you, that you ſhould weigh and conſider with yourſelf your State and Condition; and that you ſhould, while ye have Time and Space, acknowledge the Truth, and return to the Unity of the catholick Church. Then the Biſhop, reading their former Articles and Anſwers to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant: Which when they had denied, they were again diſmiſſed, and commanded to appear the *Wedneſday* after, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, there to receive their definitive Sentence: Which (as it ſeemeth) was yet deferred.

Another Examination of Mr. Cauſton *and Mr.* Higbed.

THE next *Friday*, being the Eighth Day of *March*, the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton* was firſt called to Examination before the Biſhop, Mr. *Fecknam* and Dr. *Stempe* being in his Palace, and there had read unto him his aforeſaid Articles with his Anſwers thereunto, and after ſome Exhortations to recant his former Profeſſion, and to be conformable to the Unity of their Church, they promiſed him, (ſo doing) willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he anſwered, you go about to catch us in Snares and Gins. But mark, by what Meaſure ye meaſure us, look you to be meaſured with the ſame again at God's Hands. The Biſhop ſtill perſuading him to recant. To whom he anſwered, No, I will not abjure. Ye ſaid that the Biſhops that were lately burned be Hereticks: But I pray God make me ſuch an Heretick as they were.

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Mr. *Cauſton* denieth to recant.

The Biſhop then leaving Mr. *Cauſton*, calleth for Mr. *Higbed*: Uſing with him the like Perſuaſions that he did with the other: But he anſwered, I will not abjure. For I have been of this Mind and Opinion that I am now, theſe ſixteen Years, and do what ye can, ye ſhall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what Meaſure you meaſure us, look for the ſame again at God's Hands.

Mr. *Higbed* called forth, denieth to abjure.

There *Fecknam* aſked him his Opinion in the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom he anſwered, I do not believe that Chriſt is in the Sacrament as ye will have him, which is of Man's making: Both their Anſwers thus ſeverally made, they were again commanded to depart for that Time, and to appear the next Day in the Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s, between the Hours of One and Three of the Clock at Afternoon.

Mr. *Fecknam* ſtill buſy with the Matter of the Sacrament.

The laſt Appearance of Mr. Cauſton *and Mr.* Higbed *before* Bonner.

THE ninth of *March*, they were both brought thither: Where the Biſhop cauſed Mr. *Thomas Cauſton*'s Articles and Anſwers firſt to be read openly, and after perſuaded him to recant and abjure his heretical Opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their Mother the catholick Church, and ſave himſelf.

But Mr. *Thomas Cauſton* anſwered again, and ſaid, No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that Purpoſe: And therewithal did exhibit in Writing unto the Biſhop (as well in his own Name, as alſo in *Thomas Higbed*'s Name) a Confeſſion of their Faith, to which they would ſtand; and required Leave to read the ſame, which (after great Suit) was obtained, and ſo he read it openly in the Hearing of the People, as followeth:

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* do exhibit a Confeſſion of their Faith.

The Confeſſion of Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed.*

Firſt, We believe and profeſs in Baptiſm, to forſake the Devil and all his Works and Pomps, and the Vanities of the wicked World, with all the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh.

2. We believe all the Articles of our chriſtian Faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy Will and Commandments, and to walk in the ſame all the Days of our Life.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's Prayer all Things neceſſary both for Body and Soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other Saint or Angel.

5. We believe, that there is a catholick Church, even the Communion of Saints, *Built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *Chriſt being the head Corner-ſtone. For which Church Chriſt gave himſelf, to make it to himſelf a glorious Congregation without Fault in his Sight.*

6. We believe, that this Church of herſelf, and by her own Merits is ſinful, and muſt needs ſay,

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ſay, Father forgive us our Sins: But thro' Chriſt and his Merits, ſhe is freely forgiven: *For he in his own Perſon* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *hath purged her Sins, and made her faultleſs in his Sight. Beſides whom, there is no Saviour,* ſaith the Prophet: *Neither is there Salvation,* ſaith St. *Peter, in any other Name.*

7. We believe as he is our only Saviour, ſo he is our only Mediator. For the Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſaith, *There is one God, one Mediator between God and Man, even the Man* Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore ſeeing none hath this Name God and Man but *Jeſus Chriſt*, therefore there is no Mediator but *Jeſus Chriſt.*

8. We believe that this Church of Chriſt is and hath been perſecuted, by the Words of Chriſt, ſaying, *As they have perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Chriſt*, ſaith St. *Paul, but alſo to ſuffer for his Sake. For all that will live godly in* Chriſt Jeſus, *muſt ſuffer Perſecution.*

9. We believe, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth the Word of God truly and ſincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any Thing from: And alſo doth miniſter the Sacrments according to the primitive Church.

The true Church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

10. We believe, that this Church of Chriſt ſuffereth all Men to read the Scriptures, according to Chriſt's Commandment, ſaying, *Search the Scriptures, for they teſtify of me.* We read alſo in the Acts, that when St. *Paul* preached, the Audience daily ſearched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Alſo the Prophet *David* teacheth all Men to pray with Underſtanding: *For how ſhall the Unlearned*, ſaith St. *Paul, ſay* Amen, *at the giving of Thanks, when they underſtand not what is ſaid?* And what is more allowed than *true Faith*, which, St. *Paul* ſaith, *cometh by hearing of the Word of God?*

11. We believe, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth that God ought to be worſhipped according to his Word, and not after the Doctrine of Men. *For in vain*, ſays Chriſt, *ye worſhip me, teaching nothing but the Doctrine of Men.*

God's Precepts to be followed, and not the Conſtitutions of Men.

Alſo we are commanded of God by his Prophet, ſaying, *Walk not in the Traditions and Precepts of your Elders: But walk*, ſaith he, *in my Precepts: Do that I command you: Put nothing thereunto, neither take any Thing from it.* Likewiſe ſaith Chriſt, *You ſhall forſake Father and Mother, and follow me.* Whereby we learn, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe than God commanded, in that Point we muſt forſake them.

The Lord's Supper is not to be changed from the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

12. We believe, that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, foraſmuch as Chriſt himſelf, being the Wiſdom of the Father, did inſtitute it. For it is written, *Curſed is he that changeth my Ordinances, and departeth from my Commandments, or taketh any Thing from them.*

Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is ſore abuſed.

Firſt, In that it is given in one Kind, where Chriſt gave it in both.

Secondly, In that it is made a private Maſs, where Chriſt made it a Communion: For he gave it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles in the Name of the whole Church.

Thirdly, In that it is made a Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, whereas Chriſt ordained it for a Remembrance of the everlaſting Sacrifice which was in his own Body offered on the Altar of the Croſs once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſaith, *Even the full and perfect Price of our Redemption: And where there is Remiſſion of Sin*, ſaith he, *there is no more Sacrifice for Sin.*

Fourthly, In that it is worſhipped contrary to the Commandment, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with Hands.*

Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown Tongue, whereby the People are ignorant of the right Uſe thereof, how Chriſt died for our Sins, and roſe again for our Juſtification, by whom we be ſet at Peace with God, and received to his Favour and Mercy by his Promiſe, whereof this Sacrament is a ſure Seal and Witneſs.

Beſides this, it is hanged up, and ſhut in a Box; yea, many Times ſo long, that Worms breed in it, and ſo it putrifieth: Whereby the rude People have an Occaſion to ſpeak unreverently thereof, which otherwiſe would ſpeak reverently.

Therefore they that thus abuſe it, bring up the Slander, and not we, which pray daily to God to reſtore it to the right Uſe, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Chriſt's Words, *This is my Body*, not denied, but expounded.

Now concerning Chriſt's Words, *This is my Body*, we deny them not; but we ſay, that the Mind of Chriſt in them muſt be ſearched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the ſpiritual Underſtanding of them, which ſhall be moſt to the Glory of God: For as the holy Apoſtle ſaith, *There is no Scripture that hath any private Interpretation.* Beſides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative Speeches: As for Example; Chriſt ſaith, *This Cup is the* New Teſtament *in my Blood. The Rock is Chriſt*, ſaith St. *Paul. Whoſoever receiveth a Child in my Name*, ſaith our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt, receiveth me.* Which Sentences muſt not be underſtood after the Letter, leſt we do err as the *Capernaites* did, which thought that Chriſt's Body ſhould have been eaten with their Teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Chriſt ſaid, *Such a fleſhly eating of my Body profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the Fleſh profiteth nothing: For my Words are Spirit and Life.*

The Words of the Sacrament ought to be taken ſpiritually and not literally.

Thus we ſee that Chriſt's Words muſt be underſtood ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy Supper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his Jaw, but his Heart; neither Tooth nor Belly; but, *Believe*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine, and thou haſt eaten it*; ſo that we muſt bring with us a ſpiritual Hunger, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Try and examine ourſelves, whether our Conſciences do teſtify unto us, that we do truly believe in Chriſt, according to the Scriptures*; whereof if we be truly certified, being new born from our old Converſation in Heart, Mind, Will, and Deed, then may we boldly with this Marriage Garment of our Faith come to the Feaſt.

In Conſideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Chriſt himſelf; *This do in Remembrance of me.* And St. *Paul*; *As often*, ſaith he, *as ye eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall remember the Lord's Death until he come.* Here is no Change, but Bread ſtill. And St. *Luke* affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a juſt Promiſe, ſaying; *Me you ſhall not have always with you, I leave the World, and go to my Father; for if I ſhould not depart, the Comforter which I will ſend, cannot come unto you.* So according to his Promiſe he aſcended as the Evangeliſts teſtify. Alſo St. *Peter* ſaith, *That Heaven ſhall keep him until the laſt Day alſo.*

Now as touching his omnipotent Power, we confeſs and ſay with St. *Auguſtine*, that Chriſt

is both God and Man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven, and can occupy but one Place; whereunto the Scriptures do agree. For his Body was not in all Places at once when he was here; for it was not in the Grave, when the Woman ſought it, as the Angel ſaith: Neither was it at *Bethany* where *Lazarus* died, by Chriſt's own Words, ſaying, *I am glad I was not there.* And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy Supper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in Heaven, both God and Man.

Chriſt's Body but in one Place at once.

And further, we make here our Proteſtation before God (whom we call to record in this Matter) that this which we have ſaid, is neither of Stubbornneſs, nor wilful Mind, as ſome judge of us; but even of very Conſcience, truly (we truſt) grounded on God's holy Word. For before we took this Matter in hand, we beſought God from the Bottom of our Hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and bleſſed Word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his Power in our Weakneſs, we cannot worthily praiſe him, unto whom we give hearty Thanks, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, *Amen.*

When they had thus delivered and read their Confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtill perſiſting ſometimes in fair Promiſes, ſometimes threatning to pronounce Judgment, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their Confeſſion, and other Anſwers? To whom *Cauſton* ſaid, Yea, we will ſtand to our Anſwers written with our Hands, and to our Belief therein contained. After which Anſwer the Biſhop began to pronounce Sentence againſt him.

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* conſtant to Death in their Confeſſion.

Then he ſaid, that it was much Raſhneſs, and without all Love and Mercy to give Judgment without anſwering to their Confeſſion by the Truth of God's Word, whereunto they ſubmitted themſelves moſt willingly. And therefore I, ſaid *Cauſton* (becauſe I cannot have Juſtice at your Hand, but that ye will thus raſhly condemn me) do appeal from you to my Lord Cardinal.

Mr. *Cauſton* appealeth to the Cardinal.

Then Dr. *Smith* ſaid, that he would anſwer their Confeſſion. But the Biſhop not ſuffering him to ſpeak, ordered Mr. *Harpsfield* to ſpeak his Mind for the Stay of the People; who taking their Confeſſion in his Hand, neither touched nor anſwered one Sentence thereof.

Sentence pronounced againſt Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed.*

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced Sentence, firſt againſt the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton*, and then calling *Thomas Higbed*, cauſed his Articles and Anſwers likewiſe to be read. In the reading whereof Mr. *Higbed* ſaid, Ye ſpeak Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt's Paſſion, and ye go about to trap us with your Subtilties and Snares. And though my Father, Mother, and Kinsfolk did believe as you ſay, yet they were deceived in ſo believing.

And further, where you ſay, that my Lord, named *Cranmer*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others ſpecify'd in the ſaid Articles, be Hereticks, I do wiſh that I were ſuch an Heretick as they were and be. Then the Biſhop aſked him again, whether he would turn from his Error, and come to the Unity of their Church: To whom he ſaid, No, I would ye ſhould recant; for I am in the Truth, and you in Error.

Well, quoth the Biſhop, if you will return, I will gladly receive you.

No, ſaid Mr. *Higbed*, I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar your God.

Whereon the Biſhop proceeded, and gave Judgment upon him, as he had done before upon *Thomas Cauſton.* When this was ended, they were both delivered to the Sheriffs, and by them ſent to *Newgate*, where they remained for the Space of fourteen Days. Anno 1555.

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* condemned and ſent to *Newgate.*

Theſe fourteen Days being expired, they were, the Twenty-third of *March*, fetched from *Newgate* at four of the Clock in the Morning, and ſo led thro' the City to *Aldgate*, where they were delivered unto the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, and there being faſt bound in a Cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeveral appointed Places of burning; that is to ſay, *Thomas Higbed* to *Hornden* on the Hill, and *Thomas Cauſton* to *Rayly*, (both in the County of *Eſſex*) where they did moſt conſtantly, the Twenty-ſixth Day of the ſame Month, ſeal their Faith with ſhedding of their Blood by moſt cruel Fire, to the Glory of God, and great Rejoicing of all good Men.

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* are brought from *Newgate* into *Eſſex.*

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, *and* John Laurence, *with their Examinations and Martyrdom.*

IN the Story of *Thomas Tomkins* and his Fellows, we made mention of Six who were examined, and condemned together by Biſhop *Bonner*, the ninth Day of *February:* Of which Six condemned Perſons, two, which were *Tomkins* and *William Hunter* were executed, the one upon the twenty ſixth of *February*, and the other upon the twenty ſixth of *March.* The other Three, to wit, *William Pygot* and *Stephen Knight*, ſuffered upon the twenty eighth Day, and *John Laurence* the twenty ninth of the ſaid Month of *March.*

Concerning which three Martyrs, we have now ſomething to ſay of their Examinations: It was firſt demanded of them, what their Opinion was of the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto they ſeverally anſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Subſtance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, but a ſpecial partaking of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being only in Heaven, and no where elſe. This Anſwer thus made; the Biſhop cauſed certain Articles to be read unto them, tending to the ſame Effect, as did the Articles before of *Tomkins* and of Mr. *Cauſton.* The Tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles objected by the Biſhop of London *to* William Pygot, Stephen Knight, *and* John Laurence, *Febr.* 8. 1555.

WHether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe that it is a catholick, faithful, chriſtian, and true Doctrine, to teach, preach, and ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is without any Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, by the Ominpotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word, really, truly, and in very Deed the True and Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in Subſtance (though not in outward Form and Appearance) which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and

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and ſuffered upon the Croſs, Yea, or Nay?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your Parents, Kinsfolk, Friends, and Acquaintance, here in this preſent Realm of *England*, before your Birth a great while, and alſo after your Birth, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, had a true chriſtian Faith, and were Faithful and True chriſtian People, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your Godfathers and Godmother, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, had a true chriſtian Faith, and were faithful and true chriſtian People, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe that your ownſelf in times paſt, being of the Age of fourteen Years and above, did think and believe concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar in all Points, as your ſaid Parents, Kinſfolks, Friends, Acquaintance, Godfathers, and Godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our Sovereigns the King and the Queen of this Realm of *England*, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, as other chriſtian Realms do, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, have a True chriſtian Faith, and believe as the catholick and true Church of Chriſt hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our Saviour Chriſt and his holy Spirit hath been, is, and ſhall be with his catholick Church, even to the World's End, governing and ruling the ſame in all Things, eſpecially in the neceſſary Points of chriſtian Religion, not ſuffering the ſame to err, or be deceived therein?

The real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation.

Whether is it true, that you being ſuſpected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the very true Preſence of Chriſt's natural Body, and the Subſtance thereof in the ſaid Sacrament, and thereupon called before me upon Complaint made to me againſt you, have not been a good Space in my Houſe, having freely Meat and Drink, and alſo divers Times inſtructed and informed, as well by one being our Ordinary, as alſo by my Chaplains, and divers other learned Men, ſome whereof were Biſhops, ſome Deans, and ſome Archdeacons, and every one of them learned in Divinity, and minding well unto you, and deſiring the Safeguard of your Soul, and that you ſhould follow and believe the Doctrine of the catholick Church as afore concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and whether you did not at all Times ſince your ſaid coming to me, utterly refuſe to follow and believe the ſaid Doctrine concerning the ſaid Sacrament?

Whether can you now find in your Heart and Conſcience, to conform yourſelf in all Points to the ſaid Faith and catholick Church concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any Diſſimulation, believing therein, as our ſaid Sovereigns, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, and other chriſtian Realms: And other Perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the ſaid catholick Church, have and do ſo believe in that Behalf?

In caſe you ſo cannot, what Ground have you to maintain your Opinion, and who is of the ſame Opinion with you, and what Conference have you had therein with any, what Comfort and what Relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their Names, Surnames, and their dwelling Places?

Their Anſwers to theſe Articles were not much different from *Tomkins*, and other Martyrs before mentioned, as here followeth to not ſeen.

The Anſwers of *Stephen Knight* and *William Pygot*, to the aforeſaid Articles.

To the firſt Article, they believe, that the Contents of this Article is not agreeable to Scripture.

To the Second, they anſwer and believe, that their Parents and others expreſſed in the ſaid Article, and ſo believing as is contained in the ſame, were deceived.

To the Third, they anſwer, that they ſo believed, but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the Fourth, they ſay, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the ſaid Article, but now they do not ſo believe.

To the Fifth, they ſay, that if they ſo believe, they are deceived.

To the Sixth, they believe the ſame to be true.

To the Seventh, they anſwer, and believe the Contents of the ſame to be true.

To the Eighth, they anſwer, that they can no whit conform themſelves to the Faith and Doctrine contained and ſpecified in this Article, until it be proved by Scripture.

To the Ninth, they ſay, that they have no Ground to maintain their ſaid Opinions, but the Truth, which (as they ſaid) hath been perſwaded by learned Men, as Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, and ſuch other.

Theſe Anſwers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next Day, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, and in the mean while to bethink themſelves what they would do.

Another Appearance of the ſaid Priſoners before Biſhop Bonner.

THE next Morning, being the ninth of *February*, before their open Appearance, the Biſhop ſent for *William Pygot* and *Stephen Knight* into his great Chamber in his Palace, where he exhorted them to recant, and deny their former Profeſſion.

Who anſwered, that they were perſwaded in their Conſciences not to return and abjure their Opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three (with *Thomas Tomkins* and *William Hunter* beforenamed) brought openly into the Conſiſtory, the ninth Day of *February* aforeſaid, and there had the ſame Articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the afore ſaid *Thomas Tomkins*, and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe Words; I do ſo believe.

Talk between *Bonner* and *John Laurence*, Prieſt.

The Biſhop alſo diſcourſed with *John Laurence* only; whereunto he anſwered in this Manner; That he was a Prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a Prieſt about eighteen Years paſt, and that he was ſometime a black Frier profeſſed; that alſo he was aſſured unto a Maid, whom he intended to have married.

John Laurence ſometime a Frier.

And being again demanded his Opinion upon the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was a Remembrance of Chriſt's Body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and

that

that all ſuch as do not believe as he doth, do err. And after this Talk and other fair Words and Threatnings, they were all of them commanded to appear again in the Afternoon.

The Third and laſt Appearance.

At which Hour they came thither again, and there after the accuſtomed Manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their Doctrine, and receive the Faith. To which they conſtantly anſwered they would not, but would ſtick to that Faith that they had declared and ſubſcribed to, for that they did believe it was no Error which they believed; but that the contrary thereof was very Hereſy.

Stephen Knight, William Pygot, and *John Laurence* condemned.

When the Biſhop ſaw that neither his fair Flatterings, nor yet his cruel Threatnings would prevail, he gave them ſeverally their Judgments. And becauſe *John Laurence* had been one of their anointed Prieſts, he was by the Biſhop there (according to their Order) ſolemnly degraded, the Manner whereof you may ſee in the Hiſtory of Mr. *Hooper* before-mentioned.

John Laurence degraded.

Their Sentence of Condemnation, and this Degradation once ended, they were committed to the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *London*, who ſent them to *Newgate*, where they remained with Joy together, until they were carried down into *Eſſex*, and there the twenty eighth Day of *March*, the ſaid *William Pygot* was burned at *Braintree*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*.

The Martyrdom of *John Laurence*, Prieſt at *Colcheſter*.

The next Day, being the twenty ninth Day of *March*, the ſaid *John Laurence* was brought to *Colcheſter*, and there being not able to go (for his Legs were much worn with heavy Irons in Priſon, and alſo his Body weakned with evil keeping) was borne to the Fire in a Chair, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant Faith conſumed with Fire.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Robert Farrar, *Biſhop of* St. David's, *who ſuffered* March 30. 1555.

THE next Day after, Dr. *Robert Farrar* Biſhop of St. *David's* in *Wales*, was the next Biſhop that ſuffered after Mr. *Hooper*; who was firſt called and promoted to that Dignity by the Favour and good Will of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord Protector in King *Edward's* Time. This Man I may well call twice a Martyr, not only for the cruel Death of the Fire, which he moſt conſtantly ſuffered in the Days of Queen *Mary*, but alſo for ſeveral other Injuries and Moleſtations in King *Edward's* Time, which he no leſs firmly than unworthily ſuſtained at the Hands of his Enemies after the Fall of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

After whoſe Fall he found few Friends to ſupport him againſt ſuch as hunted after his Biſhoprick; but at length after the Deceaſe of King *Edward*, by the coming in of Queen *Mary*, the State of Religion begun to be changed and altered: Whereby a new Trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Præmunire, but for his Faith and Doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with Mr. *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Saunders*, and others, the Fourth of *February*. On which Day he ſhould alſo with them have been condemned; but becauſe Leiſure did not ſo well then ſerve the Biſhop, his Condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to Priſon again, where he continued till *February* 14. What his Examinations and Anſwers were before the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſo much as remained and came to our Hands, I have here annexed. Anno 1555.

At his firſt coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who ſate at the Table; and Mr. *Rocheſter*, Mr. *Southwel*, Mr. *Bourne*, and others ſtanding at the Tables End, the Lord Chancellor ſaid unto him on this Sort:

Wincheſter. Now Sir, have you heard how the World goeth here?

Farrar. If it like your Honour, I know not.

Winch. What ſay you? do you not know things Abroad, notwithſtanding you are a Priſoner?

Far. No, my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Lo, what a froward Fellow is this?

Far. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thing Abroad, being a Priſoner?

Winch. Have you not heard of the Coming in of the Lord Cardinal?

Far. I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a Cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

I pray your Lordſhip (ſaid the Biſhop of *Worceſter*) tell him yourſelf, that he may know what is done.

Biſhop *Farrar* charged with the Quren's Debt.

Winch. The Queen's Majeſty and the Parliament hath reſtored Religion into the ſame State it was in at the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. Ye are in the Queen's Debt, and her Majeſty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholick Church.

Far. In what State I am concerning my Debts to the Queen's Majeſty in the Court of Exchequer, my Lord Treaſurer knoweth: And the laſt Time that I was before your Honour, and the firſt Time alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an Oath, never to conſent nor agree, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have any Power or Juriſdiction within this Realm: And further I need not rehearſe to your Lordſhip, you know it well enough.

Biſhop *Farrar* refuſeth the Pope.

Mr. *Bourne* layeth to Biſhop *Farrar* falſly to have abjured at *Oxford*.

You were once abjured for Hereſy (ſaid Mr. *Bourne*) in *Oxford*.

Far. That was I not.

Bourne. You were.

Far. I was not never, it is not true.

Bourne. You went from St. *David's* to *Scotland*.

Far. That I did not.

Bourne. You did.

Far. That did I never, but I went from *York* into *Scotland*.

Bourne. Ah, ſo ſaid I; you went with *Barlow*.

Far. That is true, but never from St. *David's*.

Bourne. You carried Books out of *Oxford*, to the Archbiſhop of of *York*, *L. Lee*.

Far. That did I not.

Bourne. You did.

Far. I did not, but I carried old Books from *S. Oſwald's* to the Archbiſhop of *York*.

Biſhop *Farrar* falſly charged to have ſupplanted his Maſter, whom indeed he defended from Danger.

Bourne. You ſupplanted your Maſter.

Far. That did I never in my Life.

Bourne. By my Faith you did.

Far. Forſooth, I did not, never in my Life, but did ſhield and ſave my Maſter from Danger, and that I obtained of King *Henry* the Eighth, for my true Service, I thank God therefore.

My Lord, (ſaid Mr. *Bourne* to my Lord Chancellor) he hath an ill Name in *Wales* as ever had any.

Far.

Anno 1555.

Far. That is not ſo. Whoſoever ſaith ſo, they ſhall never be able to prove it.

Bourne. He hath deceived the Queen in divers Sums of Money.

Far. This is utterly untrue, I never deceived King nor Queen of one Penny in my Life, and you ſhall never be able to prove that you ſay.

Winch. Thou art a falſe Knave.

Then Biſhop *Farrar* ſtood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled) and ſaid, No, my Lord, I am a true Man, I thank God for it. I was born under King *Henry* the Seventh, I ſerved King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth truly, and have ſerved the Queen's Majeſty, that now is, truly with my poor Heart and Word: More I could not do, and I was never falſe, nor ſhall be by the Grace of God.

Biſhop *Farrar* ſtoutly ſtandeth upon his Truth.

Winch. How ſay'ſt thou, wilt thou be reformable?

Far. My Lord if it pleaſe your Honour, I have made an Oath to God, and to King *Henry* the Eighth, and alſo to King *Edward*, and in that to the Queen's Majeſty, which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

Biſhop *Farrar* ſtandeth to his Oath made to the King againſt the Pope.

Durham. You have made another Oath before.

Far. No, my Lord, I never made another Oath before.

Durham. You made a Vow.

Far. That did I not.

Winch. You made a Profeſſion to live without a Wife.

Far. No, my Lord, if it pleaſe your Honour that did I never; I made a Profeſſion to live chaſt, not without a Wife.

Worceſter. You were ſworn to him that was Maſter of your Houſe.

Far. That was I never.

Winch. Well, you are a froward Knave: We will have no more to do with you, ſeeing that you will not come; we will be ſhort with you, and that you ſhall know within this Sevennight.

Winchester's Perjury touch'd.

Far. I am as it pleaſeth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my Oath which your Lordſhip yourſelf made before me, and gave in Example, which confirmed my Conſcience. Then I can never break that Oath whilſt I live to die for it.

Durham. Well, ſaid he, he ſtandeth upon his Oath: Call another.

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little Bell, and Mr. *Farrar* ſaid, I pray God ſave the King and Queen's Majeſty's long to continue in Honour to God's Glory and their Comforts, and the Comfort of the whole Realm; and I pray God ſave all your Honours, and ſo departed.

After theſe Examinations thus ended, Biſhop *Farrar* remained in Priſon uncondemned, till the Fourteenth Day of *February*, and then was ſent down into *Wales*, there to receive Sentence of Condemnation. Who then upon the Six and twentieth of *February*, in the Church of *Carmarthen*, being brought by *Griffith Leyſon*, Eſq; Sheriff of the County of *Carmarthen*, was there perſonally preſented before *Henry* Biſhop of *St. David's*, and *Conſtantine* the publick Notary: Which *Henry* there and then diſcharged the ſaid Sheriff, and received him into his own Cuſtody, further committing him to the Keeping of *Owen Jones*, and thereupon declared unto the ſaid Mr. *Farrar*, the great Mercy and Clemency that the King and Queen's Highneſs's Pleaſure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the ſaid Mr. *Farrar*; that is to ſay, That if he would ſubmit himſelf to the Laws of this Realm, and conform himſelf to the Unity of the univerſal catholick Church, he ſhould be received and pardoned: After that, ſeeing the ſaid Mr. *Farrar* to give no Anſwer to the Premiſſes, the ſaid Biſhop miniſtred unto him theſe Articles following.

Biſhop *Farrar* brought before Dr. *Morgan*, pretenſed Biſhop of *St. David's*

1. Firſt, Whether he believeth the Marriage of Prieſts lawful by the Laws of God, and holy Church, or no?

Articles objected againſt Biſhop *Farrar.*

2. *Item*, Whether he believeth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, after the Words of Conſecration duly pronounced by the Prieſt, the very Body and Blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contained, without the Subſtance of Bread and Wine?

Unto which Articles the ſaid Biſhop required the ſaid Mr. *Farrar* to anſwer upon his Allegiance.

To which he ſaid, he would anſwer when he ſaw a lawful Commiſſion, and would make no further Anſwer at that Time. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop taking no Advantage upon the ſame Anſwer, committed him to the ſaid Keeper, to be kept in Priſon until a new Monition, and in the mean Time to deliberate with himſelf for his further Anſwer to the Premiſſes.

The Anſwer of Biſhop *Farrar.*

Another Examination of Biſhop Farrar, *the laſt of* February, 1555.

MORGAN the pretenſed Biſhop of *St. David's* ſitting as Judge, miniſtred unto Biſhop *Farrar*, there perſonally preſent before him, certain Articles and Interrogatories in Writing: Which being openly read and miniſtred unto him, the ſaid Biſhop *Farrar* refuſed to anſwer, till he might ſee his lawful Commiſſion and Authority. Whereupon the aforeſaid pretenſed Biſhop of *St. David's*, did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the Puniſhment of his Contumacy to be counted *pro confeſſo*, and ſo did pronounce him in Writing. Which being done, he committed the ſaid Biſhop to the Cuſtody of *Owen Jones*, until *Monday* next, being the Fourth of *March*, then to be brought again into the ſame Place, between One and Two.

Another Appearance of Biſhop *Farrar.*

The Day and Place appointed, the ſaid Biſhop appearing again before the pretenſed Biſhop, humbly ſubmitting himſelf as ready to anſwer to the Articles and Poſitions aforementioned, gently required the Copy of the Articles, and a competent Term to be aſſigned unto him, to anſwer for himſelf: Which being granted unto him, and the *Thurſday* next being aſſigned unto him between One and Three, to anſwer preciſely and fully; ſo he was committed again to Cuſtody, as above.

Another Appearance of Biſhop *Farrar.*

On *Thurſday*, as was appointed, which was the Seventh of *March*, the Biſhop perſonally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain Bill in Writing, containing in it his Anſwer unto certain Articles objected and miniſtred unto him before. Then after *Henry* the pretenſed Biſhop of *St. David's* offered him again the ſaid Articles as before: The Tenor whereof tendeth to this Effect:

Articles again miniſtred againſt Biſhop *Farrar.*

Firſt, That he willed him, being a Prieſt, to renounce Matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

Thirdly, That the Maſs is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead.

Fourthly, That general Councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

Fifthly, That Men are not juſtified before God by Faith only, but that Hope and Charity are alſo neceſſarily required to Juſtification.

Sixthly, That the catholick Church, which only hath Authority to expound Scriptures, and to define Controverſies of Religion; and to ordain Things appertaining to publick Diſcipline, is viſible, and like unto a City ſet upon a Mountain for all Men to underſtand.

Biſhop *Farrar* denieth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

To theſe Articles thus objected to him, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were invented by Man, and pertain nothing to the catholick Faith. After this, the Biſhop abovenamed, delivered unto him the Copy of the Articles, aſſigning him *Monday* next following, to anſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame either affirmatively or negatively.

Another Appearance of Biſhop *Farrar.*

Upon which *Monday*, *March* 11, he appearing again before the Biſhop, and the aforeſaid Notary, *George Conſtantine*, exhibited in a written Paper his Mind and Anſwer to the aforeſaid Articles, which the Biſhop had twice now objected againſt him before, to which Articles and Anſwers he did ſo ſubſcribe, adding theſe Words, as *Tenens ſe de æquitate & juſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Menevenſem*, that the Biſhop aſſigned the next *Wedneſday*, in the Afternoon, to hear his final and definitive Sentence.

The laſt Appearance of Biſhop *Farrar.*

On which Day the ſaid Biſhop Dr. *Farrar*, perſonally there appearing, was demanded by *Henry* the pretenſed Biſhop of *St. David's*, whether he would renounce and recant his Hereſies, Schiſms, and Errors (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would ſubſcribe to the catholick Articles, otherwiſe than he had done before.

After this the ſaid Biſhop, Dr. *Farrar*, did exhibit a certain Schedule written in *Engliſh*, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by expreſs Word of Mouth from the Biſhop, as from an incompetent Judge, to Cardinal *Pool*, &c.

Sentence pronounced againſt Biſhop *Farrar.*

Notwithſtanding all which, the ſaid Biſhop proceeding in his Rage, pronounced the definitive Sentence againſt him contained in Writing, and there left in the Acts: By which Sentence he pronounced him as an Heretick excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the ſecular Power, namely, to Mr. *Leyſon* Sheriff of the Town of *Carmarthen*.

Biſhop *Farrar* brought to the Place of Execution.

This good Biſhop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the ſecular Power, and not long after was brought to the Place of Execution in the Town of *Carmarthen*, where he in the Market-place, in the South-ſide of the Market-croſs, the thirteenth Day of *March*, being *Saturday* next before *Paſſion-Sunday*, moſt conſtantly ſuſtained the Torments of the Fire.

Concerning whoſe Conſtancy, this is moreover to be added, that one *Richard Jones*, a Knight's Son, coming to Dr. *Farrar* a little before his Death, ſeemed to lament the Painfulneſs of the Death he had to ſuffer; unto whom the Biſhop anſwered again to this Effect, ſaying, That if he ſaw him once to ſtir in the Pains of his Burning, he ſhould then give no Credit to his Doctrine. And as he ſaid, ſo he right well performed the ſame; for ſo patiently he ſtood, that he never moved, till one *Richard Gravell* with a Staff daſhed him upon the Head and ſo ſtruck him down. Anno 1555.

The Hiſtory of Rawlins White, *burned at* Cardiffe *in* Wales *about the Month of* March.

FOraſmuch as we have here related the Hiſtory of Dr. *Farrar*, burned at the Town of *Carmarthen* in *Wales*, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the ſame the Hiſtory alſo of *Rawlins White*, a Fiſher-man, who both in the like Cauſe, and in the ſame Month of *March*, and Year aforeſaid, was burned at *Cardiffe*.

Rawlins White was by his Occupation a Fiſherman, continuing in the ſaid Trade for the Space of twenty Years at leaſt, in the Town of *Cardiffe*, being one of a very good Name, and well accounted amongſt his Neighbours. As touching his Religion at firſt, it cannot otherwiſe be known, but that he was a great Partaker of the Superſtition and Idolatry that then was uſed, I mean in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. But after that God of his Mercy had raiſed up the Light of his Goſpel, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, *Rawlins White* began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to have ſome good Opinion of that which before by the Iniquity of the Time had been concealed from him: And the rather to bring this good Purpoſe and Intent of his to paſs, he began to be a diligent Hearer, and a great Searcher out of the Truth.

But becauſe the good Man was altogether unlearned, he knew no ready Way how he might ſatisfy his great Deſire. At length it came in his Mind to take a ſpecial Remedy to ſupply his Neceſſity, which was this: He had a little Boy which was his own Son, which Child he ſent to School to learn to read *Engliſh*; now after the little Boy could read indifferently well, his Father every Night after Supper, Summer and Winter, would have the Boy to read part of the Holy Scripture, and now and then of ſome other good Book. In which kind of virtuous Exerciſe the old Man had ſuch Delight and Pleaſure, that, as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed himſelf in the Study of the Scripture, than in the Trade or Science which before time he had uſed: So that within few Years in the ſaid Time of King *Edward*, thro' the Help of his little Son, and thro' much Conference beſides, profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not only to reſolve himſelf touching his own former Blindneſs and Ignorance, but was alſo able to admoniſh and inſtruct others: And therefore when Occaſion ſerved, he would go from one Place to another viſiting ſuch as he had beſt Hope in. By which his doing he became in that Country, both a notable and open Profeſſor of the Truth, being at all Times and in all ſuch Places, not without the Company of his little Boy, whom (as I have ſaid) he uſed as an Aſſiſtant to this good Purpoſe. And to this his great Induſtry and Endeavour in the Holy Scripture, God did alſo add in him a ſingular Gift of Memory, ſo that by the Benefit thereof he would and could do that in vouching and rehearſing of the Text, which Men of riper and more profound Knowledge, by their Notes and other helps of Memory could very hardly accompliſh. Inſomuch that he, upon the alledging of Scripture,

Rawlins White by the Means of his young Son came to the Knowledge of the Scripture.

The Gift of Memory in *Rawlins White.*

Anno 1555. ture, very often would cite the Book, the Leaf, yea and the very Sentence; ſuch was the wonderful working of God in this ſimple and unlearned Man.

Now when he had thus continued in his Profeſſion the Space of five Years, King *Edward* died, upon whoſe Deceaſe Queen *Mary* ſucceeded, and with her all kind of Superſtition crept in. Which being once perceived, *Rawlins White* did not altogether uſe open Inſtruction and Admonition (as before he was wont) and therefore oftentimes in ſome private Place or other he would call his truſty Friends together, and with earneſt Prayer and great Lamentation paſs away the Time, ſo that by his virtuous Inſtruction, he converted a great Number, which Number had greatly increaſed, had not the cruel Storm of Perſecution been. The Extremity and Force whereof at laſt ſo purſued this good Man, that he looked every Hour to go to Priſon; whereupon many of thoſe who had received Comfort by his Inſtructions, did reſort unto him, and by all Means poſſible began to perſwade him to ſhift for himſelf, and to diſpoſe his Goods by ſome reaſonable Order to the Uſe of his Wife and Children, and by that Means he ſhould eſcape that Danger, which was imminent over his Head.

He is exhorted to ſhift for himſelf.

But *Rawlins* nothing abaſhed for his own part thro' the Iniquity of the Time, and nothing at all moved with theſe their Perſwaſions, thanked them moſt heartily for their good Will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good Leſſon touching the Confeſſion and Denial of Chriſt; advertiſing them, that if he upon their Perſwaſions ſhould preſume to deny his Maſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt Day would deny and utterly condemn him: And therefore *(ſaid he)* I will, by his Grace, confeſs and bear Witneſs of him before Men, that I may find him in everlaſting Life.

Notwithſtanding which Anſwer, his Friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit he continued ſtill in his good Purpoſe ſo long, till at laſt he was taken by the Officers of the Town, as a Man ſuſpected of Hereſy; upon which Apprehenſion he was convented before the Biſhop of *Landaffe* that then was, the ſaid Biſhop lying then at his Houſe near *Chepſtow:* By whom after divers Combats and Conflicts with him and his Chaplains, this good Father *Rawlins White* was committed to Priſon in *Chepſtow.*

Rawlins White apprehended and convented before the Biſhop of *Landaffe* named *Anthony Racbin.*

From thence he was removed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe*, where he remained for the Space of one whole Year. After which time the aforenamed Biſhop of *Landaffe* cauſed him to be brought again from the Caſtle of *Cardiffe* unto his own Houſe near *Chepſtow*, and whilſt he continued there, the Biſhop endeavoured by various Means to reduce him to ſome Conformity. But when they found their threatning Words and flattering Promiſes ineffectual, the Biſhop deſired him to adviſe, and determine with himſelf, either to recant his Opinions, or elſe to ſuffer the Rigour of the Law, and thereupon gave him a Day of Determination: Which Day being come, the Biſhop with his Chaplains went into his Chapel, with a great Number of the Neighbours that had the Curioſity to ſee their Proceedings. When the Biſhop and his Retinue were placed in Order, *Rawlins White* was brought before them. The Biſhop made a long Diſcourſe to him, declaring the Cauſe of his being ſent for, which was, that he was a Man well known to hold heretical Opinions, and that by his Inſtruction many were led into Error. In the End, he exhorted him to conſider his preſent Circumſtances: *For* (ſaid the Biſhop) *Rawlins, you have often times ſince your firſt Trouble, both here in my Houſe, and elſewhere ſuffered much for your Opinions, and yet notwithſtanding ye ſeem altogether obſtinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to ſend to you, to ſee if there be any Conformity in you: So that the Matter is come to this Point, That if you will repent of that which you have done againſt the Laws of God and the Prince, we are ready to uſe Favour towards you; but if we can by no Means prevail upon you to reform, we are minded at this time to miniſter the Law unto you, and therefore adviſe with yourſelf what you will do.*

Rawlins White a whole Year in Priſon.

He is brought before the Biſhop of *Landaffe* in open Judgment.

When the Biſhop had ended his Tale, Father *Rawlins* ſpake boldly to him, and ſaid, *My Lord, I thank God I am a chriſtian Man, and I hold no Opinions contrary to the Word of God; and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the Word of God, as a Chriſtian ought to be.* Many more Words paſſed between the Biſhop and *Rawlins White*, which this Reporter doth not well remember. But in the End, when *Rawlins* would in no wiſe recant his Opinions, the Biſhop told him plainly, that he muſt proceed againſt him by the Law, and condemn him as an Heretick.

The Biſhop of *Landaffe* proceedeth with Prayer in Condemnation of *Rawlins* which commonly the Popiſh perſecutors are not wont to do.

Proceed in your Law in God's Name, ſaid *Rawlins*; *but for an Heretick you ſhall never condemn me while the World ſtandeth.* But ſaid the Biſhop to his Company, before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would ſend ſome Spark of Grace upon him, (meaning *Rawlins)* and it may ſo chance, that God through our Prayer will here turn and convert his Heart. When *Rawlins* heard the Biſhop ſay ſo; *Ah, my Lord*, quoth he, *now you deal well, and like a good Biſhop, and I thank you moſt heartily for your great Charity and Gentleneſs. Chriſt* ſaith, *Where two or three are gathered together in my Nume I will be in the midſt of them: And there be more than two or three of you. Now if it be ſo that your Requeſt be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore my Lord go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, I know that my God will both hear my Prayer, and perform my Deſire.*

By and by the Biſhop with his Company went to Prayers. And *Rawlins*, turning himſelf to a Pew that ſtood near him, fell down upon his Knees, covering his Face with his Hands: And when they had prayed a while, the Biſhop with his Company aroſe from Prayer. And then alſo aroſe *Rawlins*, and came before the Biſhop.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, *Now* Rawlins, *how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy Opinions, or no? My Lord*, ſaid he, Rawlins *you left me, and* Rawlins *you find me, and, by God's Grace,* Rawlins *I will continue. Certainly if your Petitions had been juſt and lawful, God would have heard them: But you honour a falſe God, and pray not as ye ſhould pray; and therefore God hath not granted your Deſire. But I am one poor ſimple Man, as you ſee, and God hath heard my Complaint, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his own Cauſe.*

When the Biſhop perceived that this took no Effect, he began to reprove him with ſharp Words, and forthwith was ready to read the Sentence. However, upon ſome Advice given to him by his Chaplains that were there preſent, he thought beſt firſt to have a Maſs, thinking that by ſo doing, ſome wonderful Work ſhould be wrought in *Rawlins*, and thereupon a Prieſt began the Maſs.

A Maſs ſaid for Converſion of *Rawlins White.*

In the mean Time poor *Rawlins* betook himſelf

ſelf to Prayer in a Place hard by, till ſuch time as the Prieſt came to the Sacring, as they term it, which is a principal Point of their Idolatry. When *Rawlins* heard the Sacring-bell ring (as the Uſe was) he roſe out of his Place, and came to the Quire-door, and there ſtanding a while, turned himſelf to the People, ſpeaking theſe Words, *Good People, if there be any Brethren amongſt you, or at leaſt, if there be but one Brother amongſt you, the ſame One bear Witneſs at the Day of Judgment, that I bow not to this Idol* (meaning the Hoſt that the Prieſt held over his Head).

The Maſs being ended, *Rawlins* was immediately called for. To whom the Biſhop uſed many Perſwaſions; but the good Man continued ſo ſtedfaſt in his former Profeſſion, that the Biſhop's Talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed the definitive Sentence to be read. Which being ended, *Rawlins* was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the Biſhop's Commandment, carried again to *Cardiffe*, there to be put into the Priſon of the Town, called *Cockmarel*, a very dark, loathſome, and moſt vile Priſon.

Sentence read againſt *Rawlins White.*

Rawlins in the mean Time paſſed away the Time in Prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalms: Which kind of Exerciſe he always uſed, both at *Cardiffe*-caſtle, and in all other Places.

Now after he had thus continued a Priſoner in *Cockmarel* Priſon at *Cardiffe* (as is aforeſaid) a good Space, about three Weeks before he ſuffered, the head Officers of the Town, that had the Charge of his Execution, were determined to burn him, becauſe they would be ſooner rid of him; having not indeed a Writ of Execution awarded, as by the Law they ſhould have. Whereupon one *H. Lewis*, the Recorder of the Town that then was, ſeeing that they went about to burn him without any Warrant by Writ, came to them and told them, That if they did burn him before they had the Writ, *De Hæreticis comburendis*, the Wife of the ſaid *Rawlins* would upon juſt Cauſe, by Law, call their Doings into Queſtion.

The Officers intending to burn *Rawlins* without a Writ.

Immediately upon this Advertiſement, they ſent to *London* for the Writ above-named; upon the Receipt whereof they made ſome Speed to the Execution of the ſaid *Rawlins*. Now when the Day was come, wherein the good Father ſhould perform and accompliſh the laſt Act of this his worthy Conflict, he was the Night before ordered to prepare himſelf.

The Writ awarded for burning of *Rawlins White.*

Now when he perceived his Time was no leſs near than was reported to him, he ſent forthwith to his Wife, and willed her by the Meſſenger, that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready and ſend unto him his wedding Garment, meaning a Shirt, which afterward he was burned in. Which Requeſt of his, his Wife with great Sorrow and Grief of Heart did perform, and early in the Morning ſent it to him, which he received moſt gladly.

Now when the Hour of his Execution was come, *Rawlins White* was brought out of Priſon, having on his Body the long Shirt, which he called his wedding-Garment, and an old Ruſſet Coat which he was wont to wear. Beſides this, he had upon his Legs an old pair of Leather-buſkins, which he had uſed long before. And thus being brought out of Priſon, he was guarded, with a great Company of Bills and Gleaves. Which when he beheld, *Alas*, ſaid he, *what meaneth all this? All this needeth not. By God's Grace I will not ſtart away: But I with all my Heart and Mind give unto God moſt hearty Thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Name's Sake.*

Rawlins White going to the Place of Execution.

Anno 1555.

So he came to a Place in his Way, where his poor Wife and Children ſtood weeping, and making a great Lamentation; the ſudden Sight of whom ſo pierced his Heart that the Tears trickled down his Face. But he ſoon after, as tho' he had miſliked this Infirmity of his Fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelf; inſomuch, that ſtriking his Breaſt with his Hand, he uſed theſe Words, *Ah Fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee do what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by God's Grace, have the Victory.* By this Time this poor Innocent came to the very Altar of his Sacrifice (I mean the Place appointed for his Death) and there found a Stake ready ſet up, with ſome Wood toward the making of the Fire. Which when he beheld, he ſet forward himſelf very boldly: But in going toward to the Stake, he fell down upon his Knees and kiſſed the Ground; and in riſing again, a little Earth ſticking on his Noſe, he ſaid theſe Words, *Earth unto Earth, and Duſt unto Duſt: Thou art my Mother, and unto thee I ſhall return.* Then went he chearfully and very joyfully, and ſet his Back cloſe unto the Stake; and when he had ſtood there a while, he caſt his Eye upon this Reporter, and called him unto him, and ſaid, I feel a great Fighting between the Fleſh and the Spirit, and the Fleſh would very fain have his Swing; and therefore I pray you, when you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your Finger up to me, and I truſt I ſhall remember myſelf.

He is moved at the Sight of his Wife and Children.

As he was thus ſtanding with his Back cloſe unto the Stake, a Smith came with a great Chain of Iron; whom when he ſaw, he caſt up his Hand with a loud Voice, and gave God great Thanks. Then the Smith caſt a Chain about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other Side, *Rawlins* ſaid unto him, *I pray you good Friend knock in the Chain faſt; for it may be that the Fleſh would ſtrive mightily, but God of his great Mercy give me Strength and Patience to abide the Extremity.*

Now when the Smith had made him ſure to the Stake, the Officers began to lay on more Wood, with a little Straw and Reed: Wherein the good old Man was no leſs occupied than the beſt; for as far as he could reach his Hands, he would pluck the Straw and Reed, and lay it about him in Places moſt convenient for his ſpeedy Diſpatch. Which Thing he did with ſuch a chearful Countenance, that all Men there preſent were aſtoniſhed at it.

The Chearfulneſs of *Rawlins White* at his Death.

Thus when all Things were ready, ſo that there lacked nothing but kindling the Fire, directly over againſt the Stake, in the Face of *Rawlins White*, there was a Standing erected, whereon ſtept up a Prieſt, addreſſing himſelf to ſpeak to the People, which were many in Number, becauſe it was Market-Day. When *Rawlins* perceived him, and conſidered the Cauſe of his coming, he reached a little Straw unto him, and made two little Stays, and ſet them under his Elbows. Then went the Prieſt forward in his Sermon, wherein he ſpake of many Things touching the Authority of the Church of *Rome*. In the mean Time *Rawlins* gave ſuch good Ear and Attention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moved or diſquieted. At laſt, the Prieſt came to the Sacrament of the Altar, and there he began to inveigh againſt *Rawlins*'s Opinions; in which his Invection he cited the common Place of Scripture, and thereupon made a learned Interpretation.

A popiſh Sermon preached at *Rawlins*'s Martyrdom.

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The Burning of Dr Farrar B.p of St Davids

The Martyrdom of Rawlins White.

Ah thou Naughty Hypocrite

The description of a Popish Priest who when he had taken away the Glory & Office of Christ, fell down Suddenly & dyed

I am Cleansed from my Sins

Anno 1555. Now when *Rawlins* perceived that he went about not only to preach and teach the People false Doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his Hands to the People, saying twice; *Come hither good People, and hear not a false Prophet preaching:* And then said unto the Preacher, *Ah thou naughty Hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false Doctrine by Scripture? Look in the Text what followeth; Did not Christ say, Do this in Remembrance of me?* After which Words, the Priest being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his Peace.

His Words to the popish Priest.

Then some that stood by cried out, Put Fire; Set to Fire; which being done, the Straw and Reed, cast up a great and sudden Flame. In which Flame this good Man bathed his Hands so long until such Time as the Sinews shrunk, and the Fat dropped away, saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his Face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud Voice, *O Lord, receive my Soul; O Lord, receive my Spirit,* until he could not open his Mouth. At last, the Extremity of the Fire was so vehement against his Legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his Body was burned, which made the whole Body fall over the Chain into the Fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this good old Man for the Testimony of God's Truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the Crown of eternal Life. He was at the Time of his Death about 60 Years of Age.

Before I pass over this Month of *March*, I shall take a cursory Notice of some of the Deeds and Acts of Pope *Julius* III. who died about the latter End of this Month. Under this *Julius* flourished the Archbishop of *Beneventanus*, a *Florentine*, named *Johannes a Casa*, Dean of the Pope's Chamber, and chief Legate to the *Venetians:* Who well declaring the Fruit of that filthy See, so far forgot both Honesty and Nature, that he was not ashamed to play the filthy Sodomite himself, and to boast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in *Italian* Metre, to all Men's Ears, to set forth the Praise and Commendation of that beastly Iniquity, saying, That he himself never used other; and this Book was printed at *Venice* by one *Trojanus Navus*; and yet the Pope could suffer this so great Iniquity and shameless Beastliness, even under his Nose in his own Chamber, who could not abide the true Doctrine of Christ in christian Books.

The Death of Pope *Julius* the Third.

Amongst other Deeds of the aforesaid Pope, in his Jubilee, and in the Synod of *Trent*, and in confirming of the Idol of *Lauretane*, this is also reported of him in his Life, that he delighted greatly in Pork-flesh and Peacocks. Upon a Time when he was admonished by his Physician to abstain from all Swines-Flesh, for that it was noisom for his Gout, and yet would not follow his Counsel; the Physician afterward gave Warning to his Steward or Orderer of his Diet, that he should set no more Pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the Pope perceived the said Pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed Service: *Where,* said he, *is my Pork?* And when his Steward had answered, that his Physician had forbidden any Pork to be served: The Pope bursted out into a great Rage, and said these Words, *Bring me,* said he, *my Pork-flesh, in the Despight of God.*

Monstrous Blasphemy in the Pope.

At another Time, he sitting at Dinner, pointing to a Peacock upon his Table, which he had not touched; *Keep,* said he, *this cold Peacock for me against Supper, and let me sup in the Garden; for I shall have Guests.* So when Supper came, and amongst other hot Peacocks, he saw not his cold Peacock brought to his Table: The Pope, after his wonted Manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extream Rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by, desired him, saying, *Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be moved with a Matter of so small a Weight.* Then Pope *Julius* answering again, *What,* said he, *if God was so angry for an Apple, that he cast our first Parents out of Paradise for the same; why may not I, being his Vicar, be angry then for a Peacock, since a Peacock is a greater Matter than an Apple?* Behold here, good Reader, by this Pope, the Holiness of that blasphemous See: And yet thou shalt see here what Affection was borne to this Pope here in *England*, by the * *Diriges*, Hearses, and Funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all Churches by the Queen and her Council, as may appear by the Copy of their Letters here following.

Pope *Julius* blasphemeth God for a Peacock.

* A Service for the Dead used by the Papists.

A Letter from the Bishop of *Winchester* to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, concerning the celebrating of the Pope's Funeral.

AFTER my hearty Commendations to your good Lordship. The King and Queen's Majesty having certain Knowledge of the Death of the Pope's Holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn Obsequies said for him throughout the Realm, as also these Prayers (which I send you here enclosed) used at Mass-time in all Places at this Time of Vacation; and therefore ordered me to signify their Pleasures unto you in this Behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full Accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due Execution within your own Dioceses, and sending Word to the rest of the Bishops, to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will use such Diligence in this Matter at this Time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From my House at *Asher*, the 10th of *April*, 1555.

Your assured Friend and Brother,

STEPHANUS WINTON, Chancel.

Prayers commanded to be used in the Funeral Masses for the Pope, the Apostolick See being vacant.

WE beseech thee, O Lord, of thy great Pity to grant to the holy Roman *Church a Bishop, whose Care towards us may be always acceptable to thee, and that he may be revered by thy People for his good Government, to the Glory of thy Name, thro' our Lord.*

A Secret Prayer.

MAY thy abundant Pity, O Lord, towards us, grant that we may rejoice to have obtain'd a Bishop of our holy Mother Church acceptable to thy Majesty, thro' our Lord.

After the Communion.

MAY thy wonderful Grace, O Lord, rejoice us (being refresh'd with the Sacrament of thy precious Body and Blood) in the Choice of a Bishop who may instruct thy People in all Virtue, thro' our Lord.

Upon this Command, on *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* Week there were Hearſes ſet up, and *Diriges* ſung for the ſaid *Julius* in divers Places. At which Time a Woman going into *St. Magnus* Church at the Bridge-foot in *London*, and there ſeeing an Hearſe and other Preparation, aſked what it meant: Some that ſtood by, ſaid that it was for the Pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for him. *Nay*, ſaid ſhe, *that will I not, for he needeth not my Prayers; and ſeeing he could forgive us all our Sins, I am ſure he is clean himſelf: therefore I need not to pray for him.* She was heard to ſpeak theſe Words by ſome that ſtood by: Who by and by carried her unto the Cage at *London-Bridge*, and bid her cool herſelf there.

A Woman of *St. Magnus* impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

Almighty God by many and ſundry Ways hath admoniſhed Men of all Nations in theſe latter Years to embrace, and not violently to reſiſt the Light of his Goſpel: As firſt, by preaching of his Word: Secondly, by the Blood of the Martyrs: And thirdly, by terrible Examples from Time to Time ſhewed upon his Adverſaries. In the Number of whom cometh here to be remembred the notable Working of God's Hand upon a certain Prieſt in *Kent*, named *Nightingal*, Parſon of *Crondal* near *Canterbury*, who upon *Shrove-Sunday*, which was about the third Day of the ſaid Month of *March*, rejoycing greatly at this Alteration of Religion, began to make a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, taking his Theme out of the Words of St. *John*; *He that ſaith that he hath no Sin, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him*, &c. and upon the ſame very impertinently declared to them all ſuch Articles as were ſet forth by the Pope's Authority, ad by the Commandment of the Biſhops of this Realm; ſaying moreover unto the People in this wiſe, Now Maſters and Neighbours rejoice and be merry, for the prodigal Son is come home. For I know that moſt Part of you be as I am, for I know your Hearts well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this Week paſt: I was before my Lord Cardinal *Poole*, and he made me as free from Sin as I was at the Font-ſtone: And on *Thurſday* laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the ſame unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo reading the Pope's Bull of Pardon that was ſent into *England*, he ſaid, he thanked God that he had lived to ſee that Day; adding moreover, that he believed by the Virtue of that Bull he was clean from Sin, as the Night that he was born: And immediately upon the ſame fell ſuddenly down out of the Pulpit, and never ſtirred Hand nor Foot. Teſtified by *Robert Auſten* of *Chatham*, who both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the Country round about.

A Spectacle for all Chriſtians to behold, and to take Heed of the Pope's blaſphemous Doctrine.

The ſudden Death of Mr. *Nightingal*, Parſon of *Crondal* in *Kent*, who was made chief Penitentiary of that Deanery, by Cardinal *Pool*'s Authority.

On the ſecond Day of *April*, *John Awcock* died in Priſon, and was buried in the Fields, as the Manner of the Papiſts was, to deny their Chriſtian Burial to ſuch as died out of their Church.

Having now entred into the Month of *April*, we will ſet down in Order out of the publick Records what happened in the ſaid Month. The firſt Day of *April*, 1555, a Letter was ſent to the Sheriff of *Kent*, to apprehend *Thomas Woodgate* and *William Maynard*, for preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them up to the Council.

The ſeventh Day of the ſaid Month, another Letter was ſent to the ſaid Sheriff for the Apprehenſion of one *Harwich*, who went about with a Boy with him, preaching from Place to Place. Anno 1555.

The Fifteenth of *April* a Letter was directed to Sir *Nicholas Hare*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, requiring them to examine Mr. *Flower*, alias *Branch*, what he meant to wear about his Neck written, *Deum time*, *Idolum fuge*, and whom elſe he knew to wear the like; praying them alſo to ſpeak to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, ſpeedily to proceed againſt him for his Religion according to the Laws, and that the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* ſhould likewiſe proceed againſt him for ſhedding of Blood in the Church according to the Statute; ſo as if he continued in his Opinion, he might be executed at the fartheſt by the latter End of this Week, and that his Right Hand be ſtricken off the Day before his Execution, or the ſame Day.

The 22d of *April* there was a like Letter ſent to the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex*, with a Writ for the Execution of the ſaid *Flower*, commanding them to ſee his Hand ſtricken off before his Burning.

The 29th of *April*, Mr. *Robert Horneby*, Servant then to the Lady *Elizabeth*, was convented before the Council for his Religion; and ſtanding conſtantly to the Truth, notwithſtanding their Threats and other Perſuaſions, was therefore committed to the *Marſhalſea*.

A Declaration of the Life, Examination, and Burning of George Marſh, *who ſuffered at* Weſt-Cheſter, *the* 24*th of* April 1555.

George Marſh was born in the Pariſh of *Deane* in the County of *Lancaſter*, and was well brought up in Learning and honeſt Trade of Living by his Parents; who afterwards about the 25th Year of his Age took to Wife an honeſt Maiden of the Country; with whom he continued, earning their Living upon a Farm, having Children between them lawfully begotten: And then God taking his Wife out of this World, he (leaving his Houſhold and Children in good Order) went unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he ſtudied, and much increaſed in Learning, and was a Miniſter of God's holy Word and Sacraments, and for a while was Curate to *Laurence Saunders*. In which Condition of Life he continued for a Space, earneſtly ſetting forth God's true Religion, to the defacing of Antichriſt's falſe Doctrine, by his Sermons, as well there and in the Pariſh of *Deane*, as elſewhere in *Lancaſhire*.

At length he was apprehended, and kept cloſe Priſoner in *Cheſter*, by *George Cotes* then Biſhop of that See, within the Precinct of the Biſhop's Houſe, about the Space of four Months, being not permitted to have Relief and Comfort of his Friends; but Charge being given unto the Porter, to mark who they were that aſked for him, and to ſignify their Names unto the Biſhop, as by the particular Deſcription of his Story, recorded with his own Pen, more evidently may appear in the Proceſs hereunder following.

Dr. *Cotes* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, a Perſecutor of *George Marſh*.

The

Anno 1555.

The Examination of George Marſh, *written by himſelf.*

ON *Monday* before *Palm-Sunday*, which was the 12th of *March*, it was told me at my Mother's Houſe, that *Roger Wrinſtone*, with others of Mr. *Barton*'s Servants, did make diligent Search for me in *Bolton*, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave ſtrict Charge to *Robert Ward* and *Robert Marſh*, to find and bring me to Mr. *Barton* the Day next following, with others to be brought before the Honourable Earl of *Darby*, to be examined in matters of Religon, &c.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my Friends was diverſly affected; my Mother and ſome of my Friends adviſing me to fly, and to avoid the Peril, which thing I had intended before after a Week then next enſuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; ſeeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of Religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me with his Holy Spirit I never will) it would not only have put them to great Sorrow, Heavineſs, and Loſſes, with Coſts and Charges, to their Shame and Rebuke in this World, but alſo mine own ſelf, after Troubles and painful Impriſonment, unto ſhameful Death.

Mr. *Marſh* adviſed by his Friends to fly.

This conſidered, they adviſed and counſelled me to depart and fly the Country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whoſe Counſel my weak Fleſh would gladly have conſented, but my Spirit did not fully agree; thinking and ſaying thus to myſelf, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaid, that I did not only fly the Country, and my neareſt and deareſt Friends: But much rather from Chriſt's Holy Word, according as theſe Years paſt I had with my Heart, or at leaſt with mine outward living profeſſed, and with my Mouth and Word taught, according to the ſmall Talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their Counſel and Advice, and the Cogitations and Counſels of mine own Mind drawn as it were divers Ways, went from my Mother's Houſe, ſaying, I would come again at Evening.

Mr. *Marſh* in a perplexity whether to fly or to tarry.

In the mean Time I ceaſed not by earneſt Prayer to ask and ſeek Counſel of God (who is the Giver of all good Gifts) and of other my Friends, whoſe pious Judgments and Knowledge I much truſted to. After this I met with one of my ſaid Friends on *Dean-moor*, about Sun going down; and after we had conſulted together of my Buſineſs, not without hearty Prayer kneeling on our Knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my Leave with my Friend, ſaid; *I doubted not but God would give me ſuch Wiſdom and Counſel, as ſhould be moſt to his Honour and Glory, the Profit of my Neighbours and Brethren in the World, and obtaining of mine eternal Salvation by Chriſt in Heaven.*

This done, I returned to my Mother's Houſe again, where ſeveral of Mr. *Barton*'s Servants had been ſeeking after me; who, when they could not find me, ſtrictly charged my Brother and *William Marſh* to ſeek me that Night, and to bring me to *Smethehils* the next Day: Who being ſo charged, were gone to ſeek me in *Adderton*, or elſewhere I know not. Thus intending before to have been all Night with my Mother, but then conſidering that my tarrying there would diſquiet her with her Houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond *Dean Church*, and there tarried all Night with an old Friend of mine, taking ill Reſt, and conſulting much with myſelf of my Trouble.

Mr. *Marſh*'s Brethren charged to ſeek him.

At my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faithful Friend of mine with Letters, who ſaid this: My Friend's Advice was that I ſhould in no wiſe fly, but abide and boldly confeſs the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe Words I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my Conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a Point with myſelf, that I would not fly, but to go to Mr. *Barton* who did ſeek for me, and there preſent myſelf, and patiently bear ſuch Croſs as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon my Shoulders. Whereupon my Mind before being much diſquieted was now merry and at eaſe.

I aroſe early in the Morning, and after I had ſaid the *Engliſh* Litany (as my Cuſtom was) with other Prayers, kneeling on my Knees by my Friend's Bed ſide, I prepared myſelf to go toward *Smethehils*; and as I was going thither, I went into the Houſes of *Henry Widdowes*, of my Mother-in-law, of *Ralph Yeton*, and of the Wife of *Thomas Richardſon*, deſiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my Friends, and to comfort my Mother, and be good to my little Children; for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my Face any more before the laſt Day; and ſo took my Leave of them, not without Tears ſhed on both Parts, and came to *Smethehils* about nine of the Clock, and preſented myſelf before Mr. *Barton*: Who ſhewed me a Letter from the Earl of *Darby*, wherein he was commanded to ſend me with others to *Lathum*.

Taketh his Leave of his Friends.

Whereupon he charged my Brother and *William Marſh* to bring and deliver me the next Day by ten of the Clock, before the ſaid Earl or his Council. I made earneſt Sute with other ſpecial Friends, which I had there at the ſame Time, to Mr. *Barton*, that he would take ſome one of them, or them all bound by Recognizance or otherwiſe, for mine appearing before the ſaid Earl or his ſaid Council, that my Brother and *William Marſh* might be at Home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt Time of ſeeding, and their Ploughs could not go if they were not at Home; but nothing could be obtained.

Then we went to my Mother's, and there I dined and ſhifted part of my Cloaths; and ſo praying, took my Leave of my Mother, the Wife of *Richard Marſh*, and both their Houſholds, they and I both weeping, and departed from them, and went toward *Lathum*, and were all Night a Mile and an half on this ſide *Lathum*. The next Day, which was *Wedneſday*, we aroſe, prayed, and came to *Lathum* betimes, and tarried there till Four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Then was I called by *Roger Mekinſon* to my Lord and his Council, and brought into the Chamber of Preſence, where was preſent Sir *William Nores*, Sir *Pierce Alee*, Mr. *Sherburn* the Parſon of *Grapnal*, Mr. *More*, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned towards me, and aſked what was my Name: I anſwered, *Marſh*.

Then he ask'd, whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed evil Seed and Diſſention amongſt the People. Which thing I denied, deſiring to know mine Accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me; but that I could not know.

Mr. *Marſh* examined before the Earl of *Darby*.

Then he ſaid, he would with his Council examine me themſelves, and asked me whether I was

was a Prieſt; I ſaid no. Then he asked me what had been my Living. I anſwered I was a Miniſter, ſerved a Cure, and taught a School. Then ſaid my Lord to his Council, this is a wonderful Thing. Before he ſaid he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelf to be one. I anſwered, by the Laws now uſed in this Realm (as far as I do know) I am none.

Then they asked me who gave me Orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I anſwered, I received Orders of the Biſhop of *London* and *Lincoln*.

Then ſaid they one to another, thoſe be of theſe new Hereticks, and asked me what Acquaintance I had with them? I anſwered, I never ſaw them but at the Time when I received Orders.

They asked me how long I had been Curate, and whether I had miniſtred with a good Conſcience; I anſwered, *I had been Curate but one Year, and had miniſtred with a good Conſcience, I thanked God, and if the Laws of the Realm would have ſuffered me, I would have miniſtred ſtill; and if the Laws at any Time hereafter would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter again.*

At which they murmured, and the Parſon of *Grapnal* ſaid, this laſt Communion was the moſt deviliſh Thing that ever was deviſed. Then they asked me what my Belief was.

I anſwered, *I believed in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments do teach, and according as the four Symbols or Creeds, that is to wit, the Creed commonly called the Apoſtles, the Creed of the Council of* Nice, *of* Athanaſius, *and of* Auſtin, *and* Ambroſe *do teach.*

And after a few Words, the Parſon of *Grapnal* ſaid; But what is thy Belief in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Mr. *Marſh*'s Belief in the Sacrament.

I anſwered, *I believed that whoſoever, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, did receive the holy Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, did eat and drink Chriſt's Body and Blood with all the Benefits of his Death and Reſurrection to their eternal Salvation; for Chriſt,* ſaid I, *is ever preſent with his Sacrament.*

Then they asked me, whether the Bread and Wine, by the virtue of the Words pronounced by the Prieſt, were changed into the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, and that the Sacrament, whether it were received or reſerved, was the very Body of Chriſt;

Mr. *Marſh* loth to anſwer to the Queſtion of Tranſubſtantiation.

Whereunto I made anſwer, I knew no further than I had ſhewed already. For my Knowledge is imperfect ſaid I; deſiring them not to aſk me ſuch hard and unprofitable Queſtions, whereby to bring my Body into danger of Death, and to ſuck my Blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying, they were no Blood-ſuckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Chriſtian.

So after many other Queſtions which I avoided as well as I could, remembring the Saying of St. *Paul*, *Fooliſh and unlearned Queſtions avoid, knowing they do but ingender Strife*; my Lord commanded me to come to the Board, and gave

Mr. *Marſh* commanded by the Earl of *Darby* to write his Anſwers.

me Pen and Ink in my Hand, and commanded me to write mine Anſwers to the Queſtions of the Sacrament above-named; and I wrote as I had anſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct Anſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

Then I took the Pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore grieved, after many Threatnings ſaid, I ſhould be put to a ſhameful Death like a Traitor, with other like Words; and ſometimes giving me fair Words if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be. Anno 1555.

In Concluſion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy Stone Houſe, where was little Room; where I lay two Nights without any Bed, ſaving a few great Canvas Tent Cloaths, I had a Pair of Sheets, but no Woollen Cloaths, and ſo continued till *Palm-Sunday*, occupying myſelf as well as I could in Meditation, Prayer and Study; for no Man could be ſuffered to come to me but my Keeper twice a Day when he brought me Meat and Drink.

The Earl of *Darby* commandeth *Marſh* into Priſon.

Another Examination of Geo. Marſh.

ON *Palm-Sunday* after Dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his Council (ſaving Sir *William Nores* and Sir *Pierce Alee* were not then preſent) among whom was Sir *John Beram*, and the Vicar of *Preſcot*. So they examined me yet once again of the Sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the Vicar of *Preſcot* a good Space concerning that Matter, he returned with me to my Lord and his Council, ſaying, That Anſwer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was ſufficient for a Beginner, and as one which did not profeſs a perfect Knowledge in that Matter, until ſuch Time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earl was very well pleaſed, ſaying, he doubted not but by the Means and Help of the Vicar of *Preſcot* I would be conformable in other Things: And after many fair Words he commanded I ſhould have a Bed, with Fire, and Liberty to go amongſt his Servants, ſo that I would do no Harm with my Communication amongſt them.

Marſh again examined about the Sacrament

And ſo after much other Communication I departed, much more troubled in my Mind than before, becauſe I had not with more Boldneſs confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch Sort as mine Adverſaries thereby thought they ſhould prevail againſt me; whereat I was much grieved: For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid myſelf out of their Hands; if by any Means, without open denying of Chriſt and his Word that could be done.

Mr. *Marſh* troubled in his Conſcience for being no more bold touching the Sacrament.

This conſidered, I cried more earneſtly to God by Prayer, deſiring him to ſtrengthen me with his holy Spirit, with Boldneſs to confeſs him; and to deliver me from their enticing Words, and that I were not ſpoiled thro' their Philoſophy and deceitful Vanity, after the Tradition of Men and Ordinances of the World, and not after Chriſt.

A Day or two after I was ſent for to the Vicar of *Preſcot*, and the Parſon of *Grapnal*; where our Communication was concerning the Maſs: And he aſked what offended me in the Maſs. I anſwered, the whole Maſs did offend me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtrange Language, whereby the People were not edified, contrary to St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, 1 *Cor.* 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable Abuſes and Errors contained therein, contrary to Chriſt's Prieſthood and Sacrifice.

Mr. *Marſh* again examined before the Biſhop's Chaplains

Then they aſked me in what Place thereof, and I named ſome Places; which Places they went about with gentle and far ſought Interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe Places were underſtood far otherwiſe than the Words did purport, or than I did take them.

I anſwered, I did underſtand them as they

Anno 1555.

did purport, and as their own Books do comment and gloſs upon them.

Sacrifice of the Maſs expounded by the Papiſts, to be nothing elſe but the Sacrifice only of Thankſgiving.

They ſaid, *Sacrificium* or *Oblatio* did not in the Maſs ſignify any thing elſe, than either a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, or elſe a Memorial of a Sacrifice of Oblation. So they cauſed a Maſs-book to be ſent for, and ſhewed me wherein ſome Places of the Maſs was written, *Sacrificium laudis*. Whereto I anſwered, that it followed not therefore that in all Places it ſignified a Sacrifice or Oblation of Praiſe or Thankſgiving; and altho' it did, yet was not a Sacrifice of Praiſe or Thankſgiving to be offered for the Sins of the People, for that did Chriſt by his own Paſſion once offer on the Croſs: Where the Words of the Maſs were, that the Prieſt did offer an Oblation and Sacrifice for the Sins and Offences both of himſelf and of the People; for them that were dead, and for the Salvation of the Living; and that the Commixtion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt was Health both of Body and Soul.

The Vicar anſwered, that was to be underſtood of the Commixtion of Chriſt's Body and Blood with his Church or People. So after much Exhortation unto me, that I ſhould be conformable to the true catholick Church (which, as they meant, was the *Romiſh* Church) I departed, not conſenting unto them.

The Articles of Dr. *Crome*'s Recantation brought to Mr. *Marſh*.

Within a Day or two Mr. *More* came to me, bringing with him certain Articles, to which Dr. *Crome* had conſented and ſubſcribed in the Preſence of certain Witneſſes in the Days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and deſired me to read them over, and aſked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe unto thoſe Articles. And after Communication had of one or two of the ſaid Articles, I confeſſed plainly I would not conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles: For then I did againſt mine own Conſcience: And ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort Space after, the ſaid Parſon and Vicar ſent for me again, ſaying, my Lord would be at a ſhort Point with me; for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe unto four Articles drawn out of the Articles aforeſaid, I muſt go to Priſon ſtraitways.

Four popiſh Articles for *Marſh* to ſubſcribe unto.

The Firſt was, *Whether the Maſs now uſed in the Church of* England *was according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and with Faith, Reverence and Devotion to be heard and ſeen?*

The Second, *Whether the Almighty, by the Words pronounced by the Prieſt, did change the Bread and Wine after the Words of Conſecration into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whether it were received or reſerved?*

Thirdly, *Whether the Lay-people ought to receive but under the Form of Bread only, and that the one Kind was ſufficient for them.*

Fourthly, *Whether Confeſſion to the Prieſt now uſed in* England *were godly and neceſſary?*

Theſe four Queſtions or Articles they delivered me in Writing, and bade me go to my Chamber and ſubſcribe mine Anſwers with mine own Hand, and come again; and within one half Hour I came to them again, and delivered them the Queſtions with mine Anſwers. The Firſt I denied. The Second I anſwered, as I did to my Lord before, and as is above-written. To the Third I anſwered, that the Lay-people by Chriſt's Inſtitution ought to receive under both Kinds, and that it ſufficeth them not to receive under one Kind only. Fourthly, that though Confeſſion auricular were a commodious Means to inſtruct the rude People, yet it was not neceſſary nor commanded of God.

He denieth the Articles.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine Opinions, ſaying, I was much deceived, underſtanding the Scriptures amiſs, and counſelled me to follow the catholick Church of Chriſt, and to do as others did. I anſwered, my Faith in Chriſt conceived by his holy Word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living Creature whatſoever he were, deſiring them to ſpeak to my Lord, that during my Life and Impriſonment my poor Friends might be ſuffered to relieve me with neceſſary Things according to their Powers. And ſo after much Exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholick Church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the Porter's Ward, not coming forth of my Chamber, except at Noon and Night while I dined and ſupped.

Upon one of the *Eaſter* Holy-Days, Mr. *Sherburn* and Mr. *More* ſent for me, perſuading me much to leave mine Opinions; ſaying, all the Bringers up and Favourers of that Religion had evil Luck, and were either put to Death or in Priſon, and in Danger of Life. Again the Favourers of the Religion now uſed had wondrous good Luck and Proſperity in all Things: With many other worldly Reaſons of Man's Wiſdom; for as for the Scriptures Mr. *Sherburn* confeſſed himſelf ignorant.

God's Truth is not to be eſteemed by Proſperity or Adverſity.

I anſwered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging Things by Proſperity or Adverſity: But they earneſtly adviſed me to recant mine Opinions, and not to be hindered for any worldly Shame.

I anſwered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly Shame: Neither yet did I it for any vain Praiſe of the World, but in the reverent Fear of God.

Then Mr. *More* queſtioned with me of receiving the Sacrament under one Kind. I ſaid, Chriſt's Inſtitution was plain, that all Men ſhould drink of the Cup. Then he told me of the 24th of St. *Luke*, and the 20th of the *Acts*, where was Mention of breaking Bread only: From which he gathered, that they received the Sacrament but under one Kind.

Chriſt breaking of Bread, *Luke* 24. proveth not the receiving under one Kind.

That I denied, ſaying, thoſe Places either did not ſpeak of the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, or elſe under the Name of breaking Bread was ſignified and meant the receiving of the Sacrament, both of the Body and Blood of Chriſt according to his Inſtitution. So after much Communication of that Matter, Mr. *Sherburn* ſaid, It was great Pity that I being a well-favoured young Man, and one that might have good Living and do Good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt myſelf away, ſticking ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh Opinions.

I anſwered as I had done before to my Lord and to his Council, that my Life, Mother, Children, Brethren, Siſters, and Friends, with other Delights of Life, were as dear and ſweet unto me as unto any other Man, and that I would be as loth to loſe them as another would, if I might hold them with a good Conſcience, and without the Ignominy of Chriſt; and ſeeing I could not do that, my Truſt was, that God would ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit to loſe them all for his Sake: For I take myſelf, ſaid I, for a Sheep appointed to be ſlain, patiently to ſuffer what Croſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe my merciful Father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them, that if I were committed to Priſon my Friends might be ſuffered to relieve me, they departed.

Mr. *More* after this brought unto me a Book of one *Alphonſus* a *Spaniſh Friar*, of all Hereſies

wherewith the Church of *Rome*, which he called Chriſt's true Church, had been troubled ſince Chriſt's Time, willing me to read and take Counſel of that Book; and appointed me a Place where this Author did write againſt them that ſay, the Lay-people ought to receive under both Kinds.

This Author I perceived did vehemently write againſt *Luther*, *Melanæthon*, *Pelican*, and other *Germans* of this our Time, in all Points defending the blaſphemous Abuſes and Enormities of the *Romiſh* Church, condemning as deteſtable Hereſies whatſoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the ſame, uſing for his ſtrongeſt Arguments, the Conſent, Agreement and Determination of the *Romiſh* Church. After a few Days Mr. *More* came to me again, aſking me how I liked the Book. I ſaid the Author of the Book did in all Points, being a Papiſt, allow the Rites and Abuſes of the *Romiſh* Church; and ſhewed him further, that this Author without Authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctors, did condemn for Hereſy the Lay-people receiving of this Sacrament under both Kinds, whereas this Author witneſſeth his ownſelf, Chriſt's Church nine hundred Years after Chriſt uſed the contrary.

His Judgment of *Alphonſus*'s Book.

In Concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholick Faith, ſtubborn, and ſtood altogether in mine own Conceit. I anſwered, for my Learning, I acknowledge myſelf to know nothing but *Jeſus Chriſt*, even him that was crucified, and that my Faith was grounded upon God's holy Word only, and ſuch as, I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in until the laſt Day, God aſſiſting me, and that I did not ſay or do any Thing either of Stubbornneſs, Self-wilfulneſs, Vain-glory, or any other worldly Purpoſe, but with good Conſcience, and in the Fear of God: And deſired him to ſpeak to my Lord and his Council, that I might find ſome Gentleneſs and Mercy at their Hands. He made me ſhort Anſwer. Then I ſaid, I commit my Cauſe unto God, who hath numbred the Hairs of my Head, and appointed the Days of my Life, ſaying; I am ſure God which is a righteous Judge, would make Inquiſition for my Blood, according as he hath promiſed. Then he took his Book from me and departed.

I continued ſtill in Ward until *Low-Sunday*, and after Dinner my Keeper *Richard Scot* came to me into my Chamber, and told me that two young Men were come to carry me to *Lancaſter*, and he delivered me unto them, a great Company both of my Lord's Servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the Way, unto *Richard Adderton*'s.

Mr. *Marſh* carried to *Lancaſter*-caſtle.

To whom I made plain Anſwer, that in Matters of Faith I would give Place to no earthly Creature. So they comforted me, and ſaid that they were ſorry for me; ſaying, If I knew mine Opinion to be good, I did well, and ſo they departed, willing my Bringers to treat me kindly.

My Bringers by the Way ſhewed me they were ordered and adviſed to bind me, and that they deſired firſt to ſee me: And after they had looked on me ſitting at Dinner, they anſwered they would take Charge of me being looſe, for they ſaid I ſeemed to be an honeſt Man.

The firſt Night we were at *Broughton*, and the ſecond Day we came to *Lancaſter* betimes in the Afternoon, and they kept me all Night with them of their Gentleneſs, and in the Morning delivered me to the Jailor, who brought me into the higheſt Priſon where I do remain.

After that, the ſaid *George* came to *Lancaſter*-caſtle, and there, being brought with other Priſoners unto the Seſſions, was made to hold up his Hand with the Malefactors. The Earl of *Derby* had this Communication with him as here followeth.

Mr. *Marſh* cauſed to hold up his Hand at *Lancaſter* among other Priſoners.

Communication between Geo. Marſh, *and the Earl of* Derby.

I Said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the Country theſe three or four Years paſt, and came home but lately to viſit my Mother, Children, and others of my Friends, and to have departed out of the Country before *Eaſter* then next, and to have gone out of the Realm. Wherefore I truſted, ſeeing nothing could be laid againſt me, wherein I had offended againſt the Laws of this Realm, his Lordſhip would not with captious Queſtions examine me, to bring my Body into Danger of Death, to the great Diſcomfort of my Mother, but ſuffer me to avoid peaceably, ſeeing I might have fled out of the Country, and yet of mine own Will came to his Lordſhip.

He ſaid to his Council, he had heard tell of me above at *London*; and intended to make Search for me, and take me either in *Lancaſhire* or above at *London*, and aſked me into what Land I would have gone.

I anſwered, I would have gone either into *Almain*, or elſe into *Denmark*. He ſaid to his Council, in *Denmark* they uſed ſuch Hereſy as they have done in *England*; but as for *Almain*, he ſaid the Emperor had deſtroyed them.

The Earl of *Derby* chargeth the Realm of *Denmark* of Hereſy.

So after ſuch like Words, I ſaid unto him, my Truſt was, that his Lordſhip being of the honourable Council of the late King *Edward*, conſenting and agreeing to Acts concerning Faith toward God and Religion, under great Pain, would not ſo ſoon after conſent to put poor Men to ſhameful Death, as he had threatned me for embracing the ſame with ſo good a Conſcience.

He anſwered, that he, with the Lord *Windſor* and Lord *Dacres*, with one more whoſe Name I have forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe Acts, and that the Names of them four would be to be ſeen, as long as the Parliament-Houſe ſtood. Then my Lord did rehearſe the evil Luck of the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*, with others, becauſe they favoured not the true Religion; and again the good Hap and Proſperity of the Queen's Highneſs, becauſe ſhe favoured the true Religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God; and the other to be wicked, and of the Devil; and ſaid, that the Duke of *Northumberland* confeſſed ſo plainly.

The Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Windſor*, and Lord *Dacres* in King *Edward*'s Time agreed not to the Acts of Religion.

George Marſh to the Reader.

FOraſmuch as not only when I was at Lathum, *but alſo ſince I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and ſundry Reports and Opinions of the Cauſe of mine Impriſonment, as well at* Lathum *as at* Lancaſter *(as I am informed by credible Perſons) ſome ſaying it was only becauſe I would not do open Pennance, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lord and his Council concerning the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence there, ſome becauſe I would not grant it ſufficient*

Mr. *Marſh* writeth his own Examination.

Anno 1555. *ficient, and according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, the Lay-people to receive the ſaid Sacrament under one Kind only: I thought it good, dearly beloved in Chriſt, and my bounden Duty, to certify you by mine own Hand-writing, of mine Examination and Handling at* Lathum, *and to tell you the Truth as near as I could, to quiet your Mind in this Behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own Hand the Certainty of thoſe Things, as near as I could, here above expreſſed, not omitting any thing at all concerning Religion, whereof they did examine me: Howbeit I perceive in ſome Things I keep not the ſame Order in writing that Thing which was aſked by them, and anſwered by me before or after, as it was in very Deed in all Points, ſaving this, telling the Truth as near as I can, deſiring you to accept in good Worth this my good Will, and to pray for me and all them that be in Bonds, that God would aſſiſt us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with Boldneſs confeſs his Holy Name; and that Chriſt may be magnified in our Bodies, that we may ſtand full and perfect in all the Will of God; to whom be all Honour and Glory World without End,* Amen.

And thus you have heard the Trouble which *George Marſh* ſuſtained both at *Lathum*, and alſo at *Lancaſter*, teſtified and written with his own Hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and ſaith:

While I was, ſaith he, *in Ward at* Lathum *divers at ſundry Times came to me. Some ſaid unto me that all my Fellows had recanted, and were gone Home, whereas indeed that was not ſo; for I ſaw ſeveral of them divers Times after. Others ſaid, that it was reported amongſt my Lord's Houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all Things with my Lord and his Council.*

While I was at Lancaſter, *at this Seſſion many came to talk with me, ſome out of good Will, but without Knowledge, gave me ſuch like Counſel as* Peter *gave* Chriſt *as he went up to* Jeruſalem, *when he took him aſide and began to rebuke him, ſaying;* Maſter, favour thyſelf, this Thing ſhall not be unto thee. *But I anſwered with* Chriſt's *ſharp Anſwer unto* Peter, Come after me Satan: *And perceiving that they were an hindrance unto me, and that they ſavoured not the Things which are of God, but the Things that are of Men, I made them a plain Anſwer, that I neither could nor would follow their Counſel, but that by God's Grace I would both live and die with a pure Conſcience, and according as hitherto I had believed and profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and bear with them, tho' they love us never ſo well, who go about to pluck us away from the Obedience that we owe unto God and to his Word, but after* Chriſt's *Example ſharply to rebuke them for their Counſel.*

Peter's Counſel to Chriſt to ſave himſelf.

Some others, yea even Strangers alſo came to me far unlike unto theſe, who after ſober Communication had, conſented with me in all Things, lamenting much my troublous Eſtate, giving me comfortable Words, and ſome Money too, and reſorted to me oftentimes, for the Space of two, three, or four Days. There came alſo many Prieſts to me, by two, three, four, five, or ſix at once, whoſe Mouths it was eaſy enough to ſtop; for the Prieſts (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greateſt Scholars, and beſt learned in the Law of God. At their departing they either conſented with me, or elſe had nothing to ſay againſt me, ſaying they could find no Fault with my Words. My Communication with them was about the Sacrament. There came alſo into the Priſon to me Mr. Weſtby, *Mr.* Aſhton *of* Hill, *Mr.* Aſhton *of* Chaterton, *and many more, both Gentlemen and others, to my great Comfort. Unto whom I had good Occaſion to utter a great Part of my Conſcience; for God ſo ſtrengthened me with his Spirit of Boldneſs, according to my humble Requeſt and Prayer before (everlaſting Thanks be given him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to ſpeak to any that came to me, no not even to the Judges themſelves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the Bar, among the Thieves, with Irons on my Feet, and put up my Hand as others did; but yet with Boldneſs I ſpake unto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.*

They alſo ſent for me the fourth Time into their Chamber, where amongſt other Things they laid it ſtraitly to my Charge, that I had reported, that I knew a great many good Gentlemen in Lancaſhire *of mine Opinions, and ſtraitly charged me, upon pain of Allegiance to the Queen's Grace, to ſhew who they were. But I denied that I had ſpoken any ſuch thing (as it was indeed a forged Lie of ſome wicked Wretches). After that, they threatned and rebuked me, for my preaching to the People out of the Priſon, as they called it, and for my Praying and Reading ſo loud, that the People in the Streets might hear. The Truth is, I and my Fellow priſoner* Warbarton, *every Day upon our Knees, did read Morning and Evening Prayer, with the* Engliſh *Litany every Day twice, both before Noon and after, with ſome other Prayers, and alſo read every Day certain Chapters of the Bible, commonly towards Night: And we read alſo theſe Things with ſo high and loud a Voice, that the People without in the Streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the Evenings, come and ſit down in our Sight under the Windows and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.*

Mr. *Marſh* reproved for his loud praying and reading in Priſon.

All this while *George Marſh* was not yet brought before the Biſhop, whoſe Name was Dr. *Cotes*, placed the ſame Time in the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*. Of whoſe coming then into *Lancaſter*, the ſaid *George Marſh* reporteth as followeth.

The Biſhop being at *Lancaſter*, there ſet up and confirmed all blaſphemous Idolatry, as Holy-water caſting, Proceſſion, Gadding, Matins mumbling, Children confirming, Maſs hearing, Idols up ſetting, with ſuch heatheniſh Rites forbidden by God; but no Goſpel-preaching, which Chriſt, God's Son, ſo earneſtly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to ſend for me and examine me. Which thing he refuſed to do, ſaying he would have nothing to do with Hereticks ſo haſtily: So haſty in Judgment, and calling Men Hereticks, are our Biſhops in their lordly Dignities, before they hear or ſee what is to be amended or commended, contrary to the expreſs Commandment of God's Word, which ſaith, *Condemn no Man before thou haſt tried out the Truth of the Matter; and when thou haſt made Inquiſition, then reform righteouſly. Give no Sentence before thou haſt heard the Cauſe, but firſt let Men tell out their Tale: And he that giveth Sentence in a Matter before he hear it, is a Fool, and worthy to be confounded.*

Dr. *Cotes* Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s coming to *Lancaſter*, and ſetting up Idolatry.

The Biſhop judgeth Mr. *Marſh* to be an Heretick before he heareth him.

And inſtead of his Liberality towards me poor Priſoner, he ſent for the Jaylor, and rebuked him becauſe he ſuffered me to fare ſo well, ordering him to have me more ſtrictly kept and dieted: But if his Lordſhip were tabled but one Week with me, I do think he would judge our Fare but ſlender enough.

The unmerciful Strictneſs of the Biſhop towards Mr. *Marſh* in Priſon.

Alſo he, and his Chaplains and Chancellor did find Fault with the Schoolmaſter and others, for ſpeaking to me as to a moſt heinous Heretick,

tick, and alſo with the Jaylor for ſuffering them.

Examples of perſecuting Biſhops in the old Time.

But it is no new Thing for the Biſhops to perſecute the Truth, and the Prophets of the Lord, for their Conſtancy in preaching of the true Faith; for ſo did their phariſaical Forefathers, if ye remark well the Hiſtories of the Holy Bible. *Paſhur* was the head Biſhop of the Temple, the Ring-leader of falſe Prophets, the chief Heretick Taker, that is as much as to ſay, the Out-thruſter of true Piety. After that the Dignity of Prieſthood was given unto him, he abuſed it. For he taught not, neither reproved by the Word, but affrighted the Godly with Cruelty. He not only ſtruck, but alſo impriſoned the Holy Prophet *Jeremy*, though he withſtood him not, but preſently looked for the Help of God, ſtedfaſtly preaching the Truth of God.

Jer. 20.

What Miſchief the ungracious Biſhop *Jaſon* wrought among the *Jews*, deſtroying all Piety, and ſetting up abominable idolatrous Laws, ye may read in the Fourth Chapter of the Second of *Maccabees*. How the execrable and blind Biſhops, *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, which never ſpake the Truth of God themſelves, unleſs it were againſt their Wills, unwittingly to their utter Deſtruction, how, I ſay, they oppreſſed the Truth in Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is ſo well known that I need not to rehearſe it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the Impriſonment of *George Marſh*, and his examinations before the Earl of *Darby* and his Deputies above-named. Now proceeding further in the troubleſome Perſecution of this good Man, let us likewiſe conſider the latter Part of his Troubles and Examinations which followed under the Biſhop of the ſame Dioceſs, which was Dr. *Cotes*; the Effect whereof being drawn out of his own Writing, here briefly followeth.

The Examination of George Marſh *by Dr.* Cotes *Biſhop of* Cheſter.

YE heard before how *George Marſh* being firſt impriſoned at *Lathum*, and afterward carried unto *Lancaſter*, was troubled by the Earl. Again, within few Days after, the ſaid *Marſh* was removed from *Lancaſter*, and coming to *Cheſter*, was ſent for by Dr. *Cotes*, the Biſhop, to appear before him in his Hall, no Body elſe being preſent; and then he aſked him certain Queſtions concerning the Sacrament: Who made ſuch Anſwers as the Biſhop ſeemed therewith to be content, ſaving that he utterly denied Tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the Abuſe of the Maſs, nor that the Lay-people ſhould receive under one kind only, contrary to Chriſt's Inſtitution; in which Point the Biſhop went about to perſwade him: Howbeit all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to ſubmit himſelf to the univerſal Church of *Rome*; and when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſent him to Priſon again: And after being there, came to him divers Times one *Maſſy*, a fatherly old Man, one *Wrench* the Schoolmaſter, one *Henſham* the Biſhop's Chaplain, and the Archdeacon, with many more; who with all probability of Words and Philoſophy, or worldly Wiſdom and deceitful Vanity, after the Tradition of Men, and the beggarly Ordinances and Laws of the World, but not after Chriſt, went about to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the Pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures no otherwiſe than that Church did; with many ſuch like Arguments and Perſwaſions of fleſhly Wiſdom.

Great Labour to make Mr. *Marſh* recant.

Anno 1555.

To whom the ſaid *George Marſh* anſwered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much Evil be withal annexed) one Holy catholick and apoſtolick Church, without which there is no Salvation, and that this Church is but one, becauſe it ever hath, doth, and ſhall confeſs and believe one only God, and him only worſhip, and one only Meſſiah, and in him only truſt for Salvation: Which Church alſo is ruled and led by one Spirit, one Word, and one Faith, and that this Church is univerſal and catholick, becauſe it ever hath been ſince the World's Beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the World's End, and comprehending within it all Nations, Kindreds, and Languages, Degrees, States, and Conditions of Men; and that this Church is built only upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head Corner-ſtone, and not upon the *Romiſh* Laws and Degrees, the Biſhop of *Rome* being the ſupream Head.

The Nature, Condition, and Notes of the true Church.

And where they ſaid, the Church did ſtand in ordinary Succeſſion of Biſhops, being ruled by general Councils, holy Fathers, and the Laws of holy Church, and ſo had continued by the Space of fifteen hundred Years and more; he made Anſwer, that the holy Church, which is the Body of Chriſt, and therefore moſt worthy to be called Holy, was before any Succeſſion of Biſhops, general Councils, or *Romiſh* Decrees; neither yet was bound to any Time or Place, ordinary Succeſſion, general Councils, or Traditions of Fathers, either had any Supremacy over Empires and Kingdoms: But that it was a poor ſilly Flock, diſperſed and ſcattered Abroad, as Sheep without a Shephered in the midſt of Wolves, or as a Flock of Orphans and fatherleſs Children; and that this Church was led and ruled by the only Laws, Counſels, and Word of Chriſt, he being the ſupream Head of this Church, and aſſiſting, ſuccouring, and defending her from all Aſſaults, Errors, Troubles, and Perſecutions, wherewith ſhe is ever encompaſſed about.

The Nature, Condition, and Notes of the falſe Church.

He ſhewed and proved unto them alſo by the Flood of *Noah*, the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, the *Iſraelites* departing out of *Egypt*; by the Parables of the Sower, of the King's Son's Marriage, of the great Supper, and by other plain Sentences of Scripture, that this Church was of no Eſtimation, and of little in Compariſon of the Church of Hypocrites and wicked Wordlings.

He was thruſt at with all Violence of Craft and Subtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlaſting Thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, who ſuffereth us not to be tempted above our Might, but in the midſt of our Troubles ſtrengtheneth us with his moſt Holy Spirit of Comfort and Patience, giveth us a Mouth and Wiſdom how and what to ſpeak, againſt which all his Adverſaries were not able to reſiſt.

Another Appearance of Geo. Marſh.

NOW after that the ſaid Biſhop had taken his Pleaſure in puniſhing this his Priſoner, and often reviling him, giving Taunts and odious Names of Heretick, *&c.* he cauſed him to be brought forth into a Chappel, in the cathedral Church of *Cheſter*, called our Lady-chappel, before him the ſaid Biſhop, at two of the

Anno 1555. the Clock in the Afternoon, who was there placed in a Chair for that Purpose, and *Fulk Dutton*, Mayor of the said City, Dr. *Wall*, and other Priests assisting him, placed not far from the said Bishop, but somewhat lower, *George Wensloe*, Chancellor, and one *John Getham*, Register, sate directly over-against the said Bishop.

Mr. *Marsh* sworn to answer before the Bishop.

Then they caused the said *George Marsh* to take an Oath upon a Book, to answer truly unto such Articles as should be objected against him.

Upon which Oath taken, the Chancellor laid to his Charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the Parish of *Dean*, *Eccles*, *Bolton*, *Berry*, and many other Parishes within the Bishop's Dioceſs, in the Months of *January*, *February*, or some other Time of the Year last, proceeding directly against the Pope's Authority and catholick Church of *Rome*, the blessed Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and many other Articles.

He clareth himself.

Unto all which he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached, or spake against any of the said Articles; but simply and truly, as Occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in Conscience) maintained the Truth touching the same Articles, as he said all you now present did acknowledge the same in the Time of the late King *Edward* the Sixth.

The Bishop's Clergy more able to examine than to dispute.

Then they examined him severally of every Article, and bade him answer directly yea or nay, without Circumstance; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every Article very modestly, according to the Doctrine by publick Authority received, and taught in this Realm at the Death of the said King *Edward*: whose Answers were every one noted by the Register to the uttermost that could make against him; which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the Company for that Time brake up, and he was returned to Prison again.

The last Appearance of George Marsh, *before the Bishop.*

The Chancellor's Oration.

Within three Weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said Chappel, and in like Manner as before, the said Bishop and others before-named being there assembled, the said *George Marsh* was brought by the Keeper and others with Bills and other Weapons before them; where first the said Chancellor, by way of an Oration, declared unto the People present the said Bishop's Charge and burning Charity, who even like as a good Shepherd doth see to his Flock, that none of his Sheep have the Scab or other Disease for infecting other clean Sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed Sheep; so his Lordship had sent for the said *Geo. Marsh* there present, as a scabbed Sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable Disposition toward the said *Marsh*, to reduce him from his naughty Heresies; but all that he could do would not help: So that he was now determined, if the said *Marsh* would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give Sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said *George Marsh* to be well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his Life: And if he would not at that present forsake his heretical Opinions, it would be (after the Sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Interrogatories put to Mr. *Marsh*.

Then the said Chancellor first asked him, whether he were not of the Bishop's Dioceſs? To which he answered, that he knew not how large his Dioceſs was, for his Continuance was at *Cambridge*. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at *Deane* Parish in *Lancashire*, and there abode? He answered, Yea.

Then the Chancellor read all his former Answers that he made in that Place at his former Examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same or no? To which he answered again, Yea, yea.

How say ye then to this, quoth the Chancellor? In your last Examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical Heresies, you said, That the Church and Doctrine taught and set forth in King *Edward*'s Time, was the true Church, and the Doctrine of the true Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is not the true and catholick Church.

Note here the great Heresy of Mr. *Marsh*.

I so said indeed, quoth *Marsh*, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took Occasion to ask him (for that he denied the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority in *England*) whether *Linus*, *Anacletus*, and *Clement*, that were Bishops of *Rome*, were not good Men, and he answered, yes, and divers others; but, said he, they claimed no more Authority in *England*, than the Bishop of *Canterbury* doth at *Rome*; and I strive not, quoth he, with the Place, neither speak I against the Person of the Bishop, but against his Doctrine, which in most Points is repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ.

Argument. *Linus* and *Anacletus* were good Men: *Ergo*, the Pope is the supream Head of all Churches. Neither the Place nor Person of the Pope spoke against, but only his Doctrine.

Thou art an arrogant Fellow indeed then, said the Bishop. In what Article is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ?

To whom *George Marsh* answered and said, O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the Point of my Life and Death; and a Man in my Case hath no Cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my Record. And as concerning the Disagreement of the Doctrine, among many other Things, the Church of *Rome* erreth in the Sacrament. For where Christ in the Institution thereof did as well deliver the Cup, as the Bread, saying, *Drink ye all of this*; and St. *Mark* reporteth, that they did drink of it: In like Manner St. *Paul* delivered it unto the *Corinthians*. And in the same Sort also it was used in the primitive Church for the Space of many hundred Years. Now the Church of *Rome* doth take away one Part of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore if I could be persuaded in my Conscience by God's Word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this Point.

Wherein the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* erreth.

Then said the Bishop, There is no disputing with an Heretick. And therefore when all his Answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; being as they were, said he, full of Heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholick Church.

So saith the *Turk* in his Alcoran, that no Man must dispute of his Law.

To whom he made this full Answer, and said, That he held no heretical Opinion, but utterly abhorred all Kind of Heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the People there to bear him Witness (if any hereafter should slander him, and say that he held any grievous Heresy) that in all Articles of Religion he held no other Opinion than was by Law established, and publickly taught in *England* at the Death of King *Edward* the Sixth, and in the same pure Religion and Doctrine he would, by God's Grace, stand, live and die.

And here the Chancellor ſpake to one *Leach*, who ſtood near to *Marſh*, and bade him ſtand further from him; for his Preſence did him no good.

Sentence of Condemnation read againſt Mr. *Marſh*.

This being done, the Biſhop took a Writing out of his Boſom, and began to read the Sentence of Condemnation: But when the Biſhop had read almoſt half thereof, the Chancellor called him, and ſaid, Good my Lord, ſtay, ſtay: For if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and ſo the Biſhop ſtayed. Then his Popiſh Prieſts, and many other of the ignorant People, called upon *Marſh*, with many earneſt Words, to recant, and amongſt others one *Pulleyn* a Shoe-maker ſaid to him, For Shame Man remember thyſelf, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he deſired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The Biſhop then aſked him again, whether he would not have the Queen's Mercy in Time; and he anſwered, he did gladly deſire the ſame, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durſt not deny his Saviour Chriſt, for loſing his Mercy everlaſting, and ſo win everlaſting Death.

Then the Biſhop put his Spectacles again upon his Noſe, and read forward his Sentence about five or ſix Lines, and there again the Chancellor with flattering Words and ſmiling Countenance called to the Biſhop, and ſaid, Yet, good my Lord once again ſtay, for if that Word be ſpoken all is paſt, no relenting will then ſerve: and the Biſhop (pulling off his Spectacles) ſaid, I would ſtay, if it would be.

How ſay'ſt thou, quoth he, wilt thou recant?

Mr. *Marſh* exhorted to recant, but could not be turned.

Many of the Prieſts and ignorant People bade him do ſo, and call to God for Grace; and pulled him by the Sleeve, and bad him recant and ſave his Life. To whom he anſwered, I would as fain live as you, if in ſo doing I ſhould not deny my Maſter Chriſt, and again he ſhould deny me before his Father in Heaven.

Then the Biſhop read out his Sentence unto the End, and afterwards ſaid unto him, *Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a Dog.* And *Marſh* anſwered, That notwithſtanding he would pray for his Lordſhip: And after this the Biſhop

Mr. *Marſh* delivered to the Sheriffs.

delivered him unto the Sheriffs of the City. Then his late Keeper bad him farewel good *George*, with weeping Tears, which cauſed the Officers to carry him to a Priſon at the North-Gate, where he was very ſtrictly kept until the Time he went to his Death, during which Time he had ſmall Comfort or Relief of any worldly Creature.

For being in the Dungeon, none that would do him good could ſpeak with him, or at leaſt durſt enterprize ſo to do for fear of Accuſation: And ſome of the Citizens which loved him, for the Goſpel's Sake, would ſometime in the Evening at a Hole upon the Wall of the City (that went into the ſaid dark Priſon) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would anſwer them moſt chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly, that he would vouchſafe of his Mercy to appoint him to be a Witneſs of his Truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein he did moſt rejoice; beſeeching him that he would give him Grace not to faint under the Croſs, but patiently bear the ſame to his Glory and Comfort of his Church: With many other ſuch like Sayings at ſundry Times, as one that moſt deſired to be with Chriſt. Once or twice he had Money caſt in at the ſame Hole, about ten Pence at one Time, and two Shillings at another Time: For which he gave God Thanks, and uſed the ſame to his Neceſſity. Anno 1555.

When the Time appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer, the Sheriffs of the City, whoſe Names were *Amry* and *Couper*, with their Officers, and a great Number with Bills and Poll-Axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out the ſaid *George Marſh*, who came with them moſt humbly and meekly, with a Lock upon his Feet. And as he came upon the Way towards the Place of Execution, ſome Folks proffered him Money, and looked that he ſhould have gone with a little Purſe in his Hand (as the Manner of Felons was accuſtomed in that City in Times paſt, at their going to Execution) to the End to gather Money to give unto a Prieſt to ſay Maſſes for them after their Death, whereby they might, as they thought, be ſaved: But *Marſh* ſaid, he would not as then be troubled to receive Money, but deſired ſome good Man to take the Money, if the People were diſpoſed to give any, and to give it unto the Priſoners or poor People. So he went all the Way unto his Death with his Book in his Hand, looking upon the ſame; and many of the People ſaid, This Man goeth not unto his Death as a Thief, or as one that deſerveth to die.

Mr. *Marſh* led to his Martyrdom.

Now when he came to the Place of Execution without the City, near unto *Spittle-Boughton*, one *Cawdrey* being then a Deputy-chamberlain of *Cheſter*, ſhewed *Marſh* a Writing under a great Seal, ſaying, That it was a Pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat *Marſh* anſwered, That he would gladly accept the ſame (and ſaid further, that he loved the Queen) but foraſmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that Condition.

Mr. *Marſh* not ſuffered to ſpeak to the People.

After that, he began to ſpeak to the People, ſhewing the Cauſe of his Death, and would have exhorted them to ſtick unto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the Sheriffs ſaid: *George Marſh*, we muſt have no ſermoning now. To whom he ſaid, Maſter, I cry you Mercy: And ſo kneeling down made his Prayers, and then put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, and then he was chained to the Poſt, having a Number of Faggots under him, and a Thing made like a Firkin, with Pitch and Tar in the ſame over his Head: And by reaſon the Fire was unſkilfully made, and that the Wind did drive the ſame to and fro, he ſuffered great Extremity in his Death, which notwithſtanding he abode very patiently.

The Martyrdom of Mr. *Marſh* at *Weſt-Cheſter*, April 29.

Wherein this is to be noted, That when he had been a long Time tormented in the Fire without moving, having his Fleſh ſo broiled and puffed up, that they which ſtood before him underneath could ſee the Chain wherewith he was faſtned, and therefore ſuppoſed no leſs but he had been dead, notwithſtanding ſuddenly he ſpead abroad his Arms, ſaying, *Father of Heaven have Mercy upon me*, and ſo yielded his Spirit into the Hands of the Lord.

His Patience at his Death.

Upon this, many of the People ſaid that he was a Martyr, and died marvellous patient. Which cauſed the Biſhop ſhortly after to make a Sermon in the cathedral Church, and therein affirmed, that the ſaid *Marſh* was an Heretick, burnt like an Heretick, and was a Fire-brand in Hell.

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The Life of William Flower, *who for ſtriking a Prieſt, was apprehended, firſt having his Hand cut off, and after martyred for his conſtant Adherence to the Truth.*

WILLIAM FLOWER, otherwiſe named *Branch*, was born at *Snowhill* in the County of *Cambridge*, where he went to School ſome Years, and then came to the Abby of *Ely*; where, after he had remained a while, he was a profeſſed Monk according to the Order of the ſame Houſe where he remained, uſing and bearing the Habit of a Monk, and obſerving the Rules and Orders of the ſame Houſe, until he came to one and twenty Years of Age, or thereabout; and before he came to that Age, and being a profeſſed Monk, he was made a Prieſt alſo in the ſame Houſe, and there did celebrate and ſing Maſs a good Space together. After that, by reaſon of a Viſitation, and certain Injuctions given in the ſame Time by the Authority of King *Henry* the Eighth, he forſook the ſame Houſe, and caſting from him the ſaid Monks Habit and Religion aforeſaid, took upon him and uſed the Habit of a ſecular Prieſt, and returned to *Snowhill*, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and ſing Maſs, and taught Children their Primmer and Accidence about half a Year together.

William Flower firſt a Monk, then a Prieſt in the Houſe of *Ely*.

Then he went to *Ludgate* in *Suffolk*, and there ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt about a Quarter of a Year; and from thence he went to *Stoniland*, where he tarried and ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt alſo, until the coming out of the ſix Articles: And then he departed from thence, and went into *Gloceſterſhire*, where after he had made his Abode in the Country a while, at length in *Tewkſbury*, he married a Wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honeſtly continued: And after his Marriage, he tarried in *Tewkſbury* about two Years together, and from thence he went to *Broſley*, where he tarried three Quarters of a Year, and practiſed Phyſick and Chirurgery, and from thence he removed to *Northamptonſhire*, where under a Gentleman he taught Children their Primmers, and to write and read. But departing from thoſe Parts he came to *London*, and there remained for a certain Space. After that, being deſirous to ſee his Country, he returned to *Snowhill* where he was born; from thence to *Brankſtrey* in *Eſſex*, then to *Coxall*; and ſo came to *Lambeth* near *London*, where he hired a Houſe, and placed his Wife, where he and his Wife did dwell together till this Time: Howbeit for the moſt Part he was always abroad, except once or twice in a Month, to viſit and ſee his Wife; where he being at home upon *Eaſter* Day about Ten or Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon of the ſame Day, came over the Water from *Lambeth* into St. *Margaret*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, where he ſeeing a Prieſt named *John Cheltam* adminiſtring and giving the Sacrament of the Altar to the People, and therewith being greatly offended in his Conſcience with the Prieſt for the ſame his Doing (for that he judged him not to be a catholick Miniſter, neither his Act to be catholick and laudable according to God's Word) did ſtrike and wound him upon the Head, and alſo upon the Arm and Hand with his Woodknife, the Prieſt having the ſame Time in his Hand a Chalice, with certain conſecrated Hoſts therein, which were ſprinkled with the Blood of the ſaid Papiſt.

Mr. *Flower* marrieth a Wife.

William Flower cometh to *Lambeth*.

William Flower ſtriketh a popiſh Prieſt at the Altar in *Weſtminſter*.

In which Action as indeed he did not well, ſo afterward, being examined before Biſhop *Bonner*, did no leſs confeſs his not well doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therefore himſelf willingly to Puniſhment, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his Belief in the Sacrament, and the popiſh Miniſtration; he neither would nor did ſubmit himſelf.

William Flower repenteth his Act in ſtriking.

Whereupon the aforeſaid *William Flower*, being firſt apprehended and laid in the Gatehouſe at *Weſtminſter*, with as many Irons as he could bear; afterward was ſummoned before Biſhop *Bonner* his Ordinary, *April* 19, 1555, where the Biſhop after he had ſworn him upon a Book according to his ordinary Manner) miniſtred Articles and Interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeak of the Articles, firſt we have here to ſet forth what Communication paſſed betwixt him and *Robert Smith* being then alſo there Priſoner with him, concerning his Fact done at *Weſtminſter*, the Tenor and Effect of which Communication here followeth.

W. Flower brought before Biſhop *Bonner*.

A Communication between Robert Smith *and* William Flower, *concerning his Striking of the Prieſt at* Weſtminſter.

Smith. FRiend, foraſmuch as I underſtand that you do profeſs the Goſpel, and alſo have ſo done a long Seaſon, I am bold to come unto you, and in the Way of Communication to demand and learn a Truth at your own Mouth, of certain Things by you committed, to the aſtoniſhing not only of me, but of divers others that alſo profeſs the Truth.

Flower. I praiſe God for his great Goodneſs, in ſhewing me the Light of his holy Word; and I give you hearty Thanks for your Viſitation, intending by God's Grace to declare all the Truth that ye ſhall demand lawfully of me, in all Things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me the Truth of your Deed, committed on *John Cheltam* Prieſt in the Church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own Mouth how it was.

Flower. I came from my Houſe at *Lambeth* over the Water, and entring into St. *Margaret*'s Church, and there ſeeing the People falling down before a moſt ſhameful and deteſtable Idol, being moved with extream Zeal for my God, whom I ſaw before my face diſhonoured, I drew forth my Hanger, and ſtrake the Prieſt which miniſtred the ſame unto them: Whereupon I was immediately apprehended, and this is moſt true, as the Act is manifeſt.

Smith. Did ye not know the Perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil Will or Hatred between you at any Time.

Flower. No verily, I never to my Knowledge ſaw the Perſon before that preſent, neither ought him or any Man alive evil Will or Malice; for if he had not had it, another would, if I had any Time come where the like Occaſion had been miniſtred, if God had permitted me to do it.

Extraordinary Zeals are no general Rules to be followed.

Smith. Do ye think that Thing to be well done, and after the Rule of the Goſpel?

Flower. I do confeſs all Fleſh to be ſubject to the

the Power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his Miniſters to do his Will and Pleaſure; as in Example, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Phineas*, *Joſhua*, *Zimri*, *Jehu*, *Judith*, *Mattathiah*, with many others, not only changing Degrees, but alſo planting Zeals to his Honour, againſt all Order and Reſpect of Fleſh and Blood. For, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *His Works are paſt finding out:* By whoſe Spirit I have alſo given my Fleſh at this preſent unto ſuch Order, as it ſhall pleaſe the Good-will of God to appoint, in Death, which before the Act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your Example?

Flower. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: For I was up very early at St. *Paul*'s Church upon Chriſt's Day in the Morning, to have done it in my Jealouſy; but when I came in Place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the Water, and to enter the Church, but being in Mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my Fleſh willingly without all Fear, I praiſe God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like. Firſt, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the Rules of the Goſpel commandeth us to ſuffer with Patience all Wrongs and Injury; yet nevertheleſs, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye ſhall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: For he doth in his People his unſpeakable Works in all Ages, which no Man can comprehend. I humbly beſeech you to judge the beſt of the Spirit, and condemn not God's Doings: For I cannot expreſs with my Mouth the great Mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this Thing, which I repent not. †

† But he heartily repented of all this enthuſiaſtical Folly before he died.

Smith. Are ye not aſſured to have Death miniſtred unto you for the ſame Act committed, and even with Extremity?

Flower. I did before the Deed committed, adjudge my Body to die for the ſame: Whereupon I carried about me in Writing, mine Opinion of God and the holy Scriptures; that if it had pleaſed God to have given them Leave to have killed my Body in the Church, they might in the ſaid Writing have ſeen my Hope, which (I praiſe God) is laid up ſafe within my Breaſt, notwithſtanding any Death that may be miniſtred upon my Body in this World; being aſcertained of everlaſting Life through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, and being moſt heartily ſorry for all mine Offences committed in this Fleſh, and truſting ſhortly through his Mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Smith. It is no need to examine or commune with you of the Hope that ye have any further: For I perceive (God be praiſed) ye are in good Eſtate, and therefore I beſeech God for his Mercies ſpread his Wings over you, that as for his Love you have been zealous, even to the Loſs of this Life, ſo he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this Death into a better Life, which I think will be ſhortly.

Flower. I hunger for the ſame (dear Friend) being fully aſcertained that they can kill but the Body, which I am aſſured ſhall receive Life again everlaſting, and ſee no more Death; entirely deſiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the ſame in me ſhortly. And thus *Robert Smith* departed, leaving him in the Dungeon, and went again to his Ward. And this (gentle Reader) is the Truth, as near as the ſaid *Smith* could report it. †

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And thus much concerning the Talk between him and *Robert Smith* in Priſon, concerning his Fact in ſtriking the Prieſt. Now to return again to the Matter of his Examination, where we left: We ſhewed before how this *William Flower*, after his ſtriking the Prieſt, firſt was laid in the Gatehouſe; then, being examined before Biſhop *Bonner*, had Articles againſt him, the Copy whereof here followeth.

Articles objected by Bonner, *againſt* William Flower, *late of* Lambeth, *in the County of* Surrey.

1. THAT thou being of a lawful Age and Diſcretion, at the leaſt of ſeventeen Years old waſt a profeſſed Monk in the late Abby of *Ely*, wherein after thy Profeſſion thou remainedſt until the Age of One and twenty Years, uſing all the mean Time the Habit and Religion of the ſame Houſe, and was reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a Perſon.

2. *Item*, That after the Premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made Prieſt, according to the laudable Cuſtom of the catholick Church, and afterward thou didſt execute and miniſter as a Prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a Prieſt.

3. *Item*, That after the Premiſſes thou forgetting God, thy Conſcience, Honeſty, and the laudable Order of the catholick Church, didſt contrary to thy Profeſſion and Vow, take, as unto thy Wife, one Woman, commonly called *Alice Pulton*, in the Pariſh Church of *Tewkſbury* in the Dioceſs of *Gloceſter*, with whom thou haſt mutual Cohabitation, and carnal Copulation, as Man and Wife, and begat of her two Children.

In the latter Days certain ſhall depart from the Faith, forbidding Marriage, and eating of Meats. 1 *Tim.* 4.

4. *Item*, That thou being a religious Man and a Prieſt, didſt contrary to the Order of the eccleſiaſtical Laws, take upon thee to practiſe in divers Places within the Dioceſs of *London*, Phyſick and Chirurgery, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

A great Hereſy.

5. *Item*, That upon *Eaſter* Day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the fourteenth Day of this preſent Month of *April*, within the Pariſh Church of St. *Margaret*'s at *Weſtminſter*, within the County of *Middleſex* and Dioceſs of *London*, thou didſt maliciouſly, outragiouſly, and violently pull out thy Weapon, that is to wit, thy Wood-knife or Hanger. And whereas the Prieſt and Miniſter there, called Sir *John Chelton*, was executing his Cure and Charge, eſpecially in doing his Service, and adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Altar to Communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with thy ſaid Weapon the ſaid Prieſt, firſt upon the Head very ſore, and afterwards upon his Hands or other Parts of his Body, drawing Blood abundantly from him; the ſaid Prieſt then holding the ſaid Sacrament in his Hand, and giving no Occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt him; the People being grievouſly offended therewith, and the ſaid Church polluted thereby, ſo that the Inhabitants were compelled to repair to another Church to communicate, and to receive the ſaid Sacrament.

6. *Item*, That by reaſon of the Premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Church, amongſt other Penalties, excommunicated

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7. *Item*, That thou, concerning the Truth of Cnriſt's natural Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, haſt been by the Space of theſe Years, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of this Opinion; that is to ſay, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, after the Words of Conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the Forms of Bread) the very true and natural Body of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*.

His Faith in the Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That thou for the Hatred and Diſdain that thou hadſt and didſt bear againſt the ſaid Sacrament, and the Virtue thereof, and againſt the ſaid Prieſt adminiſtring the ſame (as before) didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt him in Manner and Form as before is declared.

9. *Item*, That thou, over and beſides the Pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel Fact, art alſo by the Order of the eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Churh, and the laudible Cuſtom and Ordinance of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very Heretick, and to be puniſhed by and with the Pains due for Hereſy, by reaſon of the ſaid Hereſy and damnable Opinion.

10. *Item*, That all the Premiſſes be true, manifeſt, notorious, and famous, and that upon the ſame, and every Part thereof, there was and is within the ſaid Pariſh of St. *Margaret*'s and other Places thereabout, a publick Voice and Fame.

The Anſwer of William Flower, *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

TO the firſt Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in evety Part thereof, except that he ſaith and confeſſeth that he never conſented and agreed in his Heart to be a Monk.

To the ſecond Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every Part thereof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he never did, nor yet doth eſteem the ſaid Order of Prieſthood, according to the Order of the ſaid catholick Church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his Conſcience.

Flower confeſſeth his Matrimony to be honeſt and lawful.

To the third Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he intending to live in holy Matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the ſaid *Alice Pulton* named in this Article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's Laws. Further, confeſſing and believing, that all the Time when he was profeſſed Monk, and made Prieſt, he did thereby utterly forget God: But when he did ſo marry the ſaid *Alice Pulton*, and in continuing with her did beget three Children, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth Article he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every Part thereof.

To the fifth Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That his Conſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid Sir *John Chelton*, Prieſt, for adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Altar to the People at the Place and Time ſpecified in this Article, he did ſo ſmite and ſtrike the ſame Prieſt with his Hanger or Woodknife, as well upon his Head, as upon other Parts and Places of his Body, which he remembreth not, whereby the Blood ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid Church, as he believeth, having, as he ſaith, none other Cauſe or Matter ſo to do, but only that his Conſcience was offended and grieved, in that the ſame Prieſt did ſo give and adminiſter the ſaid Sacrament to the People: Which People he believeth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaid Fact and Doing, and were enforced and compelled to go out of the Church, and to repair to another to receive the ſaid Sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intended to have killed the ſaid Prieſt, or not: He ſaid he would not anſwer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or Evil in ſtriking the ſaid Prieſt; he would make no Anſwer thereunto.

Note that the ſaid *W. Flower* afterward in his next Appearance corrected and reformed this Anſwer.

To the Sixth he anſwereth and ſaith, That whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is contained in this Article, he referreth himſelf herein to the eccleſiaſtical Laws.

To the Seventh he anſwereth and ſaith, That by the Space of ſix and twenty Years now paſt, he hath always been, and yet is of this Opinion touching the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as followeth; namely, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Words of Conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very Deed contained under the Form of Bread, the very true and natural Body of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*.

To the Eighth he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every Part thereof.

To the Ninth he anſwereth, and herein he referreth himſelf to the ſaid Laws, Cuſtom, and Ordinance ſpecified in this Article, that is to ſay, the canonical Laws,

To the laſt he anſwereth and believeth, that thoſe Things before by him confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denied be untrue; and that the ſaid common Voice and Fame hath and doth only labour and go upon thoſe Things by him before confeſſed.

By me *William Flower*, alias *Branch*.

W. Flower exhorted to recant.

After this Examination, the Biſhop began to inſtruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the Unity of his Mother the catholick Church, with ſuch Reaſons as he is commonly wont to uſe to others, promiſing many fair Things if he would do ſo, beſides the forgiving of what was paſt.

W. Flower refuſeth to revoke his Faith and Doctrine.

To this *William Flower* anſwering again, thanked him for his Offer: And where it was in his Power to kill or not to kill his Body, he ſtood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his Soul he had no ſuch Power, which being once ſeparated from the Body, is in the Hands of no Man, but only of God either to ſave or ſpill. As concerning his Opinion of the Sacrament, he ſaid he would never go from that he had ſpoken, do he with him what he would.

Another Appearance of *W. Flower* before Biſhop *Bonner*.

Then the Biſhop aſſigned him again to appear in the ſame Place in the Afternoon, betwixt Three and Four. In the mean Time to adviſe himſelf of his former Anſwers, whether he would ſtand to the ſame his Opinions or not; which if he ſo did, he would further proceed againſt him, *&c.*

In the Afternoon the ſaid *William Flower* appeared again before the ſaid Biſhop at the Hour and Place appointed. To whom the Biſhop ſit-

ting in his Conſiſtory, ſpake theſe Words: *Flower*, ye were this Afternoon here before me, and made Anſwer to certain Articles; and thereupon I reſpited you till now, to the Intent that you ſhould conſider and weigh with yourſelf your State, and to remember while you have Time, both your abominable Act, and alſo that evil Opinion which ye have conceived touching the Verity of Chriſt's true and natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

To whom the ſaid *Flower* anſwered as followeth: That which I have ſaid, I will ſtand to; and therefore I require that the Law may proceed againſt me. Whereupon the Biſhop commanded his Notary (*Harward* by Name) to read to him again his Articles, as before. Which being read, the ſaid *William Flower* ſtill perſiſting in his Sentence, anſwered to all Parts of the Articles, as in the Forenoon before, ſave only that he requeſted the Biſhop concerning the fifth Article, he might alter ſomething his Anſwer therein, after this Tenor and Manner of Words, to wit, and moreover confeſſeth and ſaith, that whereas he ſtruck the Prieſt on *Eaſter* Day laſt paſt, in St. *Margaret*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, he hath ſince that Time, and yet doth miſlike himſelf in that Doing, and doth now judge and believe that the ſame Act was evil and naught. Howbeit he ſaith and believeth, that for the Matter and Cauſe whereof he ſo ſtruck the ſaid Prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the Sacrament of the Altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable) he neither did, nor doth miſlike himſelf at all therein.

M. Flower miſliked his own Act in ſtriking the Prieſt.

Moreover, he deſired of the ſaid Biſhop Licenſe to be granted him, to alter and take out ſome of the Ninth Article, and in Place thereof, theſe Words to be placed; to wit, Herein he referreth himſelf to the Laws, Cuſtom and Ordinance ſpecified in this Article, *&c.* At which Requeſt *Bonner* granted to the altering of both the Articles according as he deſired, and ſo put in the Acts.

After this, the Biſhop turning again to his old Manner of Exhorting, went about with Words to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the Catholick Church, and to the Faith thereof. Notwithſtanding all his Perſuaſions, he ſtill remained in the Conſtancy of his Sentence, ſaying, that he would not be removed from that he had ſpoken, to die therefore. Whereupon the Biſhop aſſigned him the next Day (being the twentieth Day of *April*) to appear in the ſame Place, between eight and nine of the Clock in the Morning, then and there to hear the Sentence pronounced in Caſe he would not Relent, *&c.*

The laſt Appearance of W. Flower before Biſhop Bonner.

The next Morning the ſaid *William Flower* was brought by the Keeper belonging to the Warden of the *Fleet*, before Biſhop *Bonner*, who according to his uſual Manner, endeavour'd to reduce him to his Catholick Church and the Unity thereof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt; ſometime alluring him with fair Promiſes, and ſometimes with Menaces, Terrors, and Threatnings. To which he anſwer'd, Do what ye will, I am at a Point: For the Heavens ſhall as ſoon fall, as I will forſake my Opinion, *&c.* Whereupon the Biſhop after he had commanded theſe Words to be Regiſtred, called for the Depoſitions of certain Witneſſes, produced for the better Information of this Matter, the Names of which Witneſſes were theſe: *William Jennings*, *John Bray*, *Robert Graunt*, *Richard Dod*, *William Pampion*, *Robert Smalwood*, the Pariſh Prieſt of St. *Margaret*'s at *Weſtminſter*. The Sum and Effect of whole Depoſition here enſueth.

Witneſſes produced againſt W. Flower.

Anno 1555.

Robert Graunt *of* Weſtminſter, *examined upon the ſaid Anſwers of* William Flower, *ſaith and depoſeth; That he did hear and ſee the ſaid* Flower *acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own Hand, and alſo was preſent in the Church of St.* Margaret's *in* Weſtminſter, *when the ſaid* William Flower *did ſmite and wound the Prieſt, when he was adminiſtring the Sacrament; and how this Examinant among others preſſed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his Chin, and after he was taken, this Examinant did help to conduct him to the Gate-houſe.*

Richard Dod *of* Weſtminſter, *examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid* Flower *acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own Hands; and alſo did ſee and was preſent, when the ſaid* Flower *upon* Eaſter-Day *laſt paſt drew his Wood-knife, and ſtruck the Prieſt upon the Head, Hand and Arm; who being wounded therewith, and having a Chalice with conſecrated Hoſts there in his Hand, ſprinkled with the ſaid Prieſt's Blood, was reſcued by this Examinant, and the ſaid* Flower *carried to the Gatehouſe, and the Wood-knife taken away by this Examinant.*

William Pampion, *one of the Church-wardens of the ſaid Pariſh Church of St.* Margaret's *in* Weſtminſter, *examined upon the ſaid Anſwers of the ſaid* Flower, *ſaith and depoſeth, That the ſame Anſwers be true, and in his Sight were ſubſcribed with the Hand of the ſaid* Flower. *And that upon* Eaſter-day *laſt paſt, about eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, in the Pariſh Church of St.* Margaret's *in* Weſtminſter, *among a great Number of the People ready to receive the Sacrament, the Prieſt's Back being turned toward the ſaid* Flower, *he the ſaid* Flower *ſuddenly drew forth his Wood-knife, and ſtruck Sir* John Cheltam *the Prieſt both upon his Head, Hand, and Arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the Chalice with conſecrated Hoſts being in his Hand, were ſprinkled with his Blood, and the People in great Fear cried out lamentably, as though they ſhould preſently have been killed.*

Robert Smalwood *of* Weſtminſter, *examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid* Flower *acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe the ſame with his own Hand; and touching the ſtriking and wounding the Prieſt in St.* Margaret's *Church in* Weſtminſter *upon* Eaſter-day *laſt, this Examinant ſaith, he was not there when the Fact was done, but immediately after he came to Church, and found the Prieſt hurt, and wounded in the Head, Hand, and Arm, by the ſaid* Flower, *and the People in great heavineſs by reaſon thereof. Alſo the People did report, as this Examinant ſaith, that* Flower *did the Deed, as the Prieſt had the Chalice in his Hand, adminiſtring the Sacrament to the People.*

William Jennings *of* Weſtminſter, *being examined upon the Anſwers of the ſaid* William Flower, *ſaith and depoſeth by Virtue of his Oath, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid* Flower *acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own Hand in the Conſiſtory Place; and further depoſeth, That he upon* Eaſter-

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The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker & John Warne

The Burning of George Marsh.

The Burning of William Flower *in* St. Margarets Church-yard Westminster.

Anno 1555. day *laſt paſt was preſent in the Church of St.* Margaret's *in* Weſtminſter, *where* Flower *ſtruck the ſaid Sir* John Cheltam *Prieſt, firſt upon the Head, and afterward upon his Arm, whereby the ſaid Prieſt is like to loſe his Hand. Alſo this Jurate depoſeth, that the ſaid Sir* John Cheltam *had a Chalice with certain conſecrated Hoſts therein in his Hand, which were ſprinkled with the Blood of the ſaid Prieſt, and after the ſaid* Flower *was apprehended by this Examinant and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouſe in* Weſtminſter.

John Bray *one of the Church-wardens of the Pariſh Church of St.* Margaret's *in* Weſtminſter, *ſworn and examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid* Flower *acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and alſo ſubſcribe unto the ſame. And further depoſeth of* Flower's *ſtriking the Prieſt, in Effect, as the reſt of the Examinants do, and that this ſaid Jurate was preſent there at the doing thereof.*

After the Depoſitions of theſe Witneſſes were taken, publiſhed, and denounced, the ſaid Biſhop ſpake to *William Flower*, and aſked him, if he knew any Matter or Cauſe why Sentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an Heretick. Whereunto he anſwer'd as followeth; I have nothing at all to ſay, for I have already ſaid unto you all that I have to ſay; and that I have ſaid I will not go from; and therefore do what you will, *&c.*

Sentence of Condemnation and Degradation pronounced againſt *William Flower.*

Which when he had ſpoken, the Biſhop proceeded to the Sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an Heretick, and after pronounced him alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed him to the ſecular Power. Upon the 24th Day of the aforeſaid Month of *April*, which was St. *Mark*'s Eve, he was brought to the Place of Martyrdom, which was in St. *Margaret*'s Church-yard at *Weſtminſter*, where the Fact was committed: And there coming to the Stake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his Prayer to almighty God, with a Confeſſion of his Faith, in Manner as followeth.

Mr. *Flower*'s Prayer. *O Eternal God, moſt mighty and merciful Father, who haſt ſent down thy Son upon the Earth, to ſave me and all Mankind, who aſcended up into Heaven again, and left his Blood upon the Earth behind him, for the Redemption of our Sins, have Mercy upon me, have Mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt's *Sake, in whom I confeſs only to be all Salvation and Juſtification, and that there is no other Means, nor Way, nor Holineſs, in which or by which any Man can be ſaved in this World. This is my Faith, which I beſeech all Men here to bear Witneſs of.*

Then he ſaid the Lord's Prayer, and ſo made an End.

Then Mr. *Cholmeley* came to him, deſiring him to recant his Hereſy, whereby he might do good to the People, or elſe he would be damned.

Flower anſwered as followeth: Sir I beſeech you for God's Sake to be contented: For that I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and I have been of this Faith from the Beginning; and I truſt to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit to continue to the End. Then he deſired all the World to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the World.

This done, firſt his Hand being held up againſt the Stake, was ſtruck off, his left Hand being faſtned behind him. At which ſtriking off his Hand, ſome that were preſent, and purpoſely obſerving the ſame, credibly informed us, that he in no Part of his Body did once ſhrink at the ſtriking thereof, but once a little he ſtirred his Shoulders.

And thus Fire was ſet unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud Voice, *O the Son of God have Mercy upon me, O the Son of God receive my Soul*, three Times, and ſo his Speech being taken from him, he ſpake no more, lifting up notwithſtanding his Stump with his other Arm as long as he could.

And thus he endured the Extremity of the Fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reaſon that the few Faggots that were brought being not ſufficient to burn him, they were fain to ſtrike him down into the Fire. Where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the Ground, his lower Part was conſumed in the Fire, whilſt his upper Part was without the Fire, his Tongue in all Men's Sight ſtill moving in his Mouth.

May 1555.

The third of *May* a Letter was ſent to *George Colt* and *Thomas Daniel*, to make Search for and apprehend *John Bernard* and *John Walſh*, who uſed to repair to *Sudbury*, and carrying about with them the Bones of *Pigot* that was burned, do ſhew them to the People, perſuading them to be conſtant in his Religion, and upon Examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the Laws.

This Day *Stephen Appes* was committed to the Little-Eaſe in the Tower, there to remain two or three Days till further Examination.

The 12th Day Mr. *Thomas Roſs* Preacher, was by the Council's Letters delivered from the Tower to the Sheriff of *Norfolk*, to be conveyed and delivered to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and he either to reduce him to Recant, or elſe proceed againſt him according to the Law.

The 16th a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer: Signifying what the Lord Lieutenant had done for *Roſs*; and that Order ſhould be given, according to his Lordſhip's Requeſt, for Letters to the Biſhops: And for *Appes*, whom the Lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be Mad, his Lordſhip perceiving the ſame to be true, ſhould commit him to *Bedlam*, there to remain till their further Order.

The 26th a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to confer with the Biſhop of *London*, and the Juſtices of the Peace of that County, wherein they are to be executed that are already condemned for Religion, and upon Agreement of Places, to give Order for their Execution accordingly.

The 28th a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to cauſe ſpeedy Preparation to be made of ſuch Money as was appointed for ſuch Perſons as ſhould carry the joyful Tidings of Queen *Mary*'s good Delivery of Child, to divers Princes, that they be not compelled to ſtay when the Time ſhall come. The Ambaſſadors were, the Lord Admiral to the Emperor, the Lord *Fitzwalter* to the *French* King, Sir *Henry Sidney* to the King of the *Romans*, *Richard Shalley* to the King of *Portugal*, whoſe free Paſſage through *France* Dr. *Wotton* was ordered to procure.

The 29th a Letter was directed to Sir *Francis Ingleſield* to make ſearch for one *John D*—— at *London*, and to apprehend him, and ſend him to the Council, and to make ſearch for ſuch Papers and Books as he thinketh may touch the ſame *D* —— or one *Benger*.

The

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker, *and* John Warne, *Upholſter, who ſuffered both together in* Smithfield, May 30. 1555.

UPON the 30th Day of *May John Cardmaker*, otherwiſe called *Taylor*, Prebendary of the Church of *Wells*; and *John Warne* Upholſter, of the Pariſh of St. *John* in *Walbrook* ſuffer'd together in *Smithfield*. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning with Mr. *Cardmaker*, who firſt was an obſervant Frier before the Diſſolution of the Abbeys: afterwards was a married Miniſter, and in King *Edward*'s time appointed to be a Reader in St. *Paul*'s. Mr. *Cardmaker* being apprehended in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, with Mr. *Barlow* Biſhop of *Bath*, was brought to *London*, and put in the Fleet Priſon, King *Edward*'s Laws being yet in Force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was again admitted as ſupream Head of the Church, and the Biſhops had alſo gotten Power and Authority, *Ex officio*, to exerciſe their Tyranny, theſe two were brought before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellor, and others appointed by Commiſſion (as before is mentioned) to examine the Faith of ſuch as were then Priſoners, and as unto others before, ſo now unto them the Chancellor offered the Queen's Mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, *&c.*

Mr. *Cardmaker* Reader in St. *Paul*'s.

Mr. *Cardmaker* with Mr. *Barlow*, apprehended and laid in the Fleet.

To this they both made ſuch an Anſwer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commiſſioners allowed them for Catholicks. Whether they of Weakneſs ſo anſwered, or he of Subtilty would ſo underſtand their Anſwer, that he might have ſome forged Example of a ſhrinking Brother to lay in the Diſh of the reſt, which were to be examined; it may eaſily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in Examination, he objected the Example of *Barlow* and *Cardmaker*, commending their Soberneſs, Diſcretion, and Learning. But whatſoever their Anſwer was, yet notwithſtanding *Barlow* was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterwards being delivered, did by Exile conſtantly bear Witneſs to the Truth of the Goſpel. *Cardmaker* was conveyed to the Compter in *Breadſtreet*, the Biſhop of *London* procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be delivered, after that he had ſubſcribed to Tranſubſtantiation and certain other Articles. To the ſame Priſon where *Cardmaker* was, *Laurence Saunders* was brought (after the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation was pronounced againſt him) where theſe two Priſoners had ſuch chriſtian Conference, that whatſoever the Breath of the Biſhop bluſtred, and the fickle Ears of the People too lightly believed, in the End they both ſhewed themſelves conſtant Confeſſors and worthy Martyrs of Chriſt: As of *Laurence Saunders* is already written. After whoſe Departure *Cardmaker* remained there Priſoner, to be baited by the Papiſts, who would needs ſeem to have a certain Hope that *Cardmaker* was become theirs. Continual and great Conference divers of them had with him, with Reaſonings, Perſwadings, Threatnings, and all to none Effect. To the End that their Doings might appear, he required them to put their Reaſons in writing, and promiſed by writing to anſwer them.

Conference between *Laurence Saunders* and *John Cardmaker*.

Dr. *Martin*, who bare alſo a Part in thoſe Pageants, took upon him to be the chief Doer by writing, whoſe long unſavoury Letters and ſimple Reaſons for Tranſubſtantiation, Mr. *Cardmaker* anſwered largely, learnedly, and ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, opening the Falſhood of his Arguments, and delivering the Sentences of the Fathers (which *Martin* abuſed for his Purpoſe) to their true Underſtanding; which Anſwers I would had come to our Hands. Thus conſtantly abode this good Man all the Enemies Doings, as he did alſo the Death which he ſuffered in *Smithfield* in *London:* Whereof ye ſhall hear more anon. But firſt we will ſurvey the Matter and Manner of the Articles objected againſt him by Biſhop *Bonner*, with his Anſwers annex'd to the ſame, as followeth. Anno 1555.

Articles objected by Biſhop Bonner *againſt* John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker.

1. I *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, object againſt thee, Sir *John Taylor*, alias *Cardmaker*. that thou waſt and art of the City and Dioceſs of *London*, and ſo of the Juriſdiction of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*.

2. *Item*, That thou in Times paſt didſt profeſs the Rule of St. *Francis*, and didſt by Vow promiſe to keep Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, according to the Rule of St. *Francis*.

3. *Item*, That thou in Times paſt didſt receive all the Orders of the Church then uſed: to wit, *Tam majores quam minores*.

4. *Item*, That thou after thy ſaid Entry into Religion and Profeſſion and Orders aforeſaid, didſt take to Wife a Widow, and with her hadſt carnal Copulation, and didſt get of her a Woman Child, breaking thereby thy Vow and Order, and alſo the Ordinance of the Church.

5. *Item*, That thou haſt believed and taught, and ſo doſt believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar under the viſible Signs there, that is to ſay, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is really and trully the true and very natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

6. *Item*, That the Belief of the Catholick Church is, that in having the Body and Blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, is to have (by the omnipotent Power of Almighty God) the Body and Blood of Chriſt there inviſibly and really preſent under the ſaid Sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new Body of Chriſt.

The Belief of the Pope's Catholick Church.

7. *Item*, That it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the Faith of the catholick Church, that the Body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into Heaven, and there is in the viſible Form of his Humanity; and yet the ſame Body in Subſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar.

8. *Item*, That Chriſt at his laſt Supper taking Bread into his Hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Apoſtles, and ſaying; Take, eat, this is my Body; did inſtitute a Sacrament there, * willing that his Body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid Sacrament, no Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the Accidents thereof.

* That Chriſt never willed, neither can the Scriptures bear it.

Mr.

†

Anno 1555.

Mr. Cardmaker's *Anſwers to the aforeſaid Articles.*

TO the firſt Article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every Part thereof.

To the ſecond Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he being under Age, did profeſs the ſaid Order and Religion, and afterward by the Authority of King *Henry* the Eighth, he was diſpenſed with for the ſame Religion.

Mr. *Cardmaker's* Anſwers to the Articles.

To the Third he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every Part thereof.

To the Fourth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, the firſt Part thereof to be true; and to the ſecond Part of the ſame Article he anſwereth and ſaith, that in Marriage he brake no Vow, becauſe he was ſet at Liberty to marry, both by the Laws of this Realm, and alſo by the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of the ſame.

To the Fifth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this Article, but he doth not now ſo believe nor teach.

To the Sixth he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any Part thereof.

To the Seventh he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any Part thereof.

To the Eighth he anſwereth and doth believe, that it is true; that is to ſay, that Chriſt taking Bread at his laſt Supper into his Hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Diſciples, and ſaying, Take, eat, this is my Body, did inſtitute a Sacrament there. And to the other Part of this Article, namely, (willing that his Body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid Sacrament, no Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the Accidents thereof) he anſwereth, that he doth not believe the ſame to be true,

By me *John Cardmaker.*

Mr. *Cardmaker* calling to mind afterwards the ready Cavillings of the Papiſts, and thinking himſelf not to have fully, and according to his true Meaning anſwered the latter Part of the laſt eighth Article, did the next Day after the aforeſaid Anſwers exhibit unto the Biſhop in a Schedule this hereafter following.

A more full Anſwer to the ſecond Part of the eighth Article.

Where in my Anſwer to your Articles I deny the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, I mean not his ſacramental Preſence, for that I confeſs; but my Denial is of his carnal Preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this Word is oftentimes taken by the holy Fathers, not only for Bread and Wine, but alſo for the whole Adminiſtration and receiving the ſame according to Chriſt's Inſtitution: So I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the Sacrament; ſo that my Denial is ſtill of the real, carnal and corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, and not of the ſacramental nor ſpiritual Preſence.

This I have thought good to add to my former Anſwer, becauſe no Man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me *John Cardmaker.*

Articles objected againſt John Warne *Upholſter, of the Pariſh of St.* John *in* Walbrook, *with his Anſwers to the ſame.*

FIRST, That thou *John Warne*, being of the Age of 29 Years, and of the Pariſh of St. *John* of *Walbrook* in *London*, haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Chriſt in Subſtance, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Item, That thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that after the Words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is not (as the Church of *England* doth believe and teach) the Body of Chriſt; but that there doth only remain the Subſtance of material Bread, as it is before the Conſecration, or ſpeaking of the Words of Conſecration; and that the ſaid Bread is in no wiſe altered or changed.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid and doſt believe, that if the catholick Church do believe and teach, that there is in the Maſs, now uſed in *England*, and in other Places of *Chriſtendom*, a Sacrifice wherein there is a Sacrament containing the Body and Blood of Chriſt realy and truly; then that Belief and Faith of the Church is naught, againſt God's Truth and the Scripture.

Hereſy for laughing at a Spaniel ſhorn on the Head.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid, that about a Twelvemonth ago and more, a great rough Water Spaniel of thine was ſhorn on the Head, and had a Crown like a Prieſt made in the ſame, thou didſt laugh at it and like it, though thou didſt it not thyſelf, nor kneweſt who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent laſt paſt, nor at any Time ſince the Queen's Majeſty's Reign, haſt come into the Church, or heard Maſs, or been confeſſed, or received the Sacrament of the Altar; and haſt ſaid, that thou art not ſorry that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy Conſcience, which otherwiſe thou ſhouldſt have done.

Upon all which Articles *John Warne* being examined by the ſaid Biſhop *Bonner*, in Preſence of divers Witneſſes, *May* 23. 1555. did confeſs and believe the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his Name with his own Hand.

By me *John Warne.*

It alſo was objected againſt the ſaid *John Warne*, by the aforeſaid Biſhop, as followeth.

Item, That thou *John Warne* waſt in Time paſt here in the City of *London*, convented in *Guildhall* for Hereſy againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the Order of the Laws of this Realm of *England* in the Time of King *Henry* VIII. and when Alderman *Barnes* was Sheriff, and the *Thurſday* after that *Anne Aſkew*, was burnt in *Smithfield*; and thereupon thou waſt ſent a Priſoner to *Newgate*, to whom *Edmund* Biſhop of *London* did repair with his Chaplains, to inſtruct thee in the true Faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and to bring thee from thy Error, which was, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the Body of Chriſt, nor any corporal Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood, under the Forms of Bread and Wine; but that in the ſaid Sacrament there is only material Bread and Wine, without any Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood at all:

and becauſe thou wouldſt not leave and forſake thy ſaid Hereſy therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the ſaid Laws condemned to Death and to be burnt; and thereupon Suit being made for thee to the King and others in the Court, thou hadſt a Pardon of King *Henry* the Eighth, and thereby didſt ſave thy Life.

John Warne pardoned by King *Henry* VIII

Nevertheleſs in thy Heart, Conſcience, and Mind, thou didſt both then, and alſo before believe no otherwiſe than at this preſent thou doſt believe; that is to ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is neither the very true Body or Blood of Chriſt, nor no other Subſtance but the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine; and to receive the ſaid material Bread and Wine, and to break it, and to diſtribute it among the People, only is the true receiving of Chriſt's Body, and no otherwiſe: So that thy Faith and Belief is, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is no Subſtance of Chriſt's material Body and Blood; but all the Thing that is there is material Bread, and the receiving thereof as before; and that the Subſtance of the natural and true Body of Chriſt, born of the Virgin *Mary*, is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar. In which thine Opinion thou haſt ever hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all this to be true, and in Witneſs thereof ſubſcribing thy Name thereunto, as followeth.

By me *John Warne.*

John Warne being examined upon the aforeſaid Articles by the Biſhop before certain Witneſſes, whoſe Names were *John Roſwell*, *John Heywood*, *Robert Ravens*, the 23d of *May*, did anſwer for the ſame, confeſſing and granting the Articles and the Contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every Part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his Hand. Such Strength and Fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the Defence of the ſincere Doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the Biſhop exhorting him with many Words to leave his Hereſies (as he called them) and to return to the Boſom of his Mother the holy Church, commanding him to appear again the next Day, being the 24th of *May*.

The ſecond Seſſion againſt *John Warne.*

Who ſo doing (and anſwering as he did before) was ordered to come thither again in the Afternoon, and ſo he did: At which Time he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop to recant his Opinions. To whom he anſwered, that he would not depart from his received Profeſſion, unleſs he were thereunto throughly perſuaded by the holy Scriptures.

The third Seſſion.

Upon which Anſwer he was ordered to come again the next Day, being the 25th of *May*, at One of the Clock in the Afternoon. At which Day and Hour the Biſhop examined him again upon all his former Articles before objected, to which he moſt conſtantly adhered, with this further Anſwer added thereunto: I am perſuaded (quoth he) that I am in the right Opinion, and I ſee no Cauſe to repent; for all Filthineſs and Idolatry is in the Church of *Rome*.

The Biſhop then ſeeing that notwithſtanding all his fair Promiſes, and terrible Threatnings he could not prevail, finiſhed his Examination with the definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid *John Warne*, and charged the Sheriffs of *London* with him, under whoſe Cuſtody he remained in the Priſon of *Newgate*, until the 30th Day of *May*.

Sentence given againſt *John Warne.*

Which Day being appointed for their Execution, *John Cardmaker*, with the ſaid *John Warne*, were brought by the Sheriffs to the Place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who being come to the Stake, firſt the Sheriffs called Mr. *Cardmaker* aſide, and talked with him ſecretly, ſo long, that in the mean Time Mr. *Warne* had made his Prayers, was chained to the Stake, and had Wood and Reed ſet about him, while Mr. *Cardmaker* was talking with the Sheriffs.

Anno 1555. Mr. *Cardmaker* and Mr. *John Warne* brought to Execution.

The People who before had heard that Mr. *Cardmaker* would recant, and beholding this, were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that Mr. *Cardmaker* would now recant at the Burning of Mr. *Warne*. At length Mr. *Cardmaker* departed from the Sheriffs, and came towards the Stake, and kneeled down, and made a long Prayer in Silence to himſelf. His Prayers being ended, he roſe up, put off his Cloaths unto his Shirt, and went with a bold Courage to the Stake, and kiſſed it: And taking Mr. *Warne* by the Hand, he heartily comforted him, and ſo gave himſelf to be alſo bound to the Stake moſt gladly. The People ſeeing this ſo ſuddenly done, contrary to their Expectation, as Men delivered out of a great Doubt, cried out for Joy, ſaying, *God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee*, Cardmaker, *the Lord* Jeſus *receive thy Spirit*. And this continued while the Executioner put Fire to them, and they both paſſed through the Fire to the bleſſed Reſt and Peace among God's holy Saints and Martyrs, to enjoy the Crown of Triumph and Victory prepared for the elect Soldiers and Warriors of *Chriſt Jeſus* in his bleſſed Kingdom. To whom be Glory and Majeſty for ever. *Amen.*

The People afraid of Mr. *Cardmaker's* recanting.

The rejoycing of the People at *Cardmaker's* Conſtancy.

The Confeſſion and Faith of Mr. John Warne, *which he wrote the Day before he ſuffered,* May 30, 1555.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.

A Father, becauſe he is the Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is the everlaſting Word, whom before all Worlds he hath begotten of himſelf, which Word was made Fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his Children, the Inheritors of his Kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created all Things viſible and inviſible, both in Heaven and in Earth, even all Creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

And in Jeſus Chriſt *his only Son our Lord.*

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal Power in all Things, of the ſame Subſtance, of like Glory, by whom all Things were made, and have Life, and without whom nothing liveth: He was made alſo perfect Man, and ſo being very God, and very Man in one Perſon, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ranſomer of them which were loſt in *Adam* our Forefather. He is the only Means of our Deliverance, the Hope of our Health, the Surety of our Salvation.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Father's moſt merciful Promiſe, this eternal Son of God, forſaking the heavenly Glory, humbled himſelf to take Fleſh of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the Subſtance of the Godhead to the Subſtance of the Manhood, which he took of the Subſtance

Anno 1555.

of that bleſſed Virgin *Mary* in one Perſon, to become therein the very Meſſiah, the anointed King and Prieſt, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's Wrath, which was juſtly gone out againſt us all for Sin.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into Hell.*

He was arraigned before *Pontius Pilate* the Ruler of *Jewry*, and ſo unjuſtly accuſed of many Crimes, that the Ruler judged him innocent, and ſought Means to deliver him; but contrary to known Juſtice, he did let go *Barabbas* who had deſerved Death, and delivered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerved no Death: Which doth manifeſtly declare unto us, that he ſuffered for our Sins, and was buffetted for our Offences, as the Prophets do witneſs, thereby to have it manifeſted to all Men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the Sins of the World. Therefore ſuffering for our Sins, he received and did bear our deſerved Condemnation, the Pains of Death, the Taſte of Abjection, the very Terror of Hell, yielding his Spirit to his Father, his Body to be buried in Earth.

The third Day he roſe again from Death to Life.

To make full and perfect the whole Work of our Redemption and Juſtification, the ſame crucified Body which was laid in the Grave, was raiſed up the third Day from Death, by the Power of his Father, and Glory of his Godhead: He became the firſt Fruits of the Reſurrection, and got the Victory of Death, that all by him might be raiſed up from Death. Thro' whom all true penitent Sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have Remiſſion of their Sins.

He aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty.

The triumphant Victory over Death.

After that in his Death and Reſurrection he had conquered Sin, Death, and the Devil, and had been converſant forty Days in the Earth, being ſeen of the Apoſtles, and more than five hundred Brethren at once, in the ſame Body in which he wrought the Work of our Salvation, he aſcended into Heaven with eternal Triumph, for the Victory over Death, Sin and Hell, leaving the Paſſage open, by which all true Believers may and ſhall enter into his Kingdom, where he now ſitteth at his Father's Right Hand, that is to ſay, in Power and Glory equal, in Majeſty coeternal.

From thence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

He ſhall appear again in great Glory to receive his Elect unto himſelf, and to put his Enemies under his Feet, changing all living Men in a Moment, and raiſing up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his Judgment. In this ſhall he give to each Man according to his Deeds. They which have followed him in Regeneration, which have their Sins waſhed away in his Blood, and are clothed with his Righteouſneſs, ſhall receive the everlaſting Kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they, which after the Race of the corrupt Generation of *Adam* have followed Fleſh and Blood, ſhall receive everlaſting Damnation with the Devil and his Agels.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.

I do believe that the Holy Ghoſt is God, the third Perſon in the Trinity, in Unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Chriſt to inhabit our Spirits, by which we are made to feel and underſtand the great Power, Virtue, and loving Kindneſs of Chriſt our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our Spirit, that by him we are ſealed up unto the Day of Redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new Creatures, ſo that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant Goodneſs promiſed us in *Jeſus Chriſt*.

The holy Catholick Church.

This is an holy Number of *Adam*'s Poſterity, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the Blood of the Lamb from the Beginning of the World, and is diſperſed thro' the ſame by the Tyranny of *Gog* and *Magog*; that is to ſay, the *Turk* and his Tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Angels, as this Day alſo doth teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which moſt holy Congregation (being as St. *Paul* teacheth, built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the head Corner-ſtone) tho' it be by Tyranny of Satan and his Miniſters perſecuted, ſome by Impriſonment, ſome by Death, and ſome by other Afflictions and painful Torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect Unity, both in Faith and Fellowſhip: Which Unity is knit in an unſpeakable Knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal Life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue until they all do meet in the Kingdom, where the Head *Jeſus Chriſt*, with all his holy Members (of which Number thro' Chriſt I aſſuredly believe I am one) ſhall be fully compleat, knit, and united together for evermore.

The Forgiveneſs of Sins.

Remiſſion only thro' Chriſt.

I do believe that my Sins, and all their Sins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only thro' *Jeſus Chriſt*, of whom only I do profeſs that I have my whole and full Salvation and Redemption, which St. *Paul* ſaith, cometh not through our Works and Deſervings, but freely by Grace, leſt any ſhould boaſt himſelf. Thro' the Blood of the Croſs all Things in Heaven and earth are reconciled, and ſet at Peace with the Father; without him no heavenly Life given, or Sin forgiven.

The Reſurrection of the Body.

I do believe, that by the ſame my Saviour Chriſt, I and all Men ſhall riſe again from Death; for he, as St. *Paul* ſaith, is riſen again from the Dead, and is become the firſt Fruits of them which ſleep. For by a Man came Death, and by a Man cometh the Reſurrection from Death. This Man is Chriſt, thro' the Power of whoſe Reſurrection I believe that we all ſhall riſe again in theſe our Bodies; the Godly cloathed with Immortality to live with Chriſt for ever; the Wicked alſo ſhall riſe immortally to live with the Devil and his Angels in Death everlaſting.

And the Life everlaſting.

Through the ſame *Jeſus*, and by none other, I am ſure to have Life everlaſting. He only is the Way and Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. *For ſo God loved the World, that he did give his only Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *to the End that ſo many as do believe in him might have everlaſting Life.* Which I am ſure to poſſeſs as ſoon as I am diſſolved, and departed out of this Tabernacle, and in the laſt Day both Body and Soul ſhall poſſeſs the ſame for ever, to which God grant all Men to come.

John 3. Life and Salvation only by Faith in Chriſt.

I believe, that the Sacrament, that is to ſay,

of

of Baptiſm and of the Lord's Supper, are Seals of God's moſt merciful Promiſes towards Mankind. In Baptiſm, as by the outward Creature of Water I am waſhed from the Filthineſs which hangeth on my Fleſh; ſo do I aſſuredly believe, that I am by Chriſt's Blood waſhed clean from my Sins, thro' which I have ſure Confidence of my certain Salvation. In the Partaking of the Lord's-ſupper, as I receive the Subſtance of Bread and Wine (the Nature of which is to ſtrengthen the Body) ſo do I by Faith receive the Redemption wrought in Chriſt's Body broken on the Croſs, Life by his Death, Reſurrection by his Reſurrection, and in ſum, all that ever Chriſt in his Body ſuffered for my Salvation, to the ſtrengthening of my Faith in the ſame. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the Creatures of Bread and Wine in his holy Supper according to his Word, to move and to ſtir up my Mind to believe theſe Articles above written.

This is my Faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's Grace to confirm and ſeal the Truth of the ſame with my Blood.

By me *John Warne.*

The Hiſtory of John Ardeley *and* John Simſon, *of the Pariſh of* Wigborow *the Great in* Eſſex.

JOHN ARDELEY and *John Simſon* was condemned for the ſame Cauſe and on the ſame Day with Mr. *Cardmaker* and *John Warne*, which was the 25th Day of *May*. But before we come to the Story of them, Firſt here is to be noted the Copy of the King and Queen's Letter directed from the Court the ſame Day, and ſent by a Poſt early in the Morning to Biſhop *Bonner*, in Tenor and Form as followeth.

King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*'s Letter to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London.*

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addreſſed our Letters to the Juſtices of Peace within every of the Counties of this Realm, whereby amongſt other Inſtructions given them for the good Order and quiet Government of the Country round about them, they are willed to have a ſpecial Regard unto ſuch diſordered Perſons as (forgetting their Duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical Opinions, refuſing to ſhew themſelves conformable to the catholick Religion of Chriſt's Church; wherein if they cannot by good Admonitions and fair Means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions, or elſe if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: Underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered Perſons, being by the Juſtices of Peace for their Contempt and Obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their Hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with, as chriſtian Charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the Order of Juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their Errors, to the Diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous Example of others; like as we find this Matter very ſtrange, ſo we have thought convenient both to ſignify our Knowledge, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you to have in this Behalf ſuch regard henceforth to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop, as when any ſuch Offenders ſhall be by the ſaid Officers or Juſtices of the Peace brought unto you, you to uſe your good Wiſdom and Diſcretion in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the Order of the Laws; ſo as thro' your good Furtherance, both God's Glory may be better advanced, and the Common-wealth more quietly governed. Given under our Signet, at our Manour of Hampton-court, *the 24th of* May, *the firſt and ſecond Years of our Reign.* Anno 1555.

This Letter coming from the Court to the Biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the Condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe Men, of whom we are now treating, namely, Mr. *John Simſon* and Mr. *John Ardeley*. Who being both of one Country, of one Town, and of one Trade, that is, being both Huſbandmen in the Town of *Wigborow* in *Eſſex*, and alſo almoſt both of one Age, *Simſon* being of the Age of 34, the other of 30, were brought up both together by the under Sheriff of *Eſſex*, to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, upon the Accuſation of Hereſy, as in that Time it was called.

John Ardeley and *John Simſon*, both Husbandmen in the Town of *Wigborow.*

As concerning the Order and Manner of their Examinations before the Biſhop, as the Articles objected againſt them were much alike, ſo their Anſwers again to the ſame were not much different in Manner and Form; as here followeth taken out of the Biſhop's own Regiſters.

Articles objected by Biſhop Bonner *againſt* John Simſon *and* John Ardeley, *Husbandmen, at* Fulham.

THAT thou *John Simſon* (or *John Ardeley*) Huſbandmen, of the Age of 34 Years or thereabouts, waſt and art of the Pariſh of great *Wigborow*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, and thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that there is here in Earth one Catholick and Univerſal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacraments of the ſame.

2. *Item*, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden, under the Pain of Damnation of thy Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary Points of the ſaid Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in the ſaid Faith or Religion, or in any Part thereof.

3. *Item*, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe that that Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being the Members and Parts of the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, and the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true Faith and Religion which all Chriſtian People ought to believe, obſerve, follow, and keep: But contrariwiſe thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforeſaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed by any chriſtian Man.

4. *Item*, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament

Anno 1555. Sacrament of the Altar there is in Subſtance the very Body and Blood of Chriſt under the Forms of Bread and Wine, and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all other the Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, nor doſt ſo believe; but contrariwiſe thou haſt and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, under the ſaid Forms of Bread and Wine, the very Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, but that there is only the Subſtance of material and common Bread and Wine, with the Forms thereof; and that the ſaid material and common Bread and Wine, are only the Signs and Tokens of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and by Faith to be received, only for a Remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death, without any ſuch Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood at all.

Tranſubſtantiation denied. 5. *Item*, That thou haſt believed and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy Power maintained and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the People, remembring thereby the Paſſion and Death of Chriſt only.

The Maſs abominable. 6. *Item*, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, taught, and ſpoken, that the Maſs now uſed in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no Goodneſs in it, ſaving the *Gloria* in *Excelſis*, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpel, and that therefore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come to be preſent at the Maſs, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid.

7. *Item*, That thou haſt in Times paſt believed preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſaid, and ſo doſt now believe and think, that auricular Confeſſion is not needful to be made unto the Prieſt, but it is a Thing ſuperfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other Perſon: And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid, that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſaid, it is unlawful and naught.

John Simſon *and* John Ardeley's *Anſwers to the aforeſaid Articles.*

TO the Firſt, they believe, that here in Earth there is one Catholick and Univerſal holy Church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the firſt Article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered Abroad thro' out the whole World.

To the Second, they believe, that they be bound to give Faith and Credence unto it, as is contained in the ſecond Article.

To the Third, as concerning the Faith and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and other Churches in *Europe*, they ſay, they have nothing to do with that Faith and Religion: But as concerning the Faith and Religion of *England*, that if the ſaid Church of *England* be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of *England* hath the Faith and Religion of the catholick Church, and not otherwiſe; and do ſay alſo, that if the Church of *England* were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this Hereſy.

Tranſubſtantiation denied. To the Fourth they anſwer, that in the Sament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is very Bread and very Wine, not altered nor changed in Subſtance in any wiſe, and that he that receiveth the ſaid Bread and Wine, doth ſpiritually and by Faith only receive the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but not the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in Subſtance under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

To the Fifth they ſay, they have anſwered, anſwering to the ſaid fourth Article, and yet nevertheleſs they ſay, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, but only the Subſtance of the Natural Bread and Wine.

The Maſs deteſted. To the Sixth they ſay, that they believe, that the Maſs is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any Goodneſs, ſaving the *Gloria* in *Excelſis*, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, the Creed, and the *Pater noſter*; and for this Cauſe they ſay they have not, nor will not come and hear Maſs.

To the Seventh, *John Ardeley* anſwereth and ſaith, That he believeth the Contents of the ſame to be true; but *John Simſon* doth anſwer, that he is not yet fully reſolved with himſelf, what Anſwer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily Service ſaid and uſed in the Church, he ſaith, that he never ſaid, that Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, nor yet he never ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and uſed than in *Engliſh*, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and *John Simſon*.

Another Appearance of *John Simſon* and *John Ardeley* before the Biſhop. Theſe Articles being thus objected to them, and their Anſwers made unto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop, according to his uſual Manner, reſpited them to the Afternoon, between the Hours of Two and Three. At which Time the Biſhop repeating again the ſaid Articles unto them, and beginning with *John Ardeley*, did urge and ſolicit him to recant.

The Words of *John Ardeley* to Biſhop *Bonner*. To whom *John Ardeley* anſwered in the following Words: My Lord, quoth he, neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the catholick Church; for you be of a falſe Faith: And I doubt not but you ſhall be deceived at length, bear as good a Face as ye can. Ye will ſhed the innocent Blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, *&c.*

And added further, ſaying, If every Hair of my Head were a Man, I would ſuffer Death in the Opinion and Faith I now profeſs. Theſe with many other Words he ſpake. Then the Biſhop yet demanded if he would relinquiſh his erroneous Opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the Unity of the Church. He anſwered, No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo do, for then I ſhould loſe my Soul.

After this the ſaid Biſhop read the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him, as he alſo did againſt *John Simſon*, ſtanding likewiſe in the ſame Cauſe and Conſtancy with *John Ardeley*, after aſking them in his formal Manner, if they knew any Cauſe why Sentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt them: Which was done the 25th of *May*, and ſo were both committed to the ſecular Power, that is, to the Hands of the Sheriffs, to be conveyed to the Place were they ſhould be executed.

executed. But before I come to their Execution, I muſt not omit what happened in the cloſing up the Examination of theſe good Men, which is this.

At the Time of the Examination of *John Simſon* and *John Ardeley* aforeſaid, there were aſſembled ſuch a great Multitude of People, that becauſe the Conſiſtory was not able to hold them, they were fain to ſtand in the Church, near about the ſaid Conſiſtory, waiting to ſee the Priſoners when they ſhould depart. It happened in the mean Time, that the Biſhop being ſet in a Heat with the ſtout and bold Anſwers of the ſaid two Priſoners (eſpecially of *John Simſon*) burſt out in his loud and angry Voice, and ſaid, Have him away, have him away.

The People in the Church hearing theſe Words, and thinking (becauſe the Day was far ſpent) that the Priſoners had their Judgment, they being deſirous to ſee the Priſoners had to *Newgate*, ſevered themſelves, ſome running one Way, others another Way, which cauſed ſuch a Noiſe in the Church, that they in the Conſiſtory were all amazed, and marvelled what it ſhould mean: Wherefore the Biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afraid of this ſudden Stir, aſked what there was to do. The Standers by anſwering and ſaid, That there was like to be ſome Tumult, for they were together by the Ears.

When the Biſhop heard this, by and by his Heart was in his Heels, and leaving his Seat, he with the reſt of the Court betook them to their Legs, haſtning with all Speed poſſible to recover the Door that went into the Biſhop's Houſe: But the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of Foot than my Lord, did ſooner recover the Door, and thronging haſtily to get in, kept the Biſhop ſtill out, and cried, Save my Lord, Save my Lord; but meaning yet firſt to ſave themſelves if any Danger ſhould come, whereby they gave the Standers by good Matter to laugh at. But of this Matter enough.

John Simſon and *John Ardeley* ſent into *Eſſex* to be executed.

Now *John Simſon* and *John Ardeley* being delivered (as is aforeſaid) to the Sheriffs, were ſhortly after ſent down from *London* to *Eſſex*, where they were both put to death in one Day, but not in the ſame Place, for *John Simſon* ſuffered at *Rochford*, and *John Ardeley* at *Railey*.

For the better Conſideration of the rigorous Cruelty of theſe Days, this is furthermore worthy to be noted to all Poſterity, concerning the Examinations of *John Ardeley* and his Company, how that they being brought before the Commiſſioners, were by them greatly charged of Stubbornneſs and Vain-glory. Upon whom they anſwered in Defence of their own Simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the Queen all their Goods and Lands, that they might be ſuffered to live under her, in keeping their Conſcience free from all Idolatry and Popery. Yet this would not be granted, altho' they had offered all to their Heart Blood; ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe Perſecutors of Chriſtian Blood. The Lord give them Repentance if it be his Will, and keep from them the juſt Reward of ſuch cruel Dealing. *Amen.*

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The ridiculous Proceeding of Biſhop *Bonner*, againſt *John Tooley*, whoſe Body being taken up out of the Grave, was given to the ſecular Power, and ſo burned for an Heretick.

ABout the ſame Time of the Burning of theſe two aforeſaid, in the Beginning of the Month of *June*, fell out a ſolemn Proceſs, and much ado was made about the Pope's Spirituality, againſt *John Tooley* in a Caſe of Hereſy. The Story is this: There was about the Time that the *Spaniards* began firſt to make a Stir in *England*, one *John Tooley* a Citizen and Poulterer in *London*, who conſpired with others of his Society, to rob a *Spaniard* at St. *James*'s: And although the Deed was heinous and wicked of itſelf, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed againſt ſuch a Perſon, and againſt ſuch a Country, which both the Queen and her whole Court did highly favour. The Robbery being known, and brought into Judgment, *John Tooley* was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this Realm there are many more Thefts committed than Thieves executed.

The aforeſaid *Tooley* being led to the Gallows (which ſtood near *Charing-Croſs*) a little before he died, ſtanding upon the Cart, read a certain Prayer in a printed Book, and two other Prayers written in two ſeveral Papers: Who then having the Halter about his Neck, deſired the People there preſent to pray for him, and to bear him Witneſs that he died a true Chriſtian Man, and that he truſted to be ſaved only through the Merits of Chriſt's Paſſion, and ſhedding of his precious Blood, and not by any Maſſes, or Trentals, Images, or Saints, which were, as he ſaid, meer Idolatry and Superſtition, and deviſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*; and as the ſame *Tooley*, and two others his Fellows which were there hanged with him, did ſteal and rob for Covetouſneſs, ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* did ſell his Maſſes and Trentals, with ſuch Paltry, for Covetouſneſs, and there being in a great Anger (as appeared) againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſpake with a loud Voice theſe Words following; *From the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities; from falſe Doctrine and Hereſy, and from the Contempt of thy Word and Commandment, good Lord deliver us.*

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake unto the People; All you that be true chriſtian Men, ſay with me, *Amen.* And immediately thereupon three hundred Perſons and more, to the Judgment and Eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, anſwered and ſaid, *Amen*, three Times together at leaſt.

After this it happened, that when *John Tooley* had read the Bill the firſt Time, it fell from him, and a certain young Man (who was thought to be an Apprentice) ſtooped down and took up the Bill, and climbed up by the Cart, and delivered it to *Tooley* again, which he again did read to the People. That done, he delivered unto one of the Marſhal's Officers the Book aforeſaid, and deſired him to deliver it to one Mr. *Haukes*, ſaying, that it was his Book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the Prayers, written

ten

Anno 1555. ten in a Paper, to one *Robert Bromeley* Serjeant, who deſired to have it of him; on the Top of which was written a Line, containing theſe Words, Beware of Antichriſt; and ſubſcribed underneath, *Per me Thomas Harold*, Priſoner in the *Marſhalſea*, Enemy to Antichriſt. For the Bill aforeſaid, *Robert Bromely* was afterward brought, and was fain to aſk Pardon of the Biſhop, and to deteſt all the Words of *Tooley*, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while *Tooley* had made his Prayers, as is aboveſaid, to be delivered from the Pope's Tyranny, by the ſame Prayer he fell into great Tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the Report of this Fact came to the Ears of the Prieſts and mitred Prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a Reproach ſhould be done againſt the holy Father. Calling therefore for a Council together, as tho' it had been a Matter of great Importance, *Tooley*'s Talk at his Death was debated among them.

At laſt (after much *pro* and *contra*) they all conſented to thoſe Mens Judgment, who thought it meet that the violating the Pope's Holineſs ſhould be revenged with Fire and Faggot. And I do eaſily believe that Cardinal *Poole* was no ſmall Doer in this Sentence; for as *Wincheſter* and *Bonner* did always thirſt after the Blood of the Living, ſo *Pool*'s Lightning was for the moſt Part kindled againſt the Dead; and he reſerved this Charge only to himſelf, I know not for what Purpoſe, except peradventure being loth to be ſo cruel as the other, he thought nevertheleſs by this Means to diſcharge his Duty towards the Pope. By the ſame Cardinal's Order the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*, which had been almoſt two Years in their Graves, were taken up and burned at *Cambridge*, as *Tooley*'s Carcaſs was here at *London*. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhew ſome Token of his Diligence in both Univerſities, he cauſed *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, a Woman of worthy Memory, to be digged out of the Church-yard, and to be buried on the Dunghil. Of theſe two prodigious Acts ye ſhall hear more hereafter. But now to our Purpoſe of *Tooley*, who having ended his Prayer, was hanged and put into his Grave, out of which he was digged again, by the Command of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, at the Time of his Death, it pleaſed them to judge and condemn him as an Heretick, upon the Commandment of the Council's Letter, as here appeareth.

Cardinal *Pool* a great Doer in burning dead Men's Bones.

Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, and *John Tooley*, burned for Hereticks after their Death.

The Council's Letter to Bp. Bonner.

The Council's Letter to Biſhop *Bonner* concerning *Tooley*.

AFTER our very hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, underſtanding that of late amongſt others that have ſuffered about London *for their Offences, one lewd Perſon that was condemned for Felony, died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the Time of his Death ſundry heretical and erroneous Opinions; like as we think it not convenient that ſuch a Matter ſhould be overpaſſed without ſome Example to the World, ſo we thought good to pray your Lordſhip to cauſe further Enquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of ſuch Proceſs as by the eccleſiaſtical Laws is provided in that Behalf. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From* Hampton-Court, April 28, 1555.

Your Lordſhip's loving Friends,

STEPH. WINTON, *Chancel.* R. ROCHESTER.
F. SHREWSBURY. WIL. PETER.
JOHN GAGE. R. SOUTHWELL.
THOMAS CHENEY.

Soon after a Citation was ſet up upon St. *Paul*'s Church Door, under the Biſhop of *London*'s Great Seal; the Tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Writ or Mandate of Biſhop *Bonner*, ſet up at *Charing-Croſs*, St. *Paul*'s Church Door, and at St. *Martins* in the Fields, for the citing and further enquiring out of the Caſe of *John Tooley*.

Biſhop *Bonner*'s Mandate ſet up at St. *Paul*'s Church Door, &c.

EDmund, *by the Sufferance of God, Biſhop of* London, *to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and others, Clerks and learned Men, being within our Dioceſs of* London, *and eſpecially unto* Richard Clony, *our ſworn Sumner, greeting, Salutation, and Benediction. Foraſmuch as it is come to our Hearing by common Fame, and the Declaration of ſeveral creditable Perſons, that one* John Tooley *late Citizen and Poulterer of* London, *the Son of Perdition and Iniquity, coming to the Profundity of Malice at the ſelf ſame Time in which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the Laws of the Realm, for the great Theft lately by him committed, at which Time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the Wealth of his Soul, and to have died in the Unity of the catholick Church, did utter divers and ſundry damnable, blaſphemous and heretical Opinions and Errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the Verity of the catholick Faith, and Unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the People, there ſtanding in great Multitude, to hold and defend the ſame Errors and Opinions: And moreover, certain of the People there ſtanding, as it did appear, affected with Errors and Hereſies, as Favourers and Defenders of the ſaid* John, *did confirm and give expreſs Conſent to the aforeſaid Words, Propoſitions, and Affirmations; which Thing we do utter with Sorrow and Bitterneſs of Heart.*

We therefore the aforeſaid Edmund, *and Biſhop aforeſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſs over in Silence, nor wink at the aforeſaid heinous Act, leſt by our Negligence and Slackneſs the Blood of them might be required at our Hands at the moſt terrible Day of Judgment, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the Premiſſes declared unto us, be of the Truth, and leſt that any ſcabbed Sheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple Flock of our Lord, do infect them with deadly Hereſy: To you therefore we ſtraitly charge and command, that you cite, or cauſe to be cited all and ſingular, having or knowing the Truth of the Premiſſes, by ſetting up this Citation upon the Church Door of St.* Martins *in the Fields, being within our Dioceſs of* London, *and alſo upon the Cathedral Church Door of St.* Paul's *in* London, *leaving there the Copy hereof, or by other Means or Ways, the beſt you can, that this Citation and Monition may come to their Knowledge.*

All which and ſingular by the Tenor of theſe Preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our Vicar General, or Commiſſary, whatſoever he be in that Behalf, in our cathedral Church of St. Paul's *in* London, *in the conſiſtory Place, upon* Thurſday *the ſecond Day of* May, *now next enſuing, betwixt the Hours of Nine and Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon the ſame Day, to bear Witneſs of the Truth in this Behalf, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the Truth that they know or have heard of the Premiſſes, and moreover to do and receive what Law and Reaſon doth require.*

Further

Further we commit unto you as before, and ſtraitly enjoyning you do Command, that ye will generally cite the Wife of the ſaid Tooley *that is dead, and his Children, and his Kindred by Father and Moiher, his Friends and his Familiars in eſpecial, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the Remembrance of the Perſon in the Premiſſes, that ye admoniſh them after the Manner and Form aforeſaid, whom we likewiſe by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, do in ſuch Sort cite and admoniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this Behalf) before us, or our Vicar General in ſpiritual Matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary, at the Day, Hour, and Place aforeſaid, to defend the good Name and Remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge, and propoſe in due Form of Law a Cauſe reaſonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the ſaid* John Tooley, *that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an Heretick and excommunicate Perſon, and his Remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heinous a Deed and Crime, and his Body or Carcaſs to lack Church burial, as a rotten Member cut off from the Church, and the ſame to be committed to the Arm and Power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their Peace.*

The Carcaſs of *Tooly* cut off from chriſtian Burial.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to ſuffer as Law and Reaſon will, and as the Quality of ſuch Matter, and the Nature themſelves do conſtrain and require; and moreover, that you cite and admoniſh, after the Manner aforeſaid, all and every of the Receivers, Favourers, and Creditors of the ſaid John Tooley *that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable Affirmations, Propoſitions, and Rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid* Thurſday *they return and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the Lap of the Mother holy Church: Which Thing if they do, we truſting upon the Mercy of Almighty God, do promiſe that we will receive them being penitent for ſuch their Errors and Faults, with Thanks, Benignity, Mercy, and Favour, to the Comfort and Health of their own Souls, and in that Behalf ſave their Honeſties to the uttermoſt our Power; otherwiſe, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary Proceſs of the Law, let thoſe Men know that we will puniſh more ſeverely this Offence, according to the uttermoſt of the Law, and as far as the Law will bear it; and what ye ſhall do in the Premiſſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certify us, or our Vicar General in ſpiritual Matters, either by his own Perſon, or by his Letters Patents, together with theſe authentically ſealed.*

The Biſhop layeth his Bait to catch whom he may trouble.

Dated at *London* under our Seal, the laſt Day of *April*, 1555. and of our Tranſlation the 11th.

Tooly ſuſpended and excommunicated.

When the Time of this Citation was expired, and this *Tooly* being cited did not appear: Next in Order of Law came the Suſpenſion, and after that cometh the Excommunication, that is, that no Man ſhould eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the Way, he ſhould not bid him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the Communion of the Church. Theſe Things being prepared in ſuch a Manner, as in ſuch Caſes full wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood up that made Anſwer to certain Articles, rehearſed in Judgment openly, and that in the Behalf of the dead Man. But when the poor dead Man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently anſwer them by the other, to avoid the Name of an Heretick; firſt Witneſſes were provided againſt him, whoſe Names were *Henry Clark*, Eſquire; *Thomas Way*, Keeper of the *Marſhalſea*; *Philip Andrew*, Under-marſhal; *William Holingworth*, Fiſhmonger; *William Gellard*, *William Walter*, Chandler; *Richard Longman*, Merchant-taylor; *Philip Briten*, *John Burton*, Brewer; *Thomas Smith*, Serjeant. Then he was condemned for an Heretick, and ſo committed to the ſecular Power, namely to the Sheriffs of *London*, who with the like Diligence went about to execute their Charge. Therefore receiving the Man, being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an Heretick, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the Fire to be burned, namely, for a continual Remembrance thereof: This was done the fourth Day of *June*.

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Witneſſes againſt *John Tooly*.

Tooly given to the ſecular Power.

The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Haukes, *Gentleman.*

IMmediately after the Story of Dr. *Taylor*, mention was made of ſix Men brought before Biſhop *Bonner* upon the eighth Day of *February*, whoſe Names were *Stephen Knight*, *W. Pigot*, *Thomas Tomkins*, *J. Laurence*, *William Hunter*. In which Number was alſo *Thomas Haukes*, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9th Day of *February*. But becauſe his Execution did not ſo ſhortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to the 10th Day of *June*, it followeth therefore now conſequently to enter Diſcourſe thereof; Firſt, beginning briefly with his pious Converſation and Inſtitution of Life, then ſhewing of his Troubles, alſo of his Examinations and Conflicts with the Biſhop and other Adverſaries, according as the Order of the Story doth require.

The Life and Converſation of *Thomas Haukes*.

As touching therefore his Education and Order of Life, Firſt he was of the County of *Eſſex*, born of an honeſt Stock, in Calling and Profeſſion a Courtier, brought up like a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch Comlineſs and Stature, ſo well endued with excellent Qualities, that he might ſeem on every Side a Man (as it were) made for the Purpoſe. But his gentle Behaviour towards others, and eſpecially his fervent Study and ſingular Love unto true Religion and Piety did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorn him; even ſo he, being ſuch a valiant Martyr of God, may ſeem to make famous the whole Company of other Holy Martyrs, and as a bright Star to make the Church of God and his Truth, of themſelves bright and clear, more glorioufly to ſhine by his Example.

Mr. *Haukes* firſt in Service with the Earl of *Oxford*.

But to the Declaration of the Matter: Firſt Mr. *Haukes* following the Faſhion of the Court, as he grew in Years, entered Service with the Lord of *Oxford*, where he remained a good Space, being there right well eſteemed by all the Houſhold, ſo long as *Edward* the Sixth lived. But he dying all Things began to go backward, Religion to decay, true Piety not only to wax cold, but alſo to be in Danger every where, and chiefly in the Houſes of great Men. *Haukes* miſliking the State of Things, and eſpecially in ſuch Mens Houſes, rather than he would change the Profeſſion of true Godlineſs, which he had taſted, thought to change the Place; and ſo, forſaking the Nobleman's Houſe, departed thence

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to his own Home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own Conscience.

But what Place in this World shall a Man find so secret for himself, whither the old wicked Serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some Matter to overthrow the Quietness of the Godly? Now in the mean Season (as it happened) *Haukes* keeping his House at Home, had born unto him a young Son, whose Baptism was deferred to the third Week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical Manner, which Thing the Adversaries not able to suffer, laying Hands upon him, did bring him to the Earl of *Oxford*, there to be reasoned with, as not found in Religion, in that he seemed to contemn the Sacraments of the Church.

Mr. *Haukes* sent up by the Earl to Bishop *Bonner*.

The Earl either intending not to trouble himself in such Matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such Cases of Religion, sent him up to *London* with a Messenger, and Letters, and so, willing to clear his own Hands, put him in the Hands of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*; the Contents of which his Letter sent to *Bonner*, be these.

A Letter of the Earl of *Oxford* to Bishop *Bonner*.

MOST Reverend Father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, *dwelling in the County of* Essex, *who hath a Child that hath remained unchristned more than three Weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now used in the Church, whereupon I have sent him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good Discretion.*

When the Bishop had perused this Letter, and afterwards read it to Mr. *Haukes*, he hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his Discretion. Then wrote the Bishop a Letter again to him that sent the Prisoner, with many great Thanks for his Diligence in setting forth the Queen's Proceedings. Then the Bishop began to enter Communication with Mr. *Haukes*, first asking, what should move him to leave his Child unchristned so long? To whom Mr. *Haukes* answered thus again as followeth.

Private Conference between Mr. *Haukes* and Bishop *Bonner*.

Haukes. Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

Bonner. Why? Baptism is commanded by the Word of God.

Haukes. His Institution therein I do not deny.

Bonner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all Things invented and devised by Man.

Man's Invention added to Baptism.

Bonner. What Things be those that be devised by Man, that ye be so offended withal?

Haukes. Your Oil, Cream, Salt, Spittle, Candle and conjuring of Water, *&c.*

Bonner. Will ye deny that which all the whole World, and your Fathers hath been contented withal?

Haukes. What my Father and all the whole World hath done, I have nothing to do withal: But what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I.

Bonner. The catholick Church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the catholick Church?

Bonner. It is the faithful Congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole World.

Haukes. Who is the Head thereof?

Bonner. Christ is the Head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Christ, or in the Church now?

Bonner. Have ye not read in the Eighth of St. *John* where he said, He would send his Comforter which should teach you all Things?

Haukes. I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter, but to what End? Forsooth to this End, that he should lead you into all Truth and Verity, and that is not to teach a new Doctrine.

Bonner. Ah Sir, ye are a right Scripture-Man, For ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great Number of your Countrymen of your Opinion. Do you know one *Knight* and *Pigot*?

Haukes. *Knight* I know, but *Pigot* I do not know.

Bonner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: It seemeth so by your Judgment. What Preachers do ye know in *Essex*.

Haukes. I know none.

Bonner. Do ye not know one *Baget* there?

Haukes. Yes forsooth, I know him.

Bonner. What Manner of Man is he?

Haukes. An honest Man so far as I know.

Bonner. Do you know him if ye see him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then said he to one of his Servants, Go call me *Baget* hither. And then he said to me. Ye seem to be a very proud Man and a stubborn. He that brought me up stood all this while by.

Haukes. What should move your Lordship so to say?

Bonner. Because I see in a Man that came with you much Humility and Lowliness.

Haukes. It seemeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no Courtesy to you: And with that came *Baget*. Then the Bishop said to *Baget*, How say ye, Sir, know ye this Man?

Mr. *Baget* brought to the Sight of Mr *Haukes*.

Baget. Yea forsooth my Lord; with that *Baget* and I shook Hands. Then said the Bishop to *Baget*, Sir, this Man hath a Child which hath lain three Weeks unchristned, (as I have Letters to shew) who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the Church: How say you thereto?

Baget. Forsooth, my Lord, I say nothing thereto (with low Courtesy to the hard Ground.)

Bonner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudible, and to be frequented and used in the Church or not.

Baget. I beseech your Lordship to pardon me, he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

Bonner. Ah sir Knave, are ye at that Point with me? Go call me the Porter, said he, to one of his Men, Thou shalt sit in the Stocks, and have nothing but Bread and Water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this Point? Then came the Bishop's Man, and said, The Porter is gone to *London*: Then said the Bishop to *Baget*, Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own Teaching) who desiring amongst other Things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in *Essex*, and what Men they were that were my Teachers.

Haukes. When I see your Commission, I will make you Answer. And then immediately came the Bishop again: But before he came, his Man and I had much Talk. Then the Bishop sat down under a Vine in his Orchard, and called

Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to *Baget*: How ſay ye now Sir unto Baptiſm? Say whether it be to be frequented and uſed in the Church, as it is now, or no?

Mr. *Baget* taught to ſay after Biſhop *Bonner*.

Baget. Forſooth, my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Bonner. I befool your Heart, could ye not have ſaid ſo before? Ye have wounded this Man's Conſcience. Then the Biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; how ſay ye now, Sir, this Man is turned and coverted.

Mr. *Haukes* built his Faith upon no Man.

Haukes. I build not my Faith upon this Man, neither upon you, but only upon *Chriſt Jeſus*, who (as St. *Paul* ſaith) is the Founder and Author of all Men's Faith.

Bonner. I perceive ye are a ſtubborn Fellow. I muſt be glad to work another Way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatſoever ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it; for I am in your Hands to abide it.

Bonner. Well ye are ſo, come on your Ways, ye ſhall go in, and I will uſe you chriſtian-like: You ſhall have Meat and Drink, ſuch as I have in my Houſe: But in any wiſe talk not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talk nothing but the Word of God and Truth.

Bonner. I will have no Hereſy talked on in my Houſe.

Haukes. Why, is the Truth become Hereſy? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other Talk in our Houſes, in our Beds, at our Meat, and by the Way, but all Truth.

Bonner. If ye will have my Favour, be ruled by my Counſel.

Haukes. Then I truſt ye will grant me my Requeſt.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes, That your Doctors and Servants give me no Occaſion: For if they do, I will ſurely utter my Conſcience. Then he commanded his Men to take in *Baget*, that *Haukes* and he might not have an Opportunity to talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to Dinner, and I dined at the Steward's Table.

After Dinner, his Chaplains and his Men began to talk with me. But amongſt others, there was one named *Darbiſhire*, Principal of *Broadgates* in *Oxford*, and the Biſhop's Kinſman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: For ye will have, ſaid he, nothing but your little pretty God's Book.

Talk between *Darbiſhire* and Mr. *Haukes*.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my Salvation? Yea, ſaid he, it is ſufficient for our Salvation, but not for our Inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the Salvation, and you the Inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned came the Biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a Commandment that you ſhould not talk.

Haukes. And I deſired of you that your Doctors and Servants ſhould give me no Occaſion. Then we went into his Orchard again, he and I and his Doctors.

Talk between Mr. *Haukes* and *Bonner*.

Bonner. Would not ye be contented to have, that your Child ſhould be chriſtned after the Book that was ſet out by King *Edward?*

Haukes. Yes, with a good Will; it is the Thing that I deſire.

Bonner. I thought ſo: Ye would have the ſame Thing. The Principal is in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and in Neceſſity it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch Neceſſity: And yet we lack the chiefeſt Point.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes. *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them*, &c. Anno 1555.

Bonner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeak the Text: I do not mean you. Then ſpake all the Doctors, and his Men that were with him; He ſpake it of you my Lord (with a great Noiſe that they made.)

Bonner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your Child ſhall be baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you; for I had the ſame Counſel given before.

Bonner. You ſeem to be a luſty young Man; you will not give your Head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the Defence of it for the Honour of your Country. Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in Spite of your Teeth.

Haukes. What the Queen and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: But ye get my Conſent never the ſooner.

Bonner. Well, you are a ſtubborn young Man: I perceive I muſt work another Way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the Hands of God, and ſo am I.

Bonner. Whatſoever you think, I will not not have you ſpeak ſuch Words unto me. And ſo we departed until Evenſong Time: And before Evenſong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him in the Chappel, and ſaid, *Haukes*, thou art a proper young Man, and God hath done his Part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee Good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtor, and one that ſhould anſwer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould anſwer for thy Soul.

Haukes. That I have ſaid, I will ſtand to it, God willing: There is no Way to remove it.

Bonner. Nay, nay, *Haukes*, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilful. Remember Chriſt bade two go into the Vineyard, the one ſaid he would, and went not; the other ſaid he would not, and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Bonner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talk friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the Sixth of St. *John*; *I am the Bread of Life, and the Bread that I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World. And whoſoever eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath everlaſting Life. My Fleſh is very Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed. And he that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?*

Biſhop *Bonner* talketh of the Sacrament.

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needs believe the Scriptures.

Bonner. Why then I truſt that you be ſound in the bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhip to feel my Conſcience no farther than in that, that I was accuſed in unto you.

Bonner. Well, well, let us go unto Evenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my back to go out of the Chappel.

Bonner. Why, will you not tarry Evenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Bonner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Bonner. And why will ye not?

Haukes. Becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no *Latin*.

Thomas Haukes refuſeth to hear Biſhop *Bonner*'s Evenſong.

Bonner.

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Bonner. Why, you may pray by yourſelf. What Books have ye?

Haukes. I have the New Teſtament, the Books of *Solomon*, and the *Pſalter*.

Bonner. Why I pray you tarry here, and pray you on the *Pſalter*.

Haukes. I will not pray in this Place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his Chaplains; let him go my Lord, and he ſhall be no Partaker with us in our Prayers.

Haukes. I think myſelf beſt at Eaſe when I am fartheſt from you. And ſo the Biſhop went to Even-ſong, and I came down and walked between the Hall and the Chappel in the Court, and tarried there till Even-ſong was done; and within an Hour after that Even-ſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came, there was he and three of his Chaplains.

Thomas Haukes called for again by Biſhop Bonner.

Bonner. Ye know of the Talk that was between you and me, as concerning the Sacrament. You would not have your Conſcience ſought any farther, than in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine Accuſer and Judge.

Bonner. Well, ye ſhall anſwer me to the Sacrament of the Altar, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeak my Conſcience in them.

Bonner. The Sacrament of the Altar ye ſeem to be found in.

Thomas Haukes knoweth no Sacrament of the Altar.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the Altar? why Sir, I do not know it.

Bonner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, before we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye never do.

Bonner. Yes, a Faggot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a Fig for your Faggot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that ſhall ye do, and more ye ſhall not do.

Bonner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, after the Words of Conſecration be ſpoken, no more Bread, but the very Body and Blood of Chriſt? and at that Word he put off his Cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Chriſt hath taught me.

Bonner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay, "Take, "eat, this is my Body?"

Haukes. Chriſt ſaid ſo: But therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the Altar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt ever teach it ſo to be.

Bonner. Why? the catholick Church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſt's Church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The Apoſtles never taught it ſo. Read the Acts, the Second and the Twentieth. Neither St. *Peter* nor St. *Paul* ever taught it, neither inſtituted it ſo.

Bonner. Ah Sir, ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teaches me any otherwiſe, I will not believe him.

Bonner. Why? then ye muſt eat a Lamb, if ye will have but Chriſt's Inſtitution only.

Haukes. Nay, that is not ſo, before that Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament, that Ceremony ceaſed, and then began the Sacrament.

Bonner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the Inſtitution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Bonner. Marry, we will teach you: But you are ſo ſtubborn that ye will not learn.

Haukes. Except ye learn me by the Word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you: And thus we concluded. Then the Biſhop and his Chaplains laughed and ſaid: *Jeſu, Jeſu,* what a Stubbornneſs and Arrogantneſs is this? and this was in his Chamber where he lay. Then ſaid the Biſhop to me, go ye down and drink, for it is faſting Day: It is *Midſummer* Eve, but I think ye love neither faſting nor praying.

A falſe conceived Opinion of Biſhop Bonner againſt the Proteſtants.

Haukes. I will never deny faſting neither praying, ſo that it be done as it ought to be done, and without Hypocriſy or vain Glory.

Bonner. I like you the better for that: And ſo we left for that Night.

Faſting and praying no Man denieth.

The next Day the Biſhop went to *London*: For Mr. *Fecknam* was made Dean that Day, and I tarried ſtill at *Fulham*.

Then did the Biſhop's Men deſire me to come to Maſs, but I did utterly refuſe it, anſwering them as I did their Maſter.

That Night the Biſhop came Home to *Fulham* again.

Talk between Mr. Harpsfield *and* Thomas Haukes.

Talk between Tho. Haukes and Mr. Harpſfield.

UPON *Monday* Morning very early, the Biſhop called for me. There was with him Mr. *Harpſfield* Archdeacon of *London*, to whom the Biſhop ſaid; This is the Man which I told you of, who would not have his Child chriſtned, nor will have any Ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Chriſt uſed Ceremonies. Did he not take Clay from the Ground, and took Spittle, and made the blind Man ſee?

Haukes. That I well know, but Chriſt did never uſe it in Baptiſm. If ye will needs have it, put it to the Uſe that Chriſt put it unto.

Harpsfield. Admit your Child die unchriſtned: What a heavy Caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes. I admit if it do, what then?

Harpſ. Marry then ye are damned, and your Child both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than ye may by the Scriptures.

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your Child is born in original Sin?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harpſ. How is original Sin waſhed away?

Haukes. By true Faith and Belief in Chriſt Jeſus.

Harpſ. How can your Child being an Infant believe?

Haukes. The Deliverance of it from Sin ſtandeth in the Faith of his Parents.

Harpſ. How prove you that?

Haukes. By St. *Paul*, in the Seventh and the Firſt to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, "The unbe- "lieving Man is ſanctified by the believing Wo- "man, and the unbelieving Woman is ſanctified "by the believing Man, or elſe were your Chil- "dren unclean."

Harpſ. I will prove that they whom thou putteſt thy Truſt in, will be againſt thee in this Opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned Men in *Oxford*.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.

Bonner. Recant, recant: Do ye not know that Chriſt ſaid, Except ye be baptized ye cannot be ſaved?

Chriſtianity ſtandeth not in outward Ceremonies.

Haukes. Doth Chriſtianity ſtand in outward Ceremonies, or no?

Bonner. Partly it doth: What ſay you to that?

Haukes. I ſay as St. *Peter* ſaith, "Not the "Waſhing of Water purgeth the Filthineſs of "the Fleſh, but a good Conſcience conſenting "unto God."

Harpſ. Beware of Pride, Brother beware of Pride.

Haukes. It is written, "Pride ſerveth not for "Men, nor yet for the Sons of Men."

Bonner. Let us make an End here. How ſay you to the Maſs, Sirrah?

Bp. *Bonner* cometh in with his Maſs.

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Bonner. What nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the Epiſtle and Goſpel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be uſed as Chriſt left it to be uſed.

Bonner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recant: Recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Bonner. How ſay you to *Confiteor*.

Haukes. I ſay it is abominable and deteſtable, yea, and a Blaſphemy againſt God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to call upon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſave only to Chriſt Jeſus.

Biſhop *Bonner*'s Similitude to prove praying to Saints.

Bonner. To truſt to any, we bid you not: But to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye cannot ſpeak with the King and Queen, unleſs ye call to ſome of the Privy Chamber that are next to the King and Queen?

Haukes. They that liſt receive your Doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not believe nor truſt in any, but to call on them: And St. *Paul* ſaith, "How ſhould I call upon him on whom I be-"lieve not?

Bonner. Will you have no Body to pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No ſurely, except you can prove it by the Scriptures. Then the Biſhop pointed unto *Harpsfield*, and ſaid unto me; Is it not well done to deſire this Man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we live, Prayer of the righteous Man is available: But this Man's Prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Bonner. Will ye grant the Prayer of the righteous Man to prevail.

Haukes. I grant it doth for the Living, but not for the Dead.

Bonner. Not for the Dead?

Pſal. 49. 7, 8.

Haukes. No forſooth, for *David* ſaith, "No "Man can deliver his Brother from Death, nor "make Agreement unto God for him: For it "coſt more to redeem their Souls, ſo that ye "muſt let that alone for ever."

Ezekiel 14. 14, &c.

Alſo *Ezekiel* ſaith, "Tho' *Noah*, *Daniel*, or "*Job* dwelt among them, yet can they in their "Righteouſneſs exceed no farther than them-"ſelves." Then the Biſhop ſaid to *Harpsfield*, Sir, ye ſee this Man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the Bleſſed Saints. Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you hoping that you ſhould do ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſaid to me, Sir, it is time to begin with you; we will rid you away, and then we ſhall have one Heretick leſs.

Bp. *Bonner* when he cannot overcome by Doctrine, goeth about to oppreſs by Authority.

Harpſ. What Books have you.

Haukes. The New Teſtament, *Solomon*'s Books, and the *Pſalter*.

Harpſ. Will you read any other Books?

Haukes. *Latimer*'s Books, my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book, *Bradford*'s Sermons, *Ridley*'s Books.

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Bonner. Away, away, he will have no Books but ſuch as maintain his Hereſies: And ſo they departed, for *Harpsfield* was booted to ride unto *Oxford*, and I went to the Porter's Lodge again.

The next Day came thither an old Biſhop, who had a Pearl in his Eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a Diſh of Apples, and a Bottle of Wine. For he had loſt his Living, becauſe he had a Wife. Then the Biſhop called me again into the Orchard, and ſaid to the old Biſhop: This young Man hath a Child, and will not have it chriſtned.

The Biſhop's Name was *Bird*, ſometime Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Suffragan before of *Coventry*.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſm.

Bonner. Thou art a Fool thou can'ſt not tell what thou wouldſt have, and that he ſpake with much Anger.

Haukes. A Biſhop muſt be blameleſs or faultleſs, ſober, diſcreet, no Chider, nor given to Anger.

Bp. *Bonner* reproved for his Anger.

Bonner. Thou judgeſt me to be angry: No by my Faith am I not, and ſtroke himſelf upon the Breaſt.

Then ſaid the old Biſhop, Alas good young Man, you muſt be taught by the Church, and by your Ancients, and do as your Forefathers have done before you.

Bonner. No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God knows he doth not underſtand them. He will have no Ceremonies in the Church, no not one, what ſay you to holy Water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Bonner. Why, the Scriptures do allow it?

Haukes. Where prove you that?

See how *Bonner* proveth holy Water by the Scripture.

Bonner. In the Book of the Kings, where *Eliſha* threw Salt into the Water.

Haukes. Ye ſay Truth; that it is written in the ſecond Book of Kings, the ſecond Chapter; the Children of the Prophets came to *Eliſha*, ſaying, "The dwelling of the City is pleaſant, but "the Waters be corrupted." This was the Cauſe that *Eliſha* threw Salt into the Water, and it became ſweet and good: And ſo when our Waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of Salt make them ſweet, clear, and wholeſome, we will the better believe your Ceremonies.

Eliſha put Salt in the Water, not to waſh away Sin, but only to make the Water ſweet.

Bonner. How ſay you to holy Bread?

Haukes. Even as I ſaid to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?

Bonner. Have ye not read where Chriſt fed five thouſand Men, with five Loaves and three Fiſhes.

Haukes. Will ye make that holy Bread? There Chriſt dealt Fiſh with his holy Bread.

Bonner. Look I pray you how captious this Man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this Miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like Miracle, but becauſe we ſhould believe and credit his Doctrine thereby.

Bonner. We believe no Doctrine, but that which is wrought by Miracles.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſaith, "Theſe "Tokens ſhall follow them that believe in me: "They ſhall ſpeak with new Tongues, they ſhall "caſt out Devils, and if they drink any deadly "Poiſon, it ſhall not hurt them."

Bonner. With what new Tongues do ye ſpeak?

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the Knowledge of God's Word, I was a foul Blaſphemer

Anno 1555. Blaſphemer and filthy Talker, ſince I came to the Knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praiſed God, and given Thanks to God, even with the ſame Tongue, and is not this a new Tongue?

Bonner. How do you caſt out Devils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by his Word, and he hath left the ſame Word, that whoſoever doth credit and believe it, ſhall caſt out Devils.

Bonner. Did you ever drink any deadly Poiſon?

Haukes. Yea, Forſooth, that I have; for I have drank of the peſtilent Traditions and Ceremonies of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Bonner. Now you ſhew yourſelf to be a right Heretick?

Haukes. I pray you, what is Hereſy?

B. *Bonner* an Heretick by his own Definition.

Bonner. All Things that are contrary to God's Word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any Thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be ſo called.

Bonner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtand and continue in this Opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to Death: Yes, yes, there is a Brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you.

Haukes. Where prove you that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did kill any Man for his Faith?

Bonner. Did not *Paul* excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord, but there is a great Difference between excommunicating and burning.

Bonner. Have ye not read of the Man and the Woman in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, whom *Peter* deſtroyed.

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I have read of one *Ananias*, and *Sapphira* his Wife, who were deſtroyed for lying againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſerveth nothing to your Purpoſe.

Bonner. Well you will grant one yet.

Haukes. Well, if you will have us to grant you to be of God, then ſhew Mercy, for that God requireth.

Bonner. We will ſhew ſuch Mercy unto you, as ye ſhewed unto us: For my Benefice or Biſhoprick was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one Penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray ye my Lord, what do you give him now that was in the Biſhoprick or Benefice before that ye came again to it? Whereunto he anſwered me never a Word: For he turned his Back upon me, and talked with other Men, ſaying that he was very ſorry for me, but he truſted that I would turn with St. *Paul*, becauſe I was ſo earneſt; and ſo he departed and went to Dinner, and I to the Porter's Lodge again.

Mr. *Haukes* called for again to talk with the old Biſhop.

After Dinner I was called into the Hall again, and the Biſhop deſired the old Biſhop to take me into his Chamber; for I would be glad (ſaid he) if ye could convert him. So he took me into his Chamber, and ſate him down in a Chair, and ſaid to me; I would to God I could do you ſome good: Ye are a young Man, and I would not wiſh you to go too far, but learn of your Elders to bear ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the Word of God. And I looked that the old Biſhop ſhould have made me an Anſwer, but he was faſt aſleep.

Then I departed out of the Chamber alone, and went to the Porter's Lodge again, and there ſaw I the old Biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

The next Day's Talk with Dr. *Fecknam*.

The next Day Dr. *Fecknam* came to me and ſaid, Are ye he that will have no Ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not have your Child chriſtned, but in *Engliſh*, and you will have no Ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatſoever the Scriptures commandeth to be done I refuſe not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be uſed by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Dr. *Fecknam*'s Reaſon lieth in *Paul*'s Breeches.

Fecknam. How ſay you by *Paul*'s Breeches?

Haukes. I have read no ſuch Thing.

Fecknam. Have ye not read in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, how Things went from *Paul*'s Body, and they received Health thereby.

Haukes. I have read in the 19th of the *Acts*, how there went Handkerchiefs and Napkins from *Paul*'s Body, is it that you mean?

Fecknam. Yea, the ſame 's it: What ſay you to thoſe Ceremonies?

Haukes. I ſay nothing to the Ceremonies: For the Text ſaith, that God did ſo work by the Hands of *Paul*, that there went Handkerchiefs and Napkins from him, *&c.* So that it ſeemed by the Text, that it was God that wrought, and not the Ceremonies.

Fecknam. How ſay ye to the Woman that came behind Chriſt, and touched the Hem of his Veſture? Did not her Diſeaſe depart from her by that Ceremony?

Dr. *Fecknam* taken ſhort in his own Tale.

Haukes. No forſooth; for Chriſt turned back and ſaid to *Peter*, *Who is it that toucheth me?* *And* Peter *ſaith*, *Thou ſeeſt the People thruſt thee; and aſketh thou, Who touched me? Some body hath touched me, ſaith Chriſt; for Vertue hath gone out of me.* I pray you, whether was it the Vertue that healed this Woman, or his Veſture?

Fecknam. Both.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: For he ſaid, *Go thy way, thy Faith hath made thee whole.*

Bonner. Away, away, to the Sacrament, for theſe are but meer Trifles to that.

Fecknam. How ſay ye Sirrah? Chriſt took Bread, and brake it, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

Haukes. I grant Chriſt ſaid ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No Forſooth, I do not underſtand it ſo.

Fecknam. Why, then is Chriſt a Liar.

Haukes. I think ye will ſo prove him.

Fecknam. Will I? Why I have ſpoken the Words that Chriſt ſpake.

The Words of Chriſt are to be underſtood, not as he ſpake, but as he meant.

Haukes. Is every Word to be underſtood as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid, I am a Door, a Vine, I am a King, a Way, *&c.*

Fecknam. Chriſt ſpake theſe Words in Parables.

Haukes. And why ſpeaketh he this in Parables when he ſaid, I am a Door, a Vine, a King, a Way, *&c.* more than this when he ſaid, This is my Body? For after the ſame Phraſe of Speech, as he ſaith, This is my Body; ſo ſaith he, I am a Door, a Vine, a King, a Way; he ſaith not, I am like a Door, like a Vine, *&c.*

Then *Fecknam* ſtood up, and ſaid, I had ſuch a one before me this other Day. Alas, thoſe Places ſerve nothing for your Purpoſes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at *Oxford*.

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. I mean *Latimer*, *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*.

Haukes. I know nothing elſe by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Dr: *Feckenam* falleth out of his Matter to railing.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch Dolts? One of them hath written a Book, wherein he affirmeth a real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Haukes. What he hath done, I know not, but what he doth I know.

Fecknam. Ridley hath preached at *Paul's-Croſs* openly, that the Devil believeth better than you: For he believeth that Chriſt is able of Stones to make Bread, and ye will not believe Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy Faith upon them.

M. *Haukes* buildeth his Faith upon no Man.

Haukes. I build my Faith upon no Man, and that ye well know: For if thoſe Men, and as many more as they be, ſhould recant, and deny that they have ſaid or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye know that I build my Faith upon no Man.

Bonnner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you an Anſwer.

Bonner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea indeed will I, and that truſt to it, by God's Grace.

Bonner. I dare ſay, *Cranmer* would recant, ſo that he might have his Living. And ſo the Biſhop and *Fecknam* departed from me with great Laughing, and I went again to the Porter's Lodge.

Another Day's Talk with Dr. *Chadſey.*

The next Day Dr. *Chadſey* came to the Biſhop and him. They declared unto him that I had ſtood ſtubbornly in the Defence againſt the chriſtning of my Child, and againſt the Ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not have it chriſtned but in *Engliſh.*

Then ſaid Dr. *Chadſey*, Then he denieth the Order of the catholick Church.

Bonner. Yea, he thinketh that there is no Church but in *England* and in *Germany.*

Haukes. And ye think that there is no Church but the Church of *Rome.*

Chad. What ſay ye to the Church of *Rome?*

Haukes. I ſay it is a Church of a Sort of vicious Cardinals, Prieſts, Monks, and Friers, which I will never credit nor believe.

Chad. What ſay ye to the Biſhop of *Rome?*

Haukes. From him and all his deteſtable Enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Chad. Marry ſo may we ſay, From King *Henry* the Eighth, and all his deteſtable Enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not far.

Haukes. Where were ye in his Son's Days?

Chad. In Priſon.

Haukes. It was not for your well doing.

Chadſey's Argument Chriſt never ſpake *Engliſh: Ergo*, we muſt not pray in *Engliſh.*

Bonner. He will by no Means come within my Chappel, nor hear Maſs: For neither the Maſs, nor the Sacrament of the Altar can he abide, neither will he have any Service but in *Engliſh.*

Chad. Chriſt never ſpake in *Engliſh.*

An Inſtance given againſt *Chadſey.*

Haukes. Neither ſpake he ever any *Latin*, but always in ſuch a Tongue as the People might be edified thereby. And St. *Paul* ſaith, *That Tongues profit us nothing.* He maketh a Similitude, between the Pipe and the Harp, and except it be underſtood what the Trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himſelf to the Battle: So if I hear the Tongue which I do not underſtand, what Profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the Trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth. Anno 1555.

Chad. If he underſtand St. *Paul's* Saying, he ſpeaketh it under a Prophecy, *If one prophecy to you in Tongues*, &c.

Haukes. Forſooth St. *Paul* ſpeaketh plainly of Tongues: For Tongues ſerve not for them that believe.

Chad. I tell you St. *Paul* ſpeaketh altogether upon Prophecy.

Haukes. St. *Paul* maketh a Diſtinction between Prophecying and Tongues, ſaying, *That if any Man ſpeak with Tongues, let it be by two or three at the moſt, and let another interpret it. But if there be no Interpreter, let them keep Silence in the Congregation, and let himſelf pray unto God: And then let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and that by Courſe, and let the other judge: And if any Revelation be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his Peace:* So that it ſeemeth that St. *Paul* maketh a Diſtinction between Tongues and Prophecying.

Bonner. The Order was taken in the catholick Church that the *Latin* Tongue ſhould ſerve thro' the whole World, becauſe that they ſhould pray all generally together in one Tongue, and that to avoid all Contention and Strife, and to have one univerſal Order through the whole World.

Haukes. This did your Councils of *Rome* conclude.

Bonner. Underſtand ye what the general Councils of *Rome* mean?

Haukes. Indeed all your general Councils of *Rome* be in *Latin*, and I am an *Engliſhman*; therefore I have nothing to do with them.

Chad. Ye are to blame, being an unlearned Man, to reprove all the Councils throughout all the World.

Haukes. I reprove them not, but St. *Paul* rebuketh them, ſaying, *If any Man preach any other Doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accurſed.*

Chad. Hath any Man preached any other Doctrine unto you?

Haukes. Yea, I have been taught another Goſpel ſince I came into this Houſe.

Chad. What Goſpel have ye been taught?

Other Doctrine taught in the Church of *Rome* than ever St. *Paul* taught.

Haukes. Praying to Saints, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſs, Holy Bread, Holy Water, and in Idols.

Chad. He that teaches you ſo, teaches you not amiſs.

Haukes. Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo; for I will not truſt him nor believe him.

Bonner. You ſpeak of Idols, and you know not what they mean.

Haukes. God hath taught us what they be: For whatſoever is made, graven, or deviſed by Man's Hand, contrary to God's Word, the ſame is an Idol. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withal?

Haukes. The Croſs of Wood, Silver, Copper, or Gold, &c.

Bonner. What ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay it is an Idol. What ſay you to it?

Bonner. I ſay every Idol is an Image, but every Image is not an Idol.

Haukes. I ſay, what Difference is there between an Idol and an Image?

Note here Bp. *Bonner's* Definition of an Idol.

Bonner. If it be a falſe God, and an Image made of him, that is an Idol: But if an Image be made of God himſelf, it is no Idol, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God.

Haukes. Lay your Image of your true God and

Anno 1555. and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the Difference. Have not your Images Feet and go not, Eyes and ſee not, Ears and hear not, Hands and feel not, Mouths and ſpeak not? And even ſo have your Idols.

Chad. God forbid, ſaith St. *Paul, that I ſhould rejoice in any Thing elſe, but in the Croſs of* Chriſt Jeſus.

Haukes. Do ye underſtand St. *Paul* ſo? Do ye underſtand St. *Paul?* Unto which he anſwered never a Word.

Bonner. Where can we have a godlier Remembrance when we ride by the Way, than to ſee the Croſs?

Haukes. If the Croſs were ſuch a Profit unto us, why did not Chriſt's Diſciples take it up and ſet it on a Pole, and carry it in Proceſſion, with *Salve, feſta dies?*

Chad. It was taken up.

Haukes. Who took it up? *Helene*, as ye ſay; for ſhe ſent a Piece of it to a Place of Religion, where I was with the Viſitors when that Houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the Piece of the holy Croſs (which the Religious had in ſuch Eſtimation, and had robbed many a Soul, committing Idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved, and all came to all, it was but a Piece of a Lath covered over with Copper, double gilded as it had been clean Gold.

The People ſeduced by falſe Pieces of the holy Croſs.

Bonner. Fie, fie, I dare ſay thou ſlandereth it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary. And thus did the Biſhop and the Doctor depart in a great Fume: And *Chadſey* ſaid unto me, as he was about to depart, It is Pity that thou ſhouldeſt live, or any ſuch as thou art. I anſwered, In this Caſe I deſire not to live, but rather to die.

Chad. Ye die boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your Death, as *Joan Butcher* did.

Haukes. What *Joan Butcher* did, I have nothing to do withal: But I would my Part might be To-morrow. God make you in a better Mind, ſaid they both, and ſo they departed, and I went to the Porter's Lodge with my Keeper.

The next Day Dr. *Chadſey* preached in the Biſhop's Chappel, and did not begin his Sermon until all the Service was done: And then came the Porter for me, and ſaid, My Lord would have you come to the Sermon, and ſo I went to the Chappel Door, and ſtood without the Door.

Bonner. Is not this Fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Bonner. Come in Man.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called again, and I anſwered, I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtood at the Door. Then ſaid the Biſhop, go to your Sermon.

Then Dr. *Chadſey* put the Stole about his Neck, and carried the holy Water-ſprinkle unto the Biſhop, who bleſſed him and gave him holy Water, and ſo he went to his Sermon.

Dr. *Chadſey*'s Sermon.

The Text that he treated on was on the 16th of St. *Matthew*, *Whom do Men ſay that I the Son of Man am?* Peter ſaid, *Some ſay that thou art* Elias, *ſome ſay that thou art* John Baptiſt, *ſome ſay that thou art one of the Prophets. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſaid* Peter, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* Then left he the Text there, and ſaid, Whoſe Sins ſoever ye bind, are bound: Which Authority, ſaid he, is left to the Heads of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and ſo unto all the reſt that be underneath him. But the Church hath been much kicked at ſince the Beginning: Yet kick the Hereticks, ſpurn the Hereticks never ſo much, the Church doth ſtand and flouriſh. And then he went ſtraitway to the Sacrament, and ſaid his Mind on it, exalting it above Heaven (as moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his Place again, ſaying, Whoſe Sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: And ſo he applied to the Biſhops and Prieſts to forgive Sins, and ſaid, All that be of the Church will come and receive the ſame. And this he proved by St. *John*, Chap. 11. ſaying, that Chriſt came to raiſe *Lazarus*, who when he was riſen was bound in Bands: Then ſaid Chriſt to them that were in Authority (who were his Diſciples) go ye and looſe him, looſe him you. And this was the Effect of his Sermon, applying all to them, that they have the ſame Authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles; and ſo ended his Sermon, and they went to Dinner.

Another Communication between Thomas Haukes *and the Biſhop.*

AFTER Dinner I was called into the Chappel, where were ſeveral of the Queen's Servants, and other Strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner. Haukes, how like you the Sermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his Doctrine.

Bonner. What, are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No ſurely.

Bonner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſorry that ye had no more Hereticks here, as ye call them: I am ſorry that ye have beſtowed ſo much Labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Bonner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have Buſineſs, I pray you talk with him: For if ye could do him good, (ſaid he) I would be glad.

This the Biſhop ſpake to the Queen's Men, who ſaid unto me, Alas, what mean you to trouble yourſelf about ſuch Matters againſt the Queen's Proceedings?

Haukes. Thoſe Matters have I anſwered before them that be in Authority: And unleſs I ſee you have a further Commiſſion, I will anſwer you nothing at all. Then ſaid the Biſhop's Men, (which were many) my Lord hath commanded you to talk with us.

Haukes. If my Lord will talk with me himſelf, I will anſwer him. They cried, Faggots, burn him, hang him, to Priſon with him, it is Pity that he liveth, lay Irons upon him; and with a great Noiſe they ſpake theſe Words. Then in the Midſt of all their Rage I departed from them, and went to the Porter's Lodge again.

Another Day's Talk between *Haukes* and *Bonner.*

The next Day the Biſhop called me into his Chamber, and ſaid, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worſe and worſe: And therefore I will delay the Time no longer, but ſend you to *Newgate.*

Haukes. My Lord, you can do me no better Pleaſure.

Bonner. Why would you ſo fain go to Priſon?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other when I came to your Hands.

Bonner. Come on your Ways, ye ſhall ſee what I have written. Then did he ſhew me certain Articles, and theſe are the Contents of them:

Whether the catholick Church do teach and believe, that Chriſt's real Preſence doth remain in the Sacrament or no, after the Words of Conſecration.

ſecration, according to the Words of St. *Paul*, which are theſe; *Is not the Bread which we break the Partaking of the Body of Chriſt, and the Cup which we bleſs, the Partaking of the Blood of Chriſt?* which if it were not ſo, St. *Paul* would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your Church doth I cannot tell: But I am ſure that the holy Catholick Church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Bonner. Whether doth the catholick Church teach and believe the Baptiſm that now is uſed in the Church, or no?

Haukes. I anſwered to it as I did to the other Queſtion before. Then did the Biſhop with much Flattery counſel me to be perſuaded, and to keep me out of Priſon, which I utterly refuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next Day I ſhould have gone to Priſon, and ſo I had, except for the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, whoſe Name is *Harpsfield*, whom the Biſhop had deſired to talk with me, and began to perſuade me concerning the Sacrament and the Ceremonies: And after much talk he ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which did hang upon the Croſs.

Talk between Dr. *Harpsfield*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and Mr. *Haukes*.

Haukes. He was upon the Croſs both alive and dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpſ. The Archdeacon anſwered, alive.

Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpſ. You muſt believe. Doth not St. *John* ſay, *He is condemned aleady that believeth not?*

Haukes. St. *John* ſaith, *He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned*, but he ſaith not, He that believeth not in the Sacrament is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talk with you: For ye are both without Faith and Learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture.

Then two that ſtood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and I ſaid unto him, Why is the Rood-loft ſet betwixt the Body of the Church and the Chancel?

Harpſ. I cannot tell: For ye have asked a Queſtion which you cannot anſwer yourſelf.

Haukes. Yes that I can: For this ſaith one of your own Doctors, That the Body of the Church doth repreſent the Church Militant, and the Chancel the Church Triumphant: And ſo becauſe we cannot go from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, but that we muſt bear the Croſs of Chriſt; this is the Cauſe of the Rood-loft being between the Body of the Church and the Chancel.

Harpsfield. This is well and learnedly concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your Doctrine is; and ſo with many Perſuaſions on his Part we ended, and ſo departed: And I to the Porter's lodge again.

The next Day in the Morning which was the firſt Day of *July*, the Biſhop called me himſelf from the Porter's Lodge, commanding me to make myſelf ready to go to Priſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of my own. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteal, God willing. Then he did write my Warrant to the Keeper of the Gate-Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and delivered it to *Harpsfield*, who with his own Man and one of the Biſhop's Men brought me to Priſon, and delivered the Warrant and me to the Keeper: And this was contained in the Warrant:

Mr. *Haukes* ſent to the Gatehouſe at *Weſtminſter* with the Biſhop's Warrant.

The Biſhop's Warrant.

I Will and Command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this Warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe Priſoner, and that no Man ſpeak with him, and that ye deliver him to no Man, except it be the Council, or to a Juſtice: For he is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt Baptiſm, a ſeditious Man, a perillous Man to be Abroad in theſe perillous Days. And thus was I rereceived, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen Days, and then the Biſhop ſent two of his Men unto me, ſaying, My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I anſwered them, I do like a poor Priſoner. They ſaid, My Lord would know, whether ye be the ſame Man that ye were when ye departed. I ſaid, I am no changling. They ſaid, My Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſaid, if my Lord will do me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my Friends to come to me. So they ſaid they would ſpeak for me, but I heard no more of them. Anno 1555.

This is the firſt Examination of me *Thomas Haukes*, being examined by *Edmund Bonner*, then Biſhop of *London*, and by his Chaplains and Doctors at *Fulham*, four Miles from *London*, where I lay, till I came to Priſon at *Weſtminſter*: And after his two Men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third Day of *September*.

Here followeth the ſecond Time of mine Examination, which was the third Day of September, *for the Biſhop did ſend his Men for me to come to his Palace of* London; *and ſo my Keeper and his Men brought me to his Palace the ſame Day.*

THE Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then being Chancellor, preached that Day at *Paul's* Croſs, and the Biſhop of *London* ſaid to my Keeper, I think your Man will not go to the Sermon to Day.

Haukes. Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: And that that is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me, and ſo I went. And when the Sermon was done, I and my Keeper came to the Biſhop's Houſe, and there we remained till Dinner: And after Dinner the Biſhop called for me, and asked me, if I were the ſame Man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no changling, nor none will be.

Bonner. Ye ſhall find me no changling neither. And ſo he returned into his Chamber, and there he did write the Side of a Sheet of Paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great Chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the Chamber. And as I ſtood there, Dr. *Smith* came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print) ſaying, That he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then ſaid they that ſtood by, he is Dr. *Smith*. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, it was no Recantation, but a Declaration.

Dr. *Smith* cometh to Mr. *Haukes*.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own Honeſty.

Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: And ſo I departed from him to the other Side of the Chamber. Then ſaid the Biſhop's Men and his Chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by cried with a great Noiſe, hang him, burn him; it is pity that he liveth, that diſobeyeth my Lord's Commandment.

Anno 1555.

Then ſaid one *Miles Huggard*, Where prove you that Infants were baptized?

Miles Huggard's Words to *Thomas Haukes.*

Haukes. *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. *Huggard.* What ſhall we go to teach Children?

Haukes. That Word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: It is too much for you to teach. Is not your Name *Miles Huggard?*

Mr. *Hug.* So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwell in *Pudding-lane?*

Mr. *Hug.* Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Mr. *Huggard* more meet to eat a Pudding than to diſpute of Scripture.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeem ſo, for ye can better Skill to eat a Pudding, and make a Hoſe, than in the Scripture either to anſwer or oppoſe. With that he was in great Rage, and chafed up and down. Then I deſired that ſome Man would take ſome Pains to walk the Gentleman, he did fret ſo for Anger. Then one that ſtood by me (who was Parſon of *Horn-Church* and *Rumford* in *Eſſex*) ſaid, Alas, what do you mean? a young Man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much Pride in you.

Haukes. Are ye not the Parſon of *Horn*-church.

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a Prieſt in your Benefice?

Parſon. Yes for a Shift.

Parſon of *Hornchurch* compared to the Weather-Cock of St. *Paul's.*

Haukes. Like will to like; ſuch Maſter, ſuch Man. For I know the Prieſt to be a very vile Man, as any could be. I aſked the Parſon, what kin he was to the Weather-cock of St. *Paul's*? and he fell into a great Laughter with the reſt of his Companions. He ſaid, that I did rail.

Then ſaid another that ſtood by unto me; What Books have you here? I anſwered, the New Teſtament. May I look in it, *ſaid he*? Yea, that ye may, ſaid I. And ſo he looked in my Book, and ſaid it was corrupt. I anſwered him, if the Things contained in it be true, then are ye falſe Prophets. He ſaid that he would oppoſe me in the firſt Word of the Teſtament ſaying, Here is a Generation of Chriſt: And, *Iſaiah* ſaith, No Man can tell his Generation.

Haukes. What meaneth *Iſaiah* by that?

I would learn of you, *ſaid he.*

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the Scholar ſhould teach the Maſter: But if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you *Iſaiah*'s Meaning.

Then ſaid he, No Man can tell the Generation between the Father and the Son: But you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then *Iſaiah* denieth not the Generation.

Then *ſaid he*, Why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then *ſaid he*, Why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo prophecied by the Prophets.

Then *ſaid he*, Why is your Book called a Book?

Haukes. Theſe Words do breed more Strife than godly edifying.

Beware, *ſaid he*, that ye do not decline from the Church, for if you do, you will prove your ſelf an Heretick.

Haukes. Even as you do call us Hereticks, that do incline to Chriſt's Church from your Church: So are ye all falſe Prophets that do decline from Chriſt's Church to your own Church. And by this ſhall all Men know you to be falſe Prophets, if ye ſay, This ſaith the Church: And will not ſay, This ſaith our Lord. And ſo he went his Way, as tho' he had a Flea in his Ear.

Then came another and ſaid unto me, He would talk with me; for he perceived (as he ſaid) that I was angry, and out of Patience.

Haukes. I will ſee your Commiſſion, before I talk with you, or with any Man more. For I knew not how to be rid of them, they came ſo thick about me. For I ſaid, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

Bp. *Bonner* writeth *Haukes's* Confeſſion.

With that came the Biſhop, bringing a Letter in his Hand, which he had written in my Name, and read it unto me after this Manner: *I* Thomas Haukes *do here confeſs and declare before my ſaid Ordinary* Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *that the Maſs is abominable and deteſtable, and full of all Superſtition; and alſo as concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt (commonly called the Sarcament of the Altar) that Chriſt is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven: This I have believed, and this I do believe*, &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: What I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that ſtand I, and will. Then he took his Pen, and ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my Pleaſure, and ſo he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his Writing, and ſaid, *I* Thomas Haukes *have talked with my ſaid Ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned Men. Notwithſtanding I ſtand ſtill in mine Opinion.*

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned Men, and yet grant myſelf to ſtand in a contrary Opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned Men.

Bonner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: The other I will put out for your Pleaſure. Then ſaid all his Doctors, If your Lordſhip be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: And then read more to me. Here unto this Bill have I ſet my Hand; and then he offered me the Bill and his Pen, and bade me ſet my Hand to it.

Haukes. Ye ſhall not have my Hand to any thing of your making or deviſing.

Bonner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy Hand? It ſhall be to thy Shame for the denying of it.

T. Haukes denieth to ſet his Hand to *Bonner's* writing.

And then he called all his Doctors, and ſaid, he would have every Man's Hand to it that was in the Chamber; and ſo he had all their Hands to it, and ſaid; he that will not ſet his Hand to it, I would he were hanged; and ſo ſaid all his Chaplains and Doctors with a great Noiſe.

Then the Biſhop thruſt me on the Breaſt with great Anger; and ſaid he would be even with me, and with all ſuch proud Knaves in *Eſſex.*

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more than God ſhall give you Leave.

Bonner. This jeer ſhall not be unpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your Curſings, Railings and Blaſphemies, I care not for them: For I know the Moths and Worms ſhall eat you, as they eat Cloth or Wool.

Bonner. I will be even with you when time ſhall come.

Haukes. You may in your Malice deſtroy a Man: But when ye have done, ye cannot do ſo much as make a Finger; and ye be meetly even with ſome of us already.

Bonner.

Bonner. If I do thee any wrong, take the Law of me.

Haukes. Solomon ſaith, *Go not to Law with a Judge; for he will judge according to his Honour.*

Bonner. Solomon ſaith, *Give not a Fool an Anſwer.*

Haukes. What do you count me a Fool?

Bonner. Yea, by my troth do I, and ſo doſt thou me too: But God forgive thee, * and ſo do I.

* A little above he ſaid he would be even with him.

Haukes. Thought is free, my Lord. Then the Biſhop took the Bill and read it again; and when he ſaw that he could not have my Hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my Hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes. What needeth that Ceremony? neither ſhall it come into my Hand, Heart, or Mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his Boſom, and went away in great Anger, and called for his Horſe, for the ſame Day he rode on his Viſitation into *Eſſex:* And ſo I went to Priſon again with my Keeper. This was the ſecond Time of my Examination.

The publick Examination of Mr. *Haukes.*

After all theſe private Conferences, and long Debates with Mr. *Haukes* in the Biſhop's Houſe, the Biſhop ſeeing no hope to win him, was fully ſet to proceed openly againſt him after the ordinary Courſe of his popiſh Law. Whereupon Mr. *Haukes* was ſhortly after cited with the reſt of his other Companions above-mentioned, namely, *T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence,* and *W. Hunter,* to appear in the Biſhop's Conſiſtory, the eighth Day of *February,* this preſent Year 1555. Upon which Appearance was laid againſt him, in like Order as to the others, Firſt the Bill of his Confeſſion, written with *Bonner*'s own Hand, to which Bill ye heard before how this worthy Man deny'd to ſubſcribe.

The firſt Days Seſſion againſt *Thomas Haukes.*

This Bill of Confeſſion being read, and he ſtanding ſtedfaſtly to the ſame, the Biſhop then aſſigned him with the other five the next Day following, which was the 9th of *February,* to appear before him again, to give a reſolute Anſwer what they would ſtick to. Which Day being come, and the aforeſaid ſix Priſoners being ſeverally called before the Biſhop, at the coming of *Thomas Haukes,* the Biſhop deſired him to remember what was ſaid to him Yeſterday, and now while he had time and ſpace, to adviſe with himſelf what he would anſwer, for he ſtood upon Life and Death. Well, ſaid Mr. *Haukes* again, I will willingly receive whatſoever ſhall be put upon me. Then certain other Interrogatories or Articles were commenced againſt him by the ſaid Biſhop, (in like manner as to the others) to the Number of four, with another Bill alſo which Biſhop *Bonner* brought out of his Boſom, containing private Matters againſt the ſaid *Thomas Haukes,* which the Biſhop called Hereſies and Errors, but we may better call them chriſtian Verities. To which Matter being read, the ſaid *Haukes* anſwered openly again, ſaying that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true as it was, with more Words to the like Effect. And this was in the Forenoon, the eleventh Day of *February.* In the Afternoon again the ſaid *Haukes* appearing and hearing the aforeſaid Bill of his Confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read unto him, with like Conſtancy in anſwering again to the Biſhop; My Lord *(ſaith he)* as you being my Friend have cauſed theſe my Sayings to be written; ſo do you cauſe them to be read: And yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the Biſhop, with many fair Words, to return again to the Boſom of the mother Church: No my Lord *(ſaid he)* that will I not: For if I had an hundred Bodies, I would ſuffer them all to be torn in Pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtill in the ſame Song, notwithſtanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the Unity of the Church, he ever kept them off with this Anſwer, that he would never go from the Belief he was in, ſo long as he believed. Whereupon Biſhop *Bonner* at laſt read the Sentence of Death upon him, and ſo was he condemned the ſame Day with the Reſidue of his Fellows, which was the ninth of *February.* Nevertheleſs his Execution was prolonged, and he remained in Priſon till the tenth Day of *June.* Then was he committed to the Hands and Charge of the Lord *Rich,* who, being ſufficiently aſſiſted with Power by the Worſhipful of the Shire, had the aforeſaid *Thomas Haukes,* down into *Eſſex,* with ſix other Fellow-priſoners whoſe Stories hereafter follows, there to ſuffer Martyrdom, *Haukes* at *Coxehall,* the others in ſeveral other Places. Anno 1555.

T. Haukes condemned by Biſhop *Bonner.*

Thomas Haukes by the Way uſed much Exhortation to his Friends, and whenſoever Opportunity ſerved to talk with them, he would familiarly admoniſh them.

A little before his Death there were ſeveral of his Familiar Acquaintance and Friends, who frequented his Company more familiarly, who ſeemed to be greatly confirmed both by the Example of his Conſtancy, and by his Talk; yet notwithſtanding, being feared with the Sharpneſs of the Puniſhment which he was going to ſuffer, privately deſired that in the midſt of the Flame he would ſhew them ſome Token, if he could, whereby they might be more certain, whether the Pain of ſuch burning were ſo great, that a Man might not therein keep his Mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promiſed them to do; and ſo ſecretly between them it was agreed, that if the Rage of the Pain were tolerable, and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift up his Hands above his Head toward Heaven, before he gave up the Ghoſt.

Mr. *Haukes* carried to the Place of Execution.

Not long after when the Hour was come, *T. Haukes* was led away to the Place appointed for the Slaughter, by the Lord *Rich* and his Aſſiſtants, who being now come to the Stake, there mildly and patiently addreſſed himſelf to the Fire, having a Chain caſt about his Middle, with a Multitude of People on every Side compaſſing him about. Unto whom after he had ſpoken many Things, eſpecially unto the Lord *Rich,* reaſoing with him of the innocent Blood of Saints, at length after his fervent Prayers firſt made and poured out unto God, the Fire was kindled.

In which when he continued long, and when his Speech was taken away by Violence of the Flame, his Skin alſo drawn together, and his Fingers conſumed with the Fire, ſo that now all Men thought certainly he had been gone, ſuddenly and contrary to all Expectation this good Man being mindful of his Promiſe before made, reached up his Hands burning on a light Fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his Head to the living God, and with great Rejoicing, as it ſeemed, ſtruck or clapped them three Times together. At the Sight whereof there followed ſuch Applauſe and Outcry of the People, and eſpecially of them which underſtood the Matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: And ſo the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, ſtraitway ſinking down into the Fire, gave up his Spirit, *June* 10, 1555.

The Martyrdom of *T. Haukes* at *Coxhall.*

The

Anno 1555.

The Hiſtory of Mr. Thomas Wats.

THomas *Wats* of *Billerica* within the County of *Eſſex*, of the Dioceſs of *London*, was by his Occupation a Linnen Draper; who before he was apprehended had ſold and made away his Cloth in his Shop, and his Things being ſet in Order to his Wife and Children, and gave away much of his Cloth unto the Poor. For he daily expected to be taken by God's Adverſaries and his, as ſhortly after came to paſs: So that upon the 26th Day of *April*, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord *Rich*, and other Commiſſioners at *Chelmsford*, and there being accuſed for not coming to the Church, was upon the ſame examined before the Lord *Rich*, *Henry Tyrel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, *Edmund Tyrel*, *Thomas Mildmam*, *John Wiſeman*, *Roger Appleton*, *Richard Weſton*, Juſtice *Gaudy*, &c. The Sum and principal Effect of which Examination, hereunder followeth briefly expreſſed.

The Examination of *Thomas Wats* before the Lord *Rich*, and other of the Queen's Commiſſioners.

When *Thomas Wats* came before the Lord *Rich* and the Juſtices, whoſe Names are ſpecified in the following Letter (which they ſent unto the Biſhop of *London* againſt him) at the Seſſions at *Chelmsford*, the Lord *Rich* ſpake to him as follows:

Wats, ye be brought hither, as I underſtand, becauſe of Diſobedience to the King and the Queen's Laws. Ye will not come to the Church ye will not hear Maſs, *&c.* But have your Conventicles a Sort of you in Corners, contrary to the King and Queen's Poceedings. To which Words Mr. *Wats* anſwered and ſaid:

My Lord, If I have offended a Law, I am ſubject here to the Law. Then *Anthony Brown*, Juſtice, ſaid unto him; *Wats*, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy Schoolmaſter to teach thee this Religion, or where didſt thou firſt learn it? Forſooth, ſaid *Wats*, even of you, Sir, you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King *Edward*'s Days in open Seſſions you ſpake againſt this Religion now uſed, no Preacher more. You then ſaid the Maſs was abominable, and all their Trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould believe therein, and that our Belief ſhould be only in Chriſt: And you ſaid then, whoſoever ſhould bring in any ſtrange Nation to rule here, it were Treaſon, and not to be ſuffered. Then Mr. *Brown* ſaid to my Lord *Rich*, He belies me, my Lord. What a Knave is this? He will ſoon bely me behind my Back, when he doth it before my Face. And my Lord *Rich* ſaid again, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

Sir *Anthony Brown* a Proteſtant in King *Edward*'s Days, and a Perſecutor in Q. *Mary*'s Days.

After theſe Words, Mr. *Wats* took Occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat of King *Philip* and of his coming in, but what it was I could not juſtly learn. But thus much was heard, that after thoſe Words ſpoken, the Bench among themſelves ſtood up, and ſaid one to another, Treaſon; except one good Man called Juſtice *Gawdy*, who a little before was about to ſpeak; but when he heard them cry Treaſon, he held down his Head as one grieved and troubled at their Doings.

In Concluſion, the Commiſſioners being weary of him, or elſe not willing to meddle further in ſuch Matters, ſent him up to the Biſhop of *London*, together with a Letter, declaring the Cauſe of his being ſent up, as by the Contents thereof may be ſeen.

A Letter ſent by certain Juſtices in *Eſſex* to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*.

AFTER our moſt hearty Commendation to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to adverti ſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer and Terminer held at Chelmsford *the 26th Day of* April *laſt paſt, there came before us in open Court, one* Thomas Wats *of* Billerica *within your Dioceſs, by ordinary Proceſs, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his Pariſh Church, and there to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, and hear Divine Service, according to the Inſtitution of holy Church, he openly there anſwered generally, that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the Days of the late King* Edward VI. *was ſaid by us now to be abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and all naught; ſo he ſaid, that all that is now uſed and done in the Church is abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and naught, with divers other erroneous and arrogant Words: And therefore we have thought good to ſend him to your Lordſhip, to be further examined by you of his particular Opinions, as to your paſtoral Office ſhall ſeem convenient, certifying you further, that in our Opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant Hereticks that hath been heard ſpeak, or ever came before you, and not meeet to be kept here in any Jail, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and ſundry other ſpecial Cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to moleſt your good Lordſhip, we commit you to the Holy Ghoſt.* Given at *Chelmsford, April* 27, 1555.

Your good Lordſhip's moſt aſſured,

R. Rich.	Thomas Wildman.
Henry Tyrel.	John Wiſeman.
Anthony Browne.	Roger Appleton.
Edmund Tyrel.	Richard Weſton.

Now when the Biſhop had received him, how he uſed him it is eaſy to judge. What his private Conferences were I know not, but what was publickly done in the Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s (the common Stage for theſe Tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

The firſt Appearance of Thomas Wats *the Biſhop's Conſiſtory.*

FIRST upon *Thurſday* being the ſecond Day of *May*, *Thomas Wats* was brought thither before the Biſhop of *London*, and there being examined upon his Words had before the Lord *Rich* and others, as is contained in their Letter, he did earneſtly affirm the ſame to be true. Whereupon the Biſhop objected, and examined him upon theſe Articles following, to which he anſwered, as under may appear.

Articles objected againſt Thomas Wats *of* Billerica *in the County of* Eſſex, *within the Dioceſs of* London, *by Biſhop* Bonner.

1. THAT the ſaid *Thomas Wats* was of *Billerica*, and ſo of the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*.

2. *Item*,

2. *Item*, That he believed not in the Sacraments of the holy and catholick Church, as the catholick Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches Members of the ſame, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught by all good and faithful People, nor hath allowed the Sacraments, Rites, Uſages, or Ceremonies of the ſaid Church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

3. *Item*, That he believeth, and alſo hath taught others, that the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine do remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Conſecration, and that the ſaid material Bread and Wine are the Signs and Tokens of Chriſt's Body hanged upon the Croſs, and of his Blood there ſhed, and that in the ſaid Sacrament there is only a Memory or Remembrance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and nothing elſe.

4. *Item*, That he believeth, and doth preciſely affirm, that the very true Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in Subſtance, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in Heaven, and no where elſe.

5. *Item*, That he believeth, affirmeth, and ſaith, that the Maſs now uſed in the Church of *Rome*, here in *England*, and other Places, is full of Idolatry, Abomination, and Wickedneſs, and that Chriſt did never inſtitute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable Thing to be uſed in his Church.

6. *Item*, That he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular Confeſſion to be made unto the Prieſt is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous: And that it is enough for a Man to believe only, and to confeſs himſelf unto God, without any Prieſt or Miniſter at any Time, though he may have the Prieſt to confeſs him unto.

Defence of Martyrs.

7. *Item*, That he believeth that *Luther*, *Wickliffe*, Dr. *Barnes*, and all others that have held againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſuffered Death by Fire or otherwiſe, for the Maintenance of the ſaid Opinion, were good Men, and faithful Servants and Martyrs of Chriſt, in ſo believing and dying.

8. *Item*, That he hath and doth believe, that to faſt, pray, or to do Alms-deeds, is a Thing utterly unprofitable; for if a Man ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall be ſaved without doing of them; and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not help him, or do him any Good at all.

Queen *Mary*'s Service reproved.

9. *Item*, That the ſaid *Wats* of late coming into open Court at the Seſſions before the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Henry Tyrel* Knight, *Anthony Browne* Eſquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confeſs, that he had refuſed to come to the Church, and to hear there the Divine Service, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the Order of the Church: Becauſe that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the Days of the late King *Edward* the the Sixth, was ſaid and alledged to be abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught; ſo he the ſaid *Thomas Wats* then and there ſaid openly before the ſaid Commiſſioners, that all that is now uſed and done in the Church, is abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught: And that he did alſo then utter before the ſaid Commiſſioners other erroneous and arrogant Words, to the Hurt of his Soul, and to the evil Example of the People there preſent.

10. *Item*, That he the ſaid *Thomas* by reaſon of the Premiſſes, was, and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifeſt and open Heretick, and for the ſame, by the Order of eccleſiaſtical Laws is to be declared accurſed; and being obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the ſecular Power, there to be puniſhed as an Heretick. Anno 1555.

11. *Item*, That he over and beſides all theſe Offences and Treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this Treſpaſs; namely, that he had believed and deliberately ſpoken that the Church of *Rome* in her Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments, Conſtitutions, and Traditions, is the Synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had conſented and agreed in Opinion with one *John Tooley*, of late hanged at *Charing-Croſs*, who at the Time of his Execution, deſired the People to pray to be delivered from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, with all his Enormities; as who ſhould ſay, that his Authority and Doings were Tyranny, and had all Enormities and Iniquities in them.

12. *Item*, That the Premiſſes and every Part thereof be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken and talked of amongſt the honeſt and credible Perſons in great Multitude, and that of all and ſingular the ſame within *Billerica* aforeſaid, and other Places thereabout, being of the Dioceſs of *London*, there is a common Voice and Fame thereof.

The Anſwer of Thomas Wats *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every Part thereof.

To the ſecond Article he anſwered, that he believed in all the Sacraments according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the catholick Church; but not according to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Church: And further ſaid, that he doth not believe now as he had done in Times paſt; for in Time paſt he believed as the Church then believed, but now he doth not ſo believe; for the Church of *Rome* had deceived us, and therefore he ſaid he did not believe as the Church of *Rome* believeth, but as Chriſt hath taught him; and further ſaid, that he was ſo taught to believe by the preaching of Mr. *Alvey*, and others whoſe Names he remembreth not; who did preach the Word of God truly and ſincerely. Mr. *Wats* firſt won to the Goſpel by Mr. *Alvey*.

To the third he anſwered, that he hath and doth believe, that Chriſt's Body is in Heaven, and no where elſe: And further, that he will never believe that Chriſt's Body is in the Sacrament.

To the Fourth he anſwered, confeſſing and firmly believing the ſame to be true.

To the Fifth, That he did believe that the Maſs is abominable, and he will not go one jot from that his Belief.

To the Sixth, That he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the Prieſt can abſolve him from his Sins: Howbeit, he denieth not that it is good to aſk Counſel at the Prieſt's Mouth.

To the Seventh he ſaid, That he knew not what the Opinions of the ſaid Perſons named in the ſaid Article were; and in caſe the ſaid Perſons did believe, that the Body and Blood of Chriſt were really and in very Deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, then that they were not good Men. But in caſe they did believe that the Body and Blood of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Men.

To the Eighth, That he had not ſpoken as is contained in this Article, but ſaid, that he hath and doth believe, that Faſting, Prayers, and Almſdeeds be Works of a lively Faith.

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To the Ninth he confeſſed, that he did utter and ſpeak, as in this Article is contained, and further he deſired God that he might die in that Faith and Belief wherein he now is.

To the Tenth he anſwered and ſaid, that he will ſubmit himſelf herein to the Order of the Law: And further ſaid, that he truſteth that with God he ſhall be bleſſed, although with Men he be accurſed..

To the Eleventh he ſaid, he believed that the Biſhop of *Rome* is a mortal Enemy to Chriſt and his Church. And as for *Tooley* he ſaid, he did never ſee or know him: But in caſe the ſaid *Tooley* did wiſh and pray as is contained in the Article, then he did likewiſe wiſh and conſent with him therein.

To the Twelfth he anſwered, that all which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: And all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the ſame to be according to ſuch Things as he hath confeſſed.

By me *Thomas Wats*.

Mr. *Wats* again appeareth in the Biſhop's Conſiſtory.

Theſe Articles thus propounded and anſwered, the Biſhop commanded him to appear again in the Afternoon at Three o' Clock upon the ſame Day. At which Hour being brought thither by his Keeper, the Biſhop began with him in this wiſe:

Wats. You know what I ſaid unto you to Day, and what I appointed unto you at this Time. The Time is now come; weigh and conſider with yourſelf, that you are but a Man, and albeit that you will wilfully caſt away your Body, yet caſt not away your Soul, but while ye have Time return and confeſs the Truth.

Whereunto *Thomas Wats* anſwered and ſaid, I am weary to live in ſuch Idolatry as ye would have me to live in. Upon which Anſwer the Biſhop cauſed his Articles again to be read. He thereto anſwered as before, and farther, ſubſcribed the ſame with his own Hand.

Another Appearance before Dr. *Harpsfield*.

The Biſhop after many Perſuaſions to cauſe him to recant, ordered him to depart, and to come again on *Saturday* at Eight of the Clock in the Morning. Where the Biſhop being abſent, Dr. *Nicholas Harpsfield*, as then being his Deputy, did ſit, and earneſtly exhorted him to deny his Opinions. To whom in the End he anſwered,

Well, ye have a Law to condemn me, and I ſubmit myſelf to the Laws of the Church (as you call it:) and farther I do affirm, and ſtill ſtand to mine Anſwers that I have made.

Mr. *Wats* privately appeareth again before the Biſhop.

Whereupon Dr. *Harpsfield* ordered him to appear there again upon *Friday*, being the 10th Day of the ſame Month of *May*. Upon which Day the Biſhop privately ſent for the ſaid *Thomas Wats* into his Chamber, and there with many fair Promiſes tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his Errors as he then termed them. But *Wats* anſwered him in this Sort; I will not believe your Church, neither the *Romiſh* Church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was hereupon again diſmiſſed for that Time until *Friday* the 17th of *May*, and then commanded to appear in the Conſiſtory; which Command he obeyed, and having the accuſtomed former Articles miniſtred unto him, made then ſuch Anſwers as before.

Being thus toſt to and fro from Day to Day, and Hour to Hour, he was at the laſt the 18th of *May*, brought into the Conſiſtory, where firſt was made a brief Recital of all the former Proceſs: And there the ſaid *Wats* being (by the Biſhop and others) deſired to deny his Profeſſion, made this final Anſwer; God keep me from the Doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beſeech God that I may perſevere in that, that I have done; for I will ſtand to mine Anſwers.

The final Anſwer of Mr. *Wats*.

The Biſhop perceiving his fair flattering Promiſes prevail'd not (and having no great Store of other Reaſons to perſuade with) put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt Argument of Condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the Sheriffs of *London*, and by them was ſent to *Newgate*, where he remained until the Ninth of *June*, or (as ſome record) to the 22d of *May*: At which Time he was carried to *Chelmsford*, and there was brought to Mr. *Scot*'s Houſe, keeping then an Inn in *Chelmsford*, where, as they were eating Meat with *Haukes* and the reſt that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their Meat.

Sentence of Condemnation againſt him.

The Martyrdom of Mr. *Wats* at *Chelmsford*.

Then Mr. *Wats* went and prayed privately to himſelf, and afterward came to his Wife and his ſix Children being there, and ſaid theſe Words in Effect; *Wife, and my good Children, I muſt now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, ſo I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you ſee you do obey, and fear him: And beware ye turn not to this abominable Popery, againſt which I ſhall anon, by God's Grace, give my Blood. Let not the murdering of God's People cauſe you to relent, but take Occaſion thereby to be the ſtronger in the Lord's Quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you.* After which, he bade them farewel, and kiſſed them all, and was carried to the Fire.

The Words of *Thomas Wats* to the Lord *Rich*.

At the Stake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my Lord *Rich* theſe or the like Words: *My Lord*, ſaid he, *Beware, beware, for you do againſt your own Conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the Cauſe of this my Death.*

Concerning the Childbed of Queen *Mary*, as it was rumoured among the People.

Long Perſuaſion had been in *England* with great Expectation, for the Space of half a Year or more, that the Queen was conceived with Child. This Report was made by the Queen's Phyſicians, and others about the Court; ſo that ſeveral were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And a Command was given, that in all Churches Supplication and Prayer ſhould be made for the Queen's good Delivery: The Certificate whereof ye may read before in the Letter of the Council ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*. And alſo the ſame moreover may appear by Proviſion made before by Act of Parliament for the Child.

Rockers and Nurſes provided for Queen *Mary*'s Child.

And now foraſmuch as in the Beginning of this Month of *June*, about *Witſontide*, the Time was thought to be nigh that this young Maſter ſhould come into the World, and that Midwives, Rockers, Nurſes, with the Cradle and all, were prepared and in a Readineſs; ſuddenly, upon what Cauſe or Occaſion is uncertain, a certain vain Rumour was blown in *London* of the proſperous Deliverance of the Queen, and the Birth of the Child. Inſomuch that the Bells were rung, Bonfires, and Proceſſions made, not only in the City of *London*, and in moſt other Parts of the Realm, but alſo in the Town of *Antwerp*, Guns were ſhot off upon the River by the *Engliſh* Ships, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred *Piſtolets* or *Italian* Crowns by the Lady Regent, who was the

Queen of *Hungary*. Such great Rejoicing and Triumph was made for the Queen's Delivery, and that there was a Prince born. Yea, divers Preachers, namely one the Parſon of St. *Ann* within *Alderſgate*, after *Te Deum* ſung, took upon him to deſcribe the Proportion of the Child, how fair, how beautiful, he was, as the like had not been ſeen.

At this Time many talked diverſly. Some ſaid this Rumor of the Queen's Conception was ſpread for a Policy; others affirmed, that ſhe was deceived by a Tympany or ſome other like Diſeaſe, to think herſelf with Child, and was not; ſome thought ſhe was with Child, and that it did by ſome Chance miſcarry, or elſe that ſhe was bewitched; but what was the Truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine own hearing and ſeeing, I cannot paſs over unwitneſſed.

There came to me, whom I did both hear and ſee, one *Iſabel Malt*, a Woman dwelling in *Alderſgate-ſtreet* in *Horn-Alley*, who before Witneſs made this Declaration unto us, That ſhe being delivered of a Manchild upon *Whitſunday* in the Morning, which was the 11th Day of *June* 1555. there came to her the Lord *North*, and another Lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old *Fiſh ſtreet*, demanding of her if ſhe would part with her Child, and would ſwear that ſhe never knew nor had any ſuch Child. Which, if ſhe would, her Son, they ſaid, ſhould be well provided for, ſhe ſhould take no Care for it, with many fair Offers if ſhe would part with the Child.

After that came ſome Women alſo, of whom one they ſaid ſhould have been the Rocker; but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her Son, who at the Writing hereof being alive, and called *Timothy Malt*, was of the Age of 13 Years, and upward.

Thus much, I ſay, I heard of the Woman herſelf. What Credit is to be given to her Relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the Liberty of the Reader, to believe it they that liſt; to them that liſt not, I have no further Warrant to aſſure them.

Among many other great Preparations made for the Queen's Deliverance of Child, there was a Cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, upon which Cradle for the Child appointed, theſe Verſes were written, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

Verſes upon the Cradle.

Quam Maria ſobolem, Deus optime, ſumme [*dediſti,*
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, Rege.

The Child which thou to Mary, *O Lord of* [*Might do'ſt ſend,*
To England's *Joy, in Health preſerve, keep* [*and defend.*

About this Time there came over into *England* a certain *Engliſh* Book, giving warning to *Engliſhmen* of the *Spaniards*, and diſcloſing ſome ſecret Practices for the recovery of Abby-Lands, which Book was called, A Warning for *England*. So that by the Occaſion of this Book, upon the 13th Day of this Month came out a certain Proclamation, ſet forth in the Name of the King and Queen, repealing and diſannulling all Manner of Books written or printed, whatſoever ſhould tend to empair the Pope's Dignity, whereby not only much pious Edification was hindred, but alſo great Peril grew among the People. The Copy of which Proclamation here followeth.

Anno 1555.

A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queen, for the reſtraining of all Books and Writings, tending againſt the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

WHereas by the Statute made in the ſecond Year of King Henry IV. *concerning the repreſſing of Hereſy, there is ordained and provided a great Puniſhment, not only for the Authors, Makers, and Writers of Books containing wicked Doctrine, and erroneous and heretical Opinions, contrary to the catholick Faith and Determination of the holy Church, and likewiſe for their Favourers and Supporters, but alſo for ſuch as ſhall have or keep any ſuch Books or Writings, and not make delivery of them to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs or his Miniſters, within a certain Time limited in the ſaid Satute, which Act or Satute being by Authority of Parliament of late revived, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the Subjects of the Realm upon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the Danger and Penalty of the ſaid Statute, and as yet nevertheleſs in moſt Parts of the Realm the ſame is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, therefore,* &c. *ſtraitly Charge and Command, that no Perſon or Perſons, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bring or convey, or cauſe to be brought or conveyed into this Realm, any Books, Writings, or Works hereafter mentioned; that is to ſay, any Book or Books, Writings or Works made or ſet forth, by, or in the Name of* Martin Luther, *or any Book or Books, Writings or Works made and ſet forth, by, or in the Name of* Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Eraſmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, *otherwiſe called* Friar Barnes, John Bale, *otherwiſe called* Friar Bale, Juſtus Jones, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindal, Thomas Cranmer *late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Baſil, *otherwiſe callled* Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, *and the Book commonly called* Hall's Chronicle, *or any of them in the* Latin *Tongue*, Dutch *Tongue*, Engliſh *Tongue*, Italian *Tongue*, *or* French *Tongue, or any other like Book, Paper, Writing, or Work, made, printed or ſet forth, by any other Perſon or Perſons, containing falſe Doctrine contrary and againſt the catholick Faith, and the Doctrine of the catholick Church. And alſo that no Perſon or Perſons preſume to write, print, utter, ſell, read, or keep any, or cauſe to be written, printed, uttered, or kept any of the ſaid Books, Papers, Works, or Writings, or any Book or Books written or printed in the* Latin *or* Engliſh *Tongue, concerning the common Service and Adminiſtration ſet forth in* Engliſh *to be uſed in the Churches of this Realm, in the Time of King* Edward VI. *commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of common Service and Ordering of Miniſters, otherwiſe called, The Book ſet forth by Authority of Parliament, for common Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or to be uſed in the mother Tongue within the Church of* England, *but ſhall within the Space of fifteen Days next after the Publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cauſe the ſaid Books, Writings, and Works, and every of them remaining on their Cuſtody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs, where ſuch Books, Works, or Writings be or remain,*

What ado is here to keep down Chriſt in his Sepulchre? and yet will he riſe in ſpite of all his Enemies.

Anno 1555. *remain, or to his Chancellor or Commiſſaries, without Fraud, Colour or Deceit, at the ſaid Ordinaries Will and Diſpoſition to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be uſed or ordered by the ſaid Ordinaries, as by the Canons or ſpritual Laws it is in that Caſe limited and appointed, upon pain that every Offender contrary to this Proclamation, ſhall incur the Danger and Penalties contained in the ſaid Statute, and as they will avoid their Majeſties high Indignation and Diſpleaſure, and further Anſwer at their uttermoſt Perils.*

And their Majeſties by this Proclamation give full Power and Authority to all Biſhops and Ordinaries, and all Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Cities and Towns corporate, and other head Officers within this Realm and the Dominions thereof, and expreſly commandeth and willeth the ſame and every of them, that they and every of them, within their ſeveral Limits and Juriſdictions, ſhall in the Default and Negligence of the ſaid Subjects, after the ſaid fifteen Days expired, enquire and ſearch out the ſaid Books, Writings, and Works; and for this Purpoſe enter into the Houſe or Houſes, Cloſets and ſecret Places of every Perſon, of whatſoever Degree, being negligent in this Behalf, and ſuſpected to keep any ſuch Book, Writing, or Works, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the ſaid Juſtices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other head Officers above ſpecified, and every of them within their ſaid Limits and Juriſdictions finding any of the ſaid Subjects negligent and faulty in this Behalf, ſhall commit every ſuch Offender to Ward, there to remain without Bail or Main prize, till the ſame Offender or Offenders have received ſuch Puniſhment as the ſaid Statute doth limit and appoint in this Behalf. Given under our Signs manual, at our Manour of Hampton-court, *the 13th Day of* June, *the firſt and ſecond Years of our Reign.*

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching ſeditious Books, eſpecially concerning the Book called, A Warning for *England.*

1. *Whether they have ſeen any of the aforeſaid Books.*

2. *Whether they have heard of any of the ſaid Books.*

3. *Where they were, and in what place they have ſeen them.*

4. *Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the Sea, eſpecially from* Zurick, Straſburgh, Frankford, Wezel, Embden, *and* Diſburge.

5. *Whom they know or vehemently ſuſpect to be common Carriers of Letters, or Money thither from hence.*

6. *That they bring to my Lord Mayor all ſuch ſeditious Books as they have, or ſhall have found hereafter.*

In this Proclamation thou haſt heard, chriſtian Reader, the profound and learned Cenſure of the catholick Church of *England*, what Books they miſlike and reject as heretical, ſchiſmatical, and pernicious. Againſt which catholick Cenſure of theſe learned Fathers, I have not at this Time to infer: Neither doth any leiſure now ſerve to write Apologies in Defence of theſe Authors here condemned. Only ſo much Leave it may pleaſe the Reader to grant me, to ſet before him here a Pair of Ballance, wherein to weigh the Books on the one Side condemned, with the Books on the other Side allowed, to the End that we weighing the one with the other, may diſcern the better between them, which Part weigheth beſt with God's holy Truth and true catholick Church, againſt manifeſt Idolatry and palpable Abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this preſent Proclamation given their Condemnation upon theſe Books above recited: So I deſire thee to give thy Cenſure upon their Books by them allowed, and upon the Matter in them contained, and mark well what good Stuff it is.

The Books of the Proteſtants to be weighed with the Books of the Papiſts.

And firſt to begin with the Primmer in *Engliſh*, for Children after the Uſe of *Saliſbury*, imprinted with a Privilege according to the King and Queen's Majeſty's Letters Patents in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Let us repeat and ſurvey ſome part of the ſaid Primmer (for to expreſs all it were too long) beginning the firſt Leſſon of our Lady, in theſe Words:

The Primmer ſet forth in Q. *Mary*'s Time printed by *J. Wayland.*

Holy Mary, *Mother moſt pure of Virgins all;*
Mother and Daughter of the King celeſtial,
So comfort us in our Deſolation,
That by thy Prayer and ſpecial Mediation,
We enjoy the Reward of thy heavenly Reign.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good Reader, and judge uprightly whether this Doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary, *of all Godly the Godlieſt,*
Pray for us, of all Holy the Holieſt;
That he our Prayers accept may in good wiſe,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above [*the Skies*, &c.

In the third Leſſon.

Thy Son beſeech with humble Interceſſion,
To purge us clean of our Tranſgreſſion;
That ſo being redeemed we may the Place aſcend,
Where thou dwelleſt with him World without [*end.*

The Verſicle.

Pray for the People, intreat for the Clergy; make Interceſſion for the devout Woman-kind; let all feel thy Help that worthily ſolemnize thy Memorial, &c.

One Mediator between God and Men, the Man *Jeſus Chriſt.*

Another Verſicle.

Holy Mother of God, make thy Petition, that we may deſerve Chriſt's Promiſſion, &c.

And in the Anthem after *Benedictus*, thus it followeth:

We beſeech thee of thy Pity to have us in Remembrance, and to make Means for us unto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy Help, may deſerve to attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

False Merits.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:

And grant, that thro' the gracious Interceſſion of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this preſent Heavineſs, and have the Fruition of eternal Gladneſs.

Wrong Mediation

It followeth moreover in the ſaid Primmer, thus, concerning the material Croſs.

O God, which haſt aſcended thy moſt holy Croſs, and hath given Light to the Darkneſs of the World, vouchſafe by the Virtue of thy Croſs to illuminate, viſit and comfort both our Hearts and Bodies, &c.

Idolatry to the material Croſs.

Moreover, in the Name of St. *John Baptiſt* thus it prayeth:

O Lord, defend us alway through the continual Succours of St. John Baptiſt. *For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with neceſſary Prayers*, &c.

In which Words note (good Reader) not only the Abſurdity of Doctrine, but alſo the Fooliſh-

neſs of the Reaſon. For where their Doctrine pretendeth that St. *John Baptiſt* ſhould pray for us, here we pray to God for St. *John Baptiſt*, that he will hear his Prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the Name of *Peter* and *Paul*:

Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the Merits of them both, we may obtain the Glory everlaſting, &c.

Of St. *Andrew*.

So let him, O Lord, be a continual Petitioner for us to thee, &c.

Of St. *Laurence* thus:

St. Laurence *the Deacon did work a great Work. For by the Virtue of the holy Croſs he gave Sight to the Blind*, &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy Croſs was not yet found in the Time of St. *Laurence?* For *Helen* which firſt found the Croſs, as they ſay, came after St. *Laurence* more than forty Years.

To *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Horrid Blaſphemy and Derogation to Chriſt's Blood.

By the Blood of Thomas, *which he for thee* [*did ſpend,*
Make us, Chriſt, to climb, whither Thomas [*did aſcend.*

Of St. *Nicholas*.

False Merits.

O God, which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas, *thy holy Biſhop, with innumerable Miracles, grant we beſeech thee that by his Merits and Prayers we may be delivered from the Fire of Hell.*

Of *Mary Magdalen*.

Grant we beſeech thee, through thy Mercy, to let her purchaſe for us the Bliſs everlaſting, &c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.

The dolorous Compaſſion of God's ſweet Mother,
Bring us to the Bliſs of Almighty God the Fa- [*ther*, &c.

Another Prayer in the ſaid Primmer to our Lady.

The Office of Chriſt given to our Lady.

Eſtabliſh us in Peace and Tranquility,
And change the Name of ſinful Eva:
Looſe thy Priſoners from Captivity;
Unto the Blind give Sight again.
Deliver us from Malignity,
To the End we may ſome Grace attain.
Shew thyſelf to be a Mother,
So that he accept our Petition.
Deliver us from Bondage of Sin, &c.

Item,

Holy Mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weak ſpirited, give Courage to the Deſperate, pray for the People, make Interceſſion for the Clergy, and be a Mean for the devout Woman-kind, &c.

Another blaſphemous Prayer.

Blaſphemy.

O thou meek Mother, have Mercy therefore
On Wretches for whom thou hadſt theſe Pains all,
Seeing thy Son that Vine-Cluſter preſſed ſore:
And from the Peſtilence of Death eternal,
Keep us, by 'voiding the Fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal Life, ſeeing the Deity.

Another Blaſphemy in the ſaid Primmer.

Idolatry.

Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy, our Life, our Sweetneſs, our Hope. Unto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our Patroneſs; caſt upon us thy pitiful Eyes, and after this our Baniſhment ſhew to us the bleſſed Fruit of thy Womb. O Gate of Glory, be for us a Reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the Wretched their Faults expel: Wipe the Spots of Sins unclean, &c. Anno 1555.

Item, to our Lady.

The Fruit of thy Womb everlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſerving, &c.

Item,

If Mary's Merits help us, then Chriſt died in vain.

Grant we beſeech thee, that by her Merits and Prayers we may attain to that unſpeakable Joy, whereas ſhe being aſcended, doth now rejoice with thee in Heaven for ever.

Like Primmer like Pſalter.

And thus much hitherto of this catholick Primmer, called our Lady's Mattens. Whereunto, if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adjoin our Lady's Pſalter, to the Intent that all indifferent Readers, as they have ſeen what Books theſe catholick Fathers have condemned for heretical; ſo they may alſo ſee and judge, what Books on the other Side they approve as lawful and catholick. And foraſmuch as it is not known to all Men what our Lady's Pſalter is, or what it meaneth: Yea, and ſome peradventure will deny any ſuch Book of our Lady's Pſalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will firſt produce the Name of the Author, who was *Bonaventure*, a ſeraphical Doctor, Biſhop alſo and Cardinal, canonized moreover by Pope *Sixtus* IV. in the Year 1482, for a Saint in the Kalendar, whoſe Book is thus intitled in *Latin*, *Incipit Pſalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum doctorem ſanctum* Bonaventuram *epiſcopum Albanenſem, necnon ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſia Preſbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem Genetricis*, &c. Fol. 84. In the ſecond Part of his whole Works (which were printed at *Argentine*, *An.* 1495.) to ſhew himſelf a devout Servant to his Lady, hath taken every Pſalm of *David*'s Pſalter (which are peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God) and hath in ſeveral of the ſaid Pſalms and Verſes put out the Name of our Lord, and hath placed in the Name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Pſalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Pſalter, uſed to be ſung and ſaid in the Praiſe and Service of our Lady. A brief Taſte whereof for Example ſake (for it were too long to ſhew all) we thought here to exhibit unto the Reader in Order, as followeth.

Bonaventure Compiler of our Lady's Pſalter.

He lived *An.* 1170. and was canonized *An.* 1482.

The Title of the *Pſalter* in *Engliſh*.

Here beginneth the Pſalter *of the Bleſſed Virgin, made by the ſeraphical Doctor St.* Bonaventure, *the Biſhop of* Alban, *and Cardinal of the holy Church of* Rome.

1. *BLeſſed is the Man which underſtandeth thy Name, O Virgin* Mary, *thy Grace ſhall comfort his Soul. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentiful Fruit of Juſtice, being watered as it were with Fountains of Water. All Women thou paſſeſt in the Beauty of thy Body; all Angels and Archangels in the Excellency of thy Holineſs. Thy Mercy and thy Grace is magnified every where*, &c. *Glory be to the Father*, &c.

Treaſon againſt Chriſt's Perſon and Dignity.

2. *Why do our Enemies fret and imagine vain Things againſt us? Let thy Right Hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a Sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe will give Reſt unto your Souls. Come unto her in your Temptations, and her loving Countenance ſhall ſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſs her with all your Heart; for the Earth is full of her Mercy. Glory be to the Father*, &c.

Anno 1555. Blaſphemous Idolatry.

3. *Why are they ſo many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy Fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the Bonds of our Impiety, and take away the Burden of our Sins. Have Mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my Infirmity. Take away my Sorrow and the Anguiſh of my Heart. Deliver me not into the Hands of mine Enemies, and in the Day of Death comfort my Soul. Bring me unto the Haven of Salvation, and reſtore my Spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father,* &c.

False. Faith.

4. *When I called to thee, thou heardeſt, O my Lady, and out of thy high Throne thou didſt vouchſafe to think upon me. From the Roaring of them that prepare themſelves to devour me, and out of the Hands of ſuch as ſeek after my Life, thy Grace ſhall deliver me: Becauſe thy Mercy and thy Pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy Name. Bleſſed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy Majeſty for ever and ever. Glorify her all Nations of the Earth,* &c.

Derogation of the Croſs of Chriſt.

5. *Hear my Words, O Lady,* &c. *turn our Mourning into Gladneſs, and our Trouble into Rejoicing. Let our Enemies fall before our Feet, and with thy Power daſh their Heads in Pieces.*

6. *O Lady, ſuffer me not to be rebuked in God's Anger, nor to be chaſtned in his heavy Diſpleaſure,* &c. *From the Gate and deep Pit of Hell, with thy holy Prayers deliver us. Let the everlaſting Gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marvellous Works for ever. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in Hell, ſhall not praiſe thee, O Lady, but they which obtain by thy Grace Life everlaſting.*

7. *O my Lady, in thee will I put my Truſt; deliver me from mine Enemies, O Lady. Stop the Mouth of the Lion, and blind the Lips of the Perſecutors. Make no tarrying for thy Name's Sake, to ſhew thy Mercy upon me. Let the Brightneſs of thy Countenance ſhine upon us, that our Conſcience may be ſaved before the moſt higheſt. If the Enemy do perſecute my Soul, O Lady, help me that he deſtroy me not.*

Manifeſt Idolatry.

Derogation of Chriſt's Paſſion.

11. *In thee, O Lady, do I put my Truſt,* &c. *Seek her even from your Youth, and ſhe ſhall glorify you,* &c. *Her Mercy takes from us the Multitude of our Sins, and gives unto us Plenteouſneſs of Merits,* &c.

13. *How long doſt thou forget me, O Lady, and doſt not deliver me in the Day of my Trouble? How long ſhall mine Enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty Power deſtroy him,* &c. *We magnify thee the Finder and the Author of Grace, by whom the World is repaired,* &c.

Yea rather bleſſed be they which hear the Word of God and keep it.

16. *Preſerve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my Truſt,* &c. *Bleſſed be thy Breaſts, which with thy deifying Milk didſt nouriſh the Saviour,* &c.

18. *I will love thee, O Lady of Heaven and Earth; I will call upon thy Name among the Nations. Confeſs yourſelves unto her, ye that are troubled in Heart, and ſhe ſhall ſtrengthen you againſt your Enemies,* &c. *All ye Cloyſterers honour her, for ſhe is your Helper and ſpecial Advocate. Be thou our Refreſhing and Reſt, for thou art the marvellous Foundation of all Religion.*

20. *Hear us O Lady in the Day of Trouble,* &c. *Caſt us not away in the Time of our Death, but ſuccour our Soul when it forſaketh the Body. Send an Angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the Enemies,* &c. *In Torments and Pains let it feel thy Comfort, and grant to it a Place among the Elect of God.*

28. *To thee, O Lady,* &c. *Have Mercy upon me in the Day of my Trouble, and in the Light of thy Truth deliver me,* &c.

31. *In thee, O Lady, do I put my Truſt, let me not be confounded for ever, in thy Glory receive me. Thou art my Strength and my Refuge, my Conſolation and Protection,* &c. *Deliver me from the Snare that they have laid for me, becauſe thou art my Helper. Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit,* &c.

34. *I will always praiſe our Lady,* &c. *In Perils, in Adverſity call upon her, and in Time of Need ye ſhall find Succour. Let her Converſation be an Example unto you, and follow the Virtue of her Humility. Becauſe therefore, O Lady, thou waſt humble and lowly. Thou didſt compel the Word increate to take Fleſh of thee.*

Horrible Blaſphemy againſt the Lord.

36. *The wicked Man ſaid,* &c. *Let him depart from his evil Purpoſe; O Mother of God, turn the Countenance of God towards us: Compel him to be merciful unto Sinners. Bleſſed be thy Power and Dominion in Heaven, and bleſſed be thy Magnificence upon the Earth.*

Impious Blaſphemy.

45. *My Heart is inditing a good Matter, O Lady,* &c. *By thy Holineſs let my Sins be purged, by thy Integrity let me obtain Incorruption,* &c.

If *Mary* forgive Sins, then is our Faith in Chriſt in vain.

51. *Have Mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of Mercy, and in the Bowels of thy great Compaſſion cleanſe me from mine Iniquities.*

71. *In thee, Lady, have I put my Truſt: Let me not be confounded for ever, in thy Mercy deliver me,* &c.

God's Honour derogated.

89. *Thou that ruleſt* Iſrael, *&c. The Saviour of Life cometh from her, and all Health floweth out of her Heart,* &c.

91. *Whoſo dwelleth in the Help of the Mother of God, ſhall dwell in the Shadow of her Protection,* &c. *Cry unto her in your Dangers, and the Scourge ſhall not come near your Tabernacle. The Fruit of Grace ſhall be to him whoſo truſteth in her, and the Gate of Paradiſe ſhall be open unto him.*

95. *Come let us rejoioe to our Lady,* &c. *Receive our Souls at our laſt End, and bring them into everlaſting Reſt,* &c.

105. *Praiſe our Lady, and call upon her Name,* &c. *Everlaſting Salvation is in thy Hand, O Lady,* &c.

The Devil and the Pope ſay ſo and not God.

110. *The Lord ſaid unto our Lady; Sit here my Mother on my Right Hand,* &c.

119. *The whole Earth is full of thy Mercies, and therefore I will ſearch out the Way of thy Juſtifications,* &c. *I will covet for ever to praiſe thee, O Lady, when thou ſhall teach me thy Juſtifications,* &c.

125. *They that put their Truſt in thee, O Mother of God, ſhall not be afraid of the Face of their Enemy,* &c.

128. *Bleſſed is every one that feareth our Lady, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her Will,* &c.

134. *Behold and bleſs now our Lady, all ye that put your Truſt in her holy Name.*

136. *At the Floods of* Babylon, &c. *There is no Propitiation to be found without her,* &c.

God's Office appointed to our Lady.

140. *Deliver me, O Lady, from all Evil, and from the infernal Enemy defend me,* &c.

145. *Our Eyes look up and truſt in thee. Do thou ſend us Meat and Food convenient,* &c. *My Tongue ſhall ſpeak thy Praiſe, and ſhall bleſs thee for ever.*

148. *Praiſe thou our Lady,* O Jeruſalem, *and glorify her alſo O thou* Sion: *For ſhe buildeth up thy Walls, and bleſſed thy Children. Her Grace maketh thee fat, and giveth Peace unto thy Coaſt,* &c.

I could recite alſo other Things of like Blaſ-

phemy, following immediately after this Pſalter of our Lady, in the ſeraphical Doctor aforeſaid, as theſe:

Horrible Blaſphemy.

Behold my Lady my Saviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, &c. *Becauſe thou art my Strength*, &c. *And art become my Salvation*, &c.

Rejoice, O all Mankind, becauſe the Lord thy God hath given unto thee ſuch a Mediatrix, &c.

The Scripture abuſed.

I will confeſs to thee, O Lady, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe Things from the Wiſe, and haſt revealed them to the little Ones.

O thou wicked and peeviſh Generation, acknowledge our Lady thy Saviour. Is not ſhe the Mother that hath poſſeſſed thee, and in Faith hath begotten thee?

O thou bleſſed, in thy Hands is laid up our Salvation, &c.

In thy Name let every Knee bend, in Heaven and Earth, and in Hell.

Like as an Infant cannot live without the Nurſe, ſo neither canſt thou have Salvation without our Lady.

Whoſo will be ſaved, before all Things he muſt needs hold this Belief of our Lady: Which Belief, unleſs every one ſhall hold perfect and found, he ſhall periſh without doubt for ever.

Moreover, after theſe ſo horrible Things and intolerable to be heard, conſequently in the next Tractation followeth the Roſary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the ſaid *Bonaventure*; wherein theſe Words are to be read as followeth: *O Mediatrix between God and Man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only ſhouldeſt conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good* Mary *our Mediatrix, Mother of Grace and Mother of Mercy*, &c. And moreover, within few Lines it followeth in theſe Words, *Therefore, O our Empreſs and Lady moſt bountiful, by the Authority of a Mother command, command (I ſay) thy well beloved Son, that he will ſtir up our Minds from the Love of worldly Things, to heavenly Deſires*, &c.

The Roſary or Garland of our Lady called, *Corona beatæ Mariæ.*

Item, *O the Advocate of the miſerable, the Eyes of thy Servants be directed to thee*, &c.

To theſe Premiſſes, I might alſo adjoin the horrible and moſt blaſphemous Words of the ſaid *Bonaventure* in the ſaid Book, Fol. 100. Pag. 2. Col. 1. which I beſeech thee to read and note. *What greater Goodneſs can be, than that Chriſt is content to be captive upon the Altar?*

Whereupon he ſpeaketh in the Perſon of *Jeremy*, ſaying, *Behold I am in your Hands, do with me as you ſee good*, &c. *Where note*, ſaith he, *that when any Duke or Prince is taken Priſoner for his Subjects, he is not let go, before he pay ſome great Ranſon. Even ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our Hands being our Priſoner and Captive, except he grant to us Remiſſion of our Sins and his heavenly Kingdom. The Prieſt therefore lifteth up the Body of Chriſt upon the Altar, as tho' he ſaid thus, Behold him whom the whole World is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our Captive, wherefore let us hold him faſt, and not let him go before we obtain of him our Requeſts*, &c.

NOTES.

The Church of *Rome* examined.

Is not here good catholick Stuff (chriſtian Reader) think you? Confer I beſeech you this Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach us that we are fully compleat in Chriſt, and I will refer me to no better Judge than to your own Conſcience. And now therefore, if any Man have been in doubt in Times paſt of the Doctrine and Proceeding of the Church of *Rome*, whether it be rightly charged with blind Errors, with Blaſphemy intolerable, and Idolatry abominable or not, here now he may be fully certified and reſolved. For where was ever Idolatry or Blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins and Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idol to be worſhipped as God, which is no God, what do we here but make an Idol of our Lady (as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſs Dignity, Glory, Authority, Reverence, and Service, than is the Lord God himſelf? And as he is called our Lord, ſo ſhe is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet ſhe is the Queen of Heaven. And tho' he have the Name of God, yet ſhe beareth ſo the Title of the Mother of God; that as Mothers have Authority over their Children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew herſelf to be his Mother, to cauſe him to grant our Petitions. Finally if he be our Patron, yet ſhe is our Patroneſs. The Commandment ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* And what Worſhip or Service can we give to God, more than we do aſcribe unto her? And what Benefit is to be aſked at the Hands of Chriſt our Saviour, which is not equally aſk'd of her? To ſave our Souls, to give us Peace, to grant Grace, to comfort the Deſperate, to looſe our Captivity, to releaſe our Sins, to deliver from the Fiend, to bring to Heaven, *&c.* To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we ſigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we truſt, and if we believe not alſo in our Lady, we be Hereticks *ipſo facto.* Anno 1555.

Our Lady made equal with God in the Church of *Rome.*

Furthermore, as Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour hath his Church and Congregation which profeſs his Name, of whom we are called Chriſtians; ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her Chappels, her Cloyſters, her Chapters, Fraternities, and Brotherhoods, which profeſſing her Name in like Sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or white Friers, beſides an innumerable Sort of other Patrons of Churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by himſelf, yet all theſe together be included under the general Devotion of our Lady their ſupreme Patroneſs and Governeſs.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Now to proceed further to the other Part of the Commandment, which ſaith, *Him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* What Service hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady alſo jointly with him hath the like? Her Maſs, her Mattins, her Even-ſong, her Roſaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Pſalter, her Holy-days likewiſe, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his Prayer called the Lord's-prayer, ſo hath ſhe her *Ave Mary*'s, yea ten *Ave*'s to one *Pater noſter*; yea, and read further in the ſaid *Bonaventure*, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to have her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*, and alſo her *Quicunque vult.*

If the Lord our God had not expreſſed unto us his own Will by plain Words, limiting unto us by expreſs Injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worſhip and ſerve him, and how to receive from him our Salvation; but had left us to the Imagination of our own Inventions, every Man to ſhift for himſelf after his own Policy, then peradventure this Way taken by the Pope's Church, to make Friends and Mediators between God and us, for Reconciliation, Remiſſion, and Salvation, might have ſome Rhime or Reaſon; but now God's Word doth bind us, doth preſcribe and limit us preciſely in every Point touching Salvation, what to believe, and what to do, ſhewing us plainly that we cannot be ſaved but by the Blood of his Son only, neither can be juſtified but by Faith only in the ſame

Anno 1555. Christ his Son: Wherefore not to believe that which he hath promised, is Infidelity, and to follow any other Belief than he hath set us, is plain Idolatry. Which two special Errors most commonly do follow the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church, as not only in this Primmer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their Proceedings, Teachings and Preachings, besides may well appear. For where the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our Faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our Salvation no where else, but only in the Merits of Jesus: The Institution of the Church of *Rome* neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth Infidelity) neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the Merits and Prayers of our Lady, St. *John Baptist*, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Nicholas*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and by the Worthiness of the material Cross, and such other unlawful Means, wherein standeth plain Idolatry. And yet such Books as these can be suffered among the Catholicks to be current, as good, wholesome and lawful Books, whereas the others, which lead us the true Way from Infidelity and blind Idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be suffered. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this Proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the Course of our History.

The Church of *Rome* charged with Infidelity and Idolatry.

The History of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne, *&c.*

MEntion was made before in the Story of *Thomas Haukes*, of six Prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to *Essex* the same Time as he went to Execution. Of which six Prisoners, three were sent to be burnt, the other three to recant, and to do penance: Of whom it followeth next to treat. The Names of which six were these, *Thomas Osmond*, Fuller; *W. Bamford*, alias *Butler*, Weaver; *Thomas Osborne*, Fuller; *Nicholas Chamberlain*, Weaver; *Thomas Brodehill*, Weaver; *Richard Webb*, Weaver; being all of the Town of *Coxhall*. All which Men, next after the Examinations of *Thomas Haukes* and *Thomas Wats*, were sent up to Bishop *Bonner* to be examined, by the Earl of *Oxford* and Sir *Philip Paris* Knight, a Letter also being sent with them, the Copy whereof here followeth.

The Earl of Oxford's *Letter to Bishop* Bonner.

AFTER our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertize the same, that the Constables of Coxhall *within your Dioceſs, have brought before us this Day six Persons dwelling in the Town of* Coxhall *aforesaid, whose Names do follow, to wit,* Nicholas Chamberlain, *Weaver*; John Wallet, *Fuller*, Thomas Brodehill, *Weaver*; Richard Webb, *Weaver*; Wiliiam Bamford *alias* Butler, *Weaver*; *and* Thomas Osborne, *Fuller*; *for that they at the Feast of* Easter *now last have not obeyed to the Order of the Holy catholick Church in receiving of the Sacraments, but obstinately refusing the same; besides of holding divers other Opinions contrary to the Faith of the said Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same Persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such Case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God. From* Hedingham, *the first of* May 1555.

Your Lordship's assuredly,

Oxford,

Philip Paris.

Then said Prisoners being sent up the First of *May*, were brought before the said Bishop the 17th of the said Month, to be examined upon divers and sundry Articles ministred and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer and to put their Hands to the same: The Copy of which their Articles and Answers, being all in one Form and Effect (if the Register say true) here followeth.

Osmond Chamberlain and their Fellows brought before Bishop *Bonner*.

The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, *and* Nicholas Chamberlain.

FIRST, That thou *Thomas Osmond* Fuller, wast and art of the Parish of *Coxhall*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the Earth one Catholick and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Christ, and all the necessary Articles and Sacraments of the same.

2. *Item*, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden under the Pain of the Damnation of thy Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the said Catholick and Universal Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the same in all necessary Points of the said Faith and Religion, without doubting or wavering in the said Faith and Religion, or in any Part thereof.

The Pope's Church falsly termed by the Name of the Universal Church.

3. *Item*, That thou hast not believed that the Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being true Members and Parts of the said Catholick and Universal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the Faith and Religion of Christ, and also is the very true Faith and Religion which all christian People ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that that Faith and Religion which the said Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian Person.

The Faith of the *Romish* Church not to be believed.

4. *Item*, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in Substance the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ under the Forms of Bread and Wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe, but contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said Sacrament of the Altar, under the said Forms of Bread and Wine, the very Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, but that there is only the Substance of material and common Bread and Wine, with the Forms therof, and that the said material and common Bread and Wine are only the Signs and Tokens of Christ's Body and Blood, and are by Faith to be received only for a Remembrance

Anno 1555. of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death, without any ſuch Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood at all.

This Article not ſo put down as they meant it.

5. *Item*, That thou haſt believed and taught and haſt openly ſpoke and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to brake it and diſtribute it among the People, remembring thereby the Paſſion and Death of Chriſt only.

6. *Item*, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, thought, and ſpoken, that the Maſs, now uſed in the Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no Goodneſs in it, ſaving the *Gloria in Excelſis*, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, and therefore thou haſt not, nor will not come and be preſent at Maſs, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, nor any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in the Realm of *England*, &c.

Againſt auricular Confeſſion and Church Service.

7. *Item*, That thou haſt in Times paſt believed, and yet doſt now believe, that auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made unto the Prieſt, but is a Thing ſuperfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other Perſon. And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and if it be otherwiſe, it is unlawful and naught.

8. *Item*, That thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an Heretick, and a Perſon culpable in the Premiſſes, waſt of late called and convented before the Earl of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Philip Paris*, and there was charged with the ſaid Hereſies, eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. And becauſe thou didſt maintain and ſtand to thy ſaid Hereſies, and wouldſt not come to the Church and be confeſſed, and receive the ſaid Sacrament as other chriſtian People did, but utterly didſt refuſe to do the ſame, that waſt by the ſaid Earl of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Philip Paris* ſent up by a Conſtable unto me Biſhop of *London*, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an Heretick and miſbelieving Perſon.

9. *Item*, That thou haſt known and believed, thou doſt know and believe, or at leaſt thou haſt credibly heard, reported, ſpoken, and ſaid, that all and all Manner of Perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any Thing concerning the Sacraments of the Church, or any the Articles of Faith, otherwiſe than is found already diſcuſſed and determined by our Mother the holy Church, or doth call into Doubt or Queſtion that Thing which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any ſlanderous or blaſphemous Words concerning the ſaid Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any Sect or Kind of Hereſy againſt the wholſome Doctrine of the Church, and do wittingly, or obſtinately defend the Sect or Kind of Hereſy, are by the Canons of the whole and univerſal catholick Church, and alſo by the eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Church of *England*, by their ſo doing, accurſed with that Curſe, which doth ſeparate them from the Entry into the Church, from the receiving of the Sacraments, and from the Company of faithful People, and are (in continuing in this ſaid Sect and Hereſy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for Hereticks, and to be delivered to the ſecular Power, and by the Laws temporal of this Realm of *England*, and the Cuſtom of the ſame, to be by the ſaid ſecular Power put to Death, and burnt for his ſaid Sect and Hereſy.

10. *Item*, That thou by reaſon of the Premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifeſt and open, wilful and obſtinate Heretick, for a wicked and curſed Perſon, and to be puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, according to the ſaid Canon Laws, Uſages, and Cuſtoms.

The Anſwers of Thomas Oſmond, W. Bamford, *and* Nicholas Chamberlain, *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

TO the Firſt they anſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in Earth one catholick and whole Church, and that the ſame Church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this Article.

The Church of *Rome* not to be believed.

To the Second they anſwer and believe the ſaid Article not to be true; for they ſay that they have and do believe that they are neceſſarily bounden, under Pain of Damnation of their Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the ſaid catholick Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary Points of the ſame Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in any Part thereof.

To the Third they anſwer, That the Church of *Rome*, and other Churches mentioned in this Article, be not true Members and Parts (as they be uſed in Faith and Religion) of the catholick Church of Chriſt, and that the Faith and Religion uſed in the ſaid Churches, is not agreeable with the Church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erroneous.

To the Fourth they anſwer and ſay, That howſoever the ſaid Churches of *Rome* and others of *Chriſtendom* have and do believe touching the Sacrament of the Altar, yet they do believe that in the Sacrament under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, but that there is only the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine, and that the ſame material Bread and Wine be only the Signs and Tokens of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and are to be received only for a Remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death, without any Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood at all.

To the fifth Article they anſwer, that the true receiving and eating of Chriſt's Body, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute, and eat material Bread, and thereby to remember the Paſſion and Death of Chriſt, and ſo receive by Faith (as they believe) Chriſt's Body and Blood, and not otherwiſe.

To the Sixth they anſwer, The ſame to be true in every Part thereof, except that over and beſides the *Gloria in Excelſis*, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, which they believe to be good, they believe the *Pater noſter* and Creed uſed in the Maſs, be alſo good.

Auricular Confeſſion not neceſſary.

To the Seventh they anſwer and confeſs, That auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the Prieſt; nevertheleſs they think that it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a Prieſt as is able to give good Counſel: And that for Counſel only, and not otherwiſe. And as concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, they anſwer the ſame to be vain and unprofitable. No Service in the Church

Anno 1555. ought to be ſaid, but only in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

To the Eighth, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true in every Part thereof, except they do not believe that they be Hereticks, or ſuſpected of Hereſy.

To the Ninth *Ofmond* and *Bamford* anſwered, that they referred themſelves to the ſaid Laws mentioned in that Article; but *Chamberlain* made no Anſwer at all to this Article.

To the Tenth, the ſaid *Ofmond* and *Bamford* anſwered and ſaid, that by reaſon of their Belief before by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken or adjudged for wilful and obſtinate Hereticks, nor to be puniſhed therefore, as is declared in that Article. The other anſwered nothing.

Remarks upon the aforeſaid Articles.

THeſe Articles, in the ſame Form and Manner of Words, are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the ſame Anſwers thereunto annexed. In which Articles thou may'ſt note, Reader, the crafty and ſubtle handling of theſe Lawyers and Regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame their Articles and Poſitions, that unleſs a Man do adviſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple Man to anſwer to them, but he ſhall be enſnared and entangled. So they paint their Church with ſuch a Viſage of Univerſal, Whole, Holy, Catholick, as who ſhould ſay, He that denieth *Rome*, denieth the holy Church of Chriſt here in Earth. Likewiſe in examining them, and eſpecially the ſimple Sort in the Matter of the Sacrament, to the material Bread in the Sacrament they put their Word [only] very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt Advantage, making the People believe that they take the holy Sacrament to be no better than only common Bread: When they do not ſo, but make a Difference between the ſame, both in the Uſe, Honour, and Name thereof.

The crafty and captious Dealing of the Papiſts in propounding their Articles.

Again, when the Examinates hold but only againſt the erroneous Points of *Romiſh* Religion, theſe Biſhops in their Interrogatories give out the Matter ſo generally, as tho' the ſaid Examinates in general ſpake againſt all the Articles of Faith taught in *Rome*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, &c.

Moreover, concerning *Latin* Service, in ſuch crafty Form of Words they propound their Article, that it might appear to the People theſe Men do deny any Service to be lawful in any Place, Country, or Language, but only in *Engliſh*.

And as theſe Articles are craftily, captiouſly and deceitfully in Form of Words deviſed by the Biſhops and their Notaries: So the Anſwers again to the ſame be no leſs ſubtilly framed, and after the moſt odious Manner put down in the Name of the Examinates, which being thus read unto them, without further Advice they were conſtrained upon a ſudden to ſubſcribe the ſame with their Hands. Whereby if any Word eſcaped their Hand, peradventure not conſiderately ſubſcribed; there the Papiſts take their Advantage againſt them, to defame them, and to bring them into Hatred with the People.

Theſe Articles thus propounded and anſwered, they were diſmiſſed till the Afternoon. At which Time they did again appear, and there were examined and perſuaded by fair and flattering Speeches, as well by the Biſhop as of others his Aſſiſtants. to recant and revoke their Opinions, who notwithſtanding remained conſtant and firm; and therefore, after the common Uſage of the eccleſiaſtical Laws, were ſent away again until the next Day, being *Saturday*, and the 18th of *May*. Then in the Forenoon the Biſhop uſing his accuſtomed Manner of Proceeding, which he had uſed before as well with them as with others, did likewiſe diſmiſs them, and at laſt in the Afternoon condemned them as Hereticks, and ſo delivered them to the Sheriffs, in whoſe Cuſtody they remained till they were delivered to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, and by him were executed, *Chamberlain* at *Colcheſter*, the 14th of *June*; *Thomas Ofmond* at *Mauingtree*, the 15th of *June*; and *William Bamford*, alias *Butler*, at *Harwich*, the ſame 15th of *June*.

Sentence againſt *Ofmond*, *Chamberlain*, and *Bamford*.

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The Life and Acts of the worthy Martyr Mr. John Bradford.

MR. *John Bradford* was born at *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire*; his Parents brought him up in Learning from his Infancy, until he attained ſuch Knowledge in the *Latin* Tongue, and Skill in Writing, that he was able to gain his own Living in ſome honeſt Condition. Then he became Servant to Sir *John Harrington*, Knight, who in the great Affairs of King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was Treaſurer of the King's Camps and Buildings, at divers Times in *Bullonois*, had ſuch Experience of Mr. *Bradford*'s Activity in Writing, his Expertneſs in the Art of Auditors, as alſo of his faithful Truſtineſs, that not only in thoſe Affairs, but in many others of his private Buſineſs he truſted Mr. *Bradford* before others.

The truſty Service of Mr. *John Bradford* under Sir *John Harrington*.

Mr. *Bradford* continued for ſeveral Years in an honeſt and thriving Way, after the Courſe of this World, if his Mind could have ſo liked, or had been given to the World as many others be. But the Lord which had elected him unto a better Function, and pre-ordained him to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, called this his choſen Servant to the underſtanding and partaking of the ſame Goſpel of Life. In which Call he was ſo truly taught, that forthwith his effectual Call was perceived by the Fruits. For then he forſook his worldly Affairs and Forwardneſs in worldly Wealth, and, after the juſt Account given to his Maſter for all his Doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous Favour to further the Kingdom of God by the Miniſtry of his holy Word, he gave himſelf wholly to the Study of the holy Scriptures. And the better to accompliſh his Deſign, he departed from the Temple at *London*, and went to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to learn by God's Law how to further the Building of the Lord's Temple. In *Cambridge* his Diligence in Study, his profiting in Knowledge and pious Converſation ſo pleaſed all Men, that within a Year after he had been there, the Univerſity gave him the Degree of Maſter of Arts.

Mr. *Bradford* giveth himſelf to the Study of the Scriptures.

Immediately after, the Maſter and Fellows of *Pembroke-hall* gave him a Fellowſhip in their College with them; yea, that good Man *Martin Bucer*, ſo liked him, that he had him not only moſt dear unto him, but alſo oftentimes exhorted him to beſtow his Talent in Preaching. To which Mr. *Bradford* always anſwered, that he

He is made Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of *Pembroke-hall*.

was unable to ſerve in that Office through Want of Learning. To which *Bucer* was wont to reply, ſaying, If thou have not fine manchet Bread, yet give the poor People Barley Bread, or whatſoever elſe the Lord hath committed unto thee. And while Mr. *Bradford* was thus perſuaded to enter into the Miniſtry, Dr. *Ridley*, that worthy Biſhop of *London*, and glorious Martyr of Chriſt, according to the Order that then was in the Church of *England*, called him to take the Degree of a Deacon. Which Order, becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch Abuſe, as to which Mr. *Bradford* would not conſent, and the Biſhop perceiving that he was willing to enter into the Miniſtry, was content to order him Deacon without any Abuſe, even as he deſired. This being done, he obtained for him a Licenſe to preach, and gave him a Prebend in his cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s.

Mr. *John Bradford* made Deacon by Biſhop *Ridley*.

John Bradford made Prebendary in *St. Paul*'s and licenſed to preach.

In this preaching Office Mr. *Bradford* diligently laboured for the Space of three Years. Sharply he opened and reproved Sin, ſweetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithily he diſproved Hereſies and Errors, and earneſty he perſuaded to godly Life. After the Death of bleſſed King *Edward* the Sixth, when Queen *Mary* had gotten the Crown, Mr. *Bradford* ſtill continued diligent in preaching, till he was unjuſtly deprived both of his Office and Liberty by the Queen and her Council. To the Doing whereof, becauſe they had no juſt Cauſe, they took Occaſion to do this Injury for ſuch an Act, as among *Turks* and Infidels would have been rewarded with Thankfulneſs, and with great Favour accepted, as indeed it did no leſs deſerve.

Mr. *Bradford* unjuſtly deprived of his Living and Preaching.

The Fact was this: The 13th of *Auguſt*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, Mr. *Bourne*, then Biſhop of *Bath*, made a ſeditious Sermon at *Paul's-Croſs* in *London*, as partly is declared before, to ſet Popery abroad in ſuch Sort, that it moved the People to great Indignation, being almoſt ready to pull him out of the Pulpit. Neither could the Reverence of the Place, or the Preſence of Biſhop *Bonner*, who then was his Maſter, nor yet the Command of the Mayor of *London*, whom the People ought to have obeyed, ſtay their Rage: But the more they ſpake, the more the People were incenſed. At length Mr. *Bourne* ſeeing the People in ſuch a Mood, and himſelf in ſuch Peril (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn Dagger at him as he ſtood in the Pulpit) and that he was hindred from ending his Sermon, he deſired Mr. *Bradford*, who ſtood in the Pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to ſtand in his Place and ſpeak to the People. Good *Bradford* at his Requeſt was content, and there ſpake to the People of godly and quiet Obedience. Whom as ſoon as the People ſaw to begin to ſpeak unto them, ſo glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great Shout; *Bradford*, *Bradford*, God ſave thy Life *Bradford*: Well declaring not only what Affection they bare unto him, but alſo what Regard they gave unto his Words. For after he had entred a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to Quiet and Patience, the Tumult ſoon ceaſed, and in the End each Man departed quietly to his Houſe. Yet in the mean Seaſon (for it was a long Time before ſo great a Multitude could all depart) Mr. *Bourne* thought, and truly, himſelf not yet full ſure of his Life till he were ſafely houſed, notwithſtanding that the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* were there at hand to help him: Wherefore he deſired Mr. *Bradford* not to depart from him till he were in Safety: Which Mr. *Bradford* according to his Promiſe performed. For while the Mayor and Sheriffs did lead Mr. *Bourne* to the School-maſter's Houſe, which is next to the Pulpit, Mr. *Bradford* went at his Back, ſhadowing him from the People with his Gown, and ſo ſet him ſafe.

Mr. *Bradford* appeaſeth the Rage of the People and guardeth the popiſh Preacher.

Mr. *Bradford* procureth Mr. *Bourne*'s Safety.

Anno 1555.

Let the Reader now conſider the Peril of Mr. *Bourne*, the Charity of Mr. *Bradford*, and the Headineſs of the Multitude, and alſo the grudging Minds of ſome, who yet ſtill there remained behind, greatly grieved in their Minds, to ſee that ſo good a Man ſhould ſave the Life of ſuch a popiſh Prieſt, ſo impudently and openly railing againſt King *Edward*. Among whom one Gentleman ſaid theſe Words: *Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaveſt him that will burn thee. I give thee his Life: If it were not for thee, I would, I aſſure thee, run him through with my Sword.* Thus *Bourne* for that Time, through *Bradford*'s Means, eſcaped bodily Death: But God hath his Judgment to be ſhewed in the Time appointed.

The ſame *Sunday* in the Afternoon Mr. *Bradford* preached at *Bow* Church in *Cheapſide*, and reproved the People ſharply for their ſeditious Miſdemeanour. After this he abode ſtill in *London* with an innocent Conſcience, to try what would come of his juſt Doing.

Mr. *Bradford* reproveth the People for the Tumult at *Paul's-Croſs*.

Within three Days after he was ſent for to the *Tower* of *London*, where the Queen then was, to appear before the Council. There was he charged with this Act of ſaving of *Bourne*, which Act they there called ſeditious, and alſo objected againſt him for preaching, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then unto other Priſons, out of which neither his Innocency, Piety, nor charitable Dealing could purchaſe to him Liberty of Body, till by Death (which he ſuffered for Chriſt's Cauſe) he obtained the heavenly Liberty, of which neither Pope nor Papiſt ſhall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the *King's-Bench* in *Southwark*; and after his Condemnation, he was ſent to the Compter in the *Poultry* in *London*: In which two Places, for the Time he did remain Priſoner, he preached twice a Day continually, unleſs Sickneſs hindred him; where alſo the Sacrament was often adminiſtred; and through his Means (the Keepers ſo well did bear with him) ſuch Reſort of good Folks were daily at his Lecture, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, that commonly his Chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, Reading, and Praying, was all his whole Life. He did not eat above one Meal a Day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual Study was upon his Knees. In the Midſt of Dinner he uſed often to muſe with himſelf, having his Hat over his Eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of Tears. Very gentle he was to Man and Child, and in ſo good Credit with his Keeper, that at his Deſire in an Evening (being Priſoner in the *King's-Bench* in *Southwark*) he had Licence, upon his Promiſe to return again that Night, to go into *London* without any Keeper, to viſit one that was ſick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his Promiſe, but returned to his Priſon again, rather preventing his Hour, than breaking his Fidelity; ſo conſtant was he in Word and in Deed.

Mr. *Bradford* charged with Sedition for ſaving the Preacher.

Mr. *Bradford* preacheth and miniſtreth the Sacrament in Priſon.

Of Perſonage he was ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of Body, of a faint ſanguine Colour, with a dark brown Beard. He ſlept not commonly above four Hours in the Night; and in his Bed, till Sleep came, his Book went not out of his Hand. His chief Recreation was in no

The Deſcription of Mr. *Bradford*.

Anno 1555. Gaming or other Paſtime, but only in honeſt Company and comely Talk, wherein he would ſpend a little Time after Dinner at the Table, and ſo to Prayer and his Book again. He counted that Hour not well ſpent, wherein he did not ſome Good, either with his Pen, Study, or in exhorting of others, *&c.* He was no niggard in his Purſe, but would liberally participate that he had to his Fellow-Priſoners. And commonly once a Week he viſited the Thieves, Pick-purſes, and ſuch others that were with him in Priſon where he lay on the other Side, unto whom he would give pious Exhortation, to learn the Amendment of their Lives by their Trouble, and after that ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome Portion of Money to their Comfort.

The Meeting and Conference between Mr. *Saunders* and Mr. *Bradford.*

By the Way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the *King's-Bench*, and Mr. *Saunders* in the *Marſhalſea* both Priſoners, on the Backſide of thoſe two Priſons they met many Times, and conferred together when they would; ſo mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midſt of their Trouble: And the ſaid *Bradford* was ſo truſted by his Keeper, and had ſuch Liberty in the Backſide, that there was no Day, but that he might have eaſily eſcaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another Work to do for him. In the Summer Time, while he was in the ſaid *King's-Bench*, he had Liberty of his Keeper to ride into *Oxfordſhire*, to a Merchant's Houſe of his Acquaintance, and Horſe and all Things prepared for him for that Journey, and the Party in Readineſs that ſhould ride with him; but God prevented him by Sickneſs that he went not at all.

One of his old Friends and Acquaintance came unto him whilſt he was Priſoner, and aſked him, if he ſued to get him out, what then he would do, or whether he would go? Unto whom he made Anſwer, as not caring whether he went out or no; but if he did, he ſaid he would marry, and abide ſtill in *England* ſecretly, teaching the People as the Time would ſuffer him, and occupy himſelf that way. He was had in ſo great Reverence and Admiration with all good Men, that a Multitude, which never knew him but by Fame, greatly lamented his Death: Yea, and a Number alſo of the Papiſts themſelves wiſhed heartily his Life.

The Night before he was had to *Newgate*, which was the *Saturday* Night, he was ſore troubled divers Times in his ſleep by Dreams, how the Chain for his burning was brought to the *Compter* Gate, and how the next Day being *Sunday* he ſhould be had to *Newgate*, and on the *Monday* after burned in *Smithfield*, as indeed came to paſs accordingly, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewed. Now he being vexed oftentimes in this ſort with theſe Dreams, about three of the Clock in the Clock in the Morning he awaked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet ſleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then after a little Talk, Mr. *Bradford* roſe out of the Bed, and gave himſelf to his old Exerciſe of Reading and Prayer, as always he had uſed before: And at Dinner according to his accuſtomed Manner he did eat his Meat, and was very merry, no Body being with him from Morning till Night but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that Day Communication of Death, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of the Ripeneſs of Sin in that Time.

In the Afternoon they two walking together in the Keeper's Chamber, ſuddenly the Keeper's Wife came up, as one half amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt out of Breath, ſaid, Oh Mr. *Bradford*, I come to bring you heavy News. What is that, *ſaid he?* Marry, quoth ſhe, to Morrow you muſt be burned; and your Chain is now a buying, and you muſt ſoon go to *Newgate*. With that Mr. *Bradford* put off his Cap, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, ſaid, I thank God for it; I have looked for the ſame a long Time, and therefore it cometh not now to me ſuddenly, but as a Thing waited for every every Day and Hour, the Lord make me worthy thereof. And ſo thanking her for her Gentleneſs, departed up into his Chamber, and called his Friend with him, who when he came thither, he went ſecretly himſelf alone a long Time, and prayed; which done, he came again to him that was in his Chamber, and took divers Writings and Papers, and ſhewed him his Mind in thoſe Things what he would have done, and after they had thus ſpent the Afternoon, at Night half a Dozen of his Friends came to him, with whom he ſpent all the Evening in Prayer and other good Exerciſes.

Mr. *Bradford* hath Notice of his burning.

A little before he went out of the *Compter*, he made a notable Prayer of his Farewel, with ſuch plenty of Tears, and abundant Spirit of Prayer, that it raviſhed the Minds of the Hearers. Alſo when he ſhifted himſelf with a clean Shirt that was made for his burning (by Mr. *Waltar Marlar*'s Wife, who was a good Nurſe to him, and his very good Friend) he made ſuch a Prayer of the Wedding-garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent were in ſuch great Admiration, that their Eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their Ears gave place to hear his Prayer. At his departing out of his Chamber, he made likewiſe a Prayer, and gave Money to every Servant and Officer in the Houſe, with Exhortation to them to fear and ſerve God, continually labouring to eſchew all manner of Evil. Then being beneath in the Court, all the Priſoners cried out to him and bid him farewel, as the reſt of the Houſe had done before with weeping Tears.

The Priſoners take their Leave of Mr. *Bradford* with Tears.

The Time they carried him to *Newgate* was about 11 or 12 a Clock in the Night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring Abroad; and yet contrary to their Expectation, there was in *Cheapſide* and other Places (between the *Compter* and *Newgate*) a great Multitude of People that came to ſee him, who moſt gently bad him farewel, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitiful Tears; and he again as gently bade them farewel, praying moſt heartily for them and their Welfare. Now whether it were a Command from the Queen and her Council, or from *Bonner* and his Adherents, or whether it were merrily deviſed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*, or no, I cannot tell; but a great Noiſe there was over Night about the City by ſeveral, that Mr. *Bradford* ſhould be burnt the next Day in *Smithfield*, by Four of the Clock in the Morning, before it ſhould be greatly known to any. In which Rumour many Heads had divers Minds; ſome thinking the Fear of the People to be the Cauſe thereof: Others thought, that it was becauſe the Papiſts judged his Death would convert many to the Truth, and give a great Overthrow to their Kingdom. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome another, that no juſt Conjecture of the Cauſe could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the People prevented the Device ſuſpected; for the next Day, at the ſaid Hour of Four a Clock in the Morning, there was in *Smithfield* ſuch a Multitude of Men and Women, that many being in Admiration thereat, thought it

He is carried to *Newgate.*

was

was not poſſible that they could have Notice of his Death, being ſo great a Number in ſuch ſhort Time, unleſs it were by the ſingular Providence of Almighty God.

Mr. *Bradford* going to *Smithfield.*

Well, this took not Effect as the People thought, for it was nine a Clock in the Morning before Mr. *Bradford* was brought, into *Smithfield*; who in going through *Newgate* thitherward, eſpied a Friend of his whom he loved, ſtanding on one ſide the Way, unto whom he reached his Hand over the People, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his Head his Velvet Night-cap, and alſo his Handkerchief, with other Things. And after a little private Talk with him, they parted, when immediately came to him a Brother-in-law of his, called *Roger Beſwick*, who as ſoon as he had taken the ſaid Mr. *Bradford* by the Hand, one of the Sheriffs of *London*, Mr. *Woodroſe*, came with his Staff and brake the ſaid *Roger Beſwick*'s Head, that the Blood ran about his Shoulders. Which Sight Mr. *Bradford* beholding with Grief, bade his Brother farewel, deſiring him to commend him to his Mother, and the reſt of his Friends, and ſpeedily to go to ſome Surgeon; ſo they parting, had little or no talk together. Then was he led forth to *Smithfield*, with a great Company of armed Men to guard him thither, as the like was not ſeen at any Man's burning: For in every Corner of *Smithfield* there were ſome, beſides thoſe that ſtood about the Stake. Mr. *Bradford* being come to the Place, fell flat to the Ground, ſecretly making his Prayers to Almighty God. Then riſing again, and putting off his Cloaths unto his Shirt, he went to the Stake, and there ſuffered with a young Man of twenty Years of Age, joyfully and conſtantly, whoſe Name was *John Leaf*. Concerning the Manner and Order of whoſe burning, more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter. In the mean Time we will ſhew forth the ſundry Examinations, Conflicts, and Conferences between him and his Adverſaries during the Time of his Impriſonment, which was in all two Years lacking one Month and a Half. Which Examinations here follow.

Mr. *Woodroſe* breaketh the Head of Mr. *Bradford*'s Brother-in-law.

Mr. *Bradford* almoſt two Years in Priſon.

It was a little above declared, that *John Bradford*, within three Days after the Sermon of Mr. *Bourne*, was by Order of the Council committed to the *Tower*, where he remained from the Month of *Auguſt* 1553, to the 22d of *January* 1555. upon which Day he was called out to Examination before *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other Commiſſioners. The Effect of which Examination and Communication which paſſed between him and them, proceeded in Manner as followeth.

Talk between Mr. *Bradford* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Aftar the Lord Chancellor, and the reſt of the Queen's Council in Commiſſion with him, had ended their Talk with Mr. *Farrar* late Biſhop of St. *David*'s, the Under-marſhal of the King's-Bench was commanded to bring in *John Bradford:* Who being come into the Preſence of the Council ſitting at a Table, kneeled down on his Knee, but the Lord Chancellor immediately commanded him to ſtand up, and ſo he did.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Words to Mr. *Bradford.*

When he was riſen, the Lord Chancellor ſpake thus to him in effect; That he had been a long Time juſtly impriſoned for his ſeditious Behaviour at *Paul's-croſs*, the 13th of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1553. for his falſe Preaching and Arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without Authority. But now, quoth he. the Time of Mercy is come, and therefore the Queen's Highneſs, minding to offer unto you Mercy, hath by us ſent for you, to declare and give the ſame, if ſo be ye will with us return: And if you will do as we have done, you ſhall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the Sum of his Words, and in Manner the ſame Words which he ſpake.

Mr. *Bradford*'s Anſwer.

To theſe Words *John Bradford* ſpake (after reverent Obeiſance made) in this Manner: My Lord and Lords all, I confeſs that I have been long impriſoned, and (with humble Reverence be it ſpoken) unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in Word or Fact, by Preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought Truth, Peace, and all godly Quietneſs, as an obedient and faithful Subject both in going about to ſave the Biſhop of *Bath* now, then Mr. *Bourne*, the Preacher at the Croſs, and in preaching for Quietneſs accordingly.

At theſe Words, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, the ſaid Lord Chancellor ſomething ſnuffed, and ſpake with an Admiration, that there was a loud Lye: For, *ſaid he*, the Fact was ſeditious, as you my Lord of *London* can bear Witneſs.

Bonner witneſſeth with *Wincheſter* againſt *Bradford.*

Bonner. You ſay true my Lord; I ſaw him with mine own Eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the People impudently, thereby declaring that he was the Author of the Sedition.

Brad. My Lords, notwithſtanding my Lord Biſhops's ſeeing and ſaying, yet the Truth I have told, as one Day my Lord God Almighty ſhall reveal to all the World, when we ſhall all come and appear before him: In the mean Seaſon, becauſe I cannot be believed by you, I muſt and am ready to ſuffer, as now your Sayings be, whatſoever God ſhall licenſe you to do unto me.

Lord Chan. I know thou haſt a glorious Tongue, and goodly Shews thou makeſt; but all is Lies thou ſpeakeſt. And again, I have not forgot how ſtubborn thou waſt when thou waſt before us in the Tower*, whereupon thou waſt committed to Priſon concerning Religion: I have not forgotten thy Behaviour and Talk, for which Cauſe thou haſt been kept in Priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of.

* This Conference of Mr. *Bradford*'s in the Tower, came not to our Hands.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid I ſay again, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one Day we ſhall all ſtand before him: The Truth then will be the Truth, tho' now ye will not ſo take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare ſay, that my Lord of *Bath*, Mr. *Bourne*, will witneſs with me, that I ſought his Safeguard with the Peril of mine own Life, I thank God therefore.

Bonner. That is not true: For I myſelf did ſee thee take upon thee too much.

Brad. No, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Mr. *Bourne* himſelf, as, if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he would affirm. For he deſired me both to help him, to pacify the People, and alſo not to leave him till he was in Safety. And as for my Behaviour in the *Tower*, and Talk before your Honours, if I did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, if your Lordſhips would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould and would ſhortly make you anſwer.

Lord Chan. Well, to leave this Matter: How ſay'ſt thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou ſhalt receive the Queen's Mercy and Pardon?

Brad. My Lord, I deſire Mercy with God's Mercy, but Mercy with God's Wrath, God keep me from: Altho' (I thank God therefore) my Conſcience doth not accuſe, that I did ſpeak any Thing why I ſhould need to receive the Queen's Mercy or Pardon. For all that ever

Anno 1555. I did or ſpake, was both agreeable to God's Laws, and the Laws of the Realm at that preſent, and did make much to Quietneſs.

Lord Chan. Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent Tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive Mercy offered to thee, know for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a * Purgation of all ſuch as thou art.

* That is the worſt you and your Pope can do, and the beſt Argument you have.

Brad. The Lord before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have ſought, and ſeek in this Behalf: His Mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queen's Favour, to live as a Subject without a Clog of Conſcience. But otherwiſe the Lord's Mercy is better to me than Life. And I know to whom I have committed my Life, even into his Hands which will keep it, ſo that no Man may take it away before it be his Pleaſure. There are twelve Hours in the Day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no Man have Power thereon. Therefore his good Will be done; Life in his Diſpleaſure is worſe than Death, and Death with his true Favour, is true Life.

The Lord's Mercy is better than Life to Mr. *Bradford.*

Lord Chan. I know well enough, that we ſhall have glorious Talk enough of thee: Be ſure, that as thou haſt deceived the People with falſe and deviliſh Doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive.

Brad. I have not deceived the People, nor taught any other Doctrine, than by God's Grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirm with my Life. And as for the Devilliſhneſs and Falſeneſs in the Doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it.

Durham. Why, tell me, what ſay you by the Miniſtration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Brad. My Lord, here I muſt deſire of your Lordſhip and of all your Honours a Queſtion, before I dare make you an Anſwer to any Interrogatory or Queſtion, wherewith you now begin. I have been ſix times ſworn that I ſhall in no Caſe conſent to the practiſing of any Juriſdiction, or any Authority on the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Behalf within this Realm of *England*. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honours to tell me whether you aſk me this Queſtion by his Authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may anſwer you any thing in his Authority, which you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid.

Mr. *Bradford* ſix times ſworn againſt the Pope.

Secretary Bourne. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix Times? what Office haſt thou born?

Brad. Forſooth I was thrice ſworn in *Cambridge*, when I was admitted Maſter of Arts, when I was admitted Fellow of *Pembroke-hall*, and when I was there, the Viſitors came thither, and ſware the Univerſity. Again, I was ſworn when I entred into the Miniſtry, when I had a Prebend given me, and when I was ſworn to ſerve the King a little before his Death.

Lord Chan. Tuſh, *Herod*'s Oaths a Man ſhould make no Conſcience at.

Brad. But my Lord, theſe were no *Herod*'s Oaths, no unlawful Oaths, but Oaths according to God's Word, as you yourſelf have well affirmed in your Book *De vera Obedientia*.

Mr. *Roch.* My Lords (ſaid another of the Council that ſtood by the Table, Mr. *Rocheſter* I think) I never knew wherefore this Man was in Priſon before now: But I ſee well that it had not been good that this Man had been Abroad: What the Cauſe was that he was put in Priſon, I know not; but I now well know that not without a Cauſe he was, and is to be kept in Priſon.

Sec. Bourne. Yea, it was reported this Parliament Time by the Earl of *Derby*, that he hath done more Hurt by Letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him in Religion, than ever he did when he was Abroad by preaching. In his Letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe Doctrine (for ſo he calleth that which is not according to that he taught) and moſt heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which Words ſeveral of the Council affirmed. Whereunto the ſaid Mr. *Bourne* added, ſaying, How ſay you Sir, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written and exhorted the People?

The Earl of *Derby*'s complaint againſt Mr. *Bradford.*

This Letter was written to his Mother, Brethren, and Siſters, and followeth hereafter.

Brad. I have not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any ſeditious Thought, nor I truſt ever ſhall do.

Mr. *Bradford* falſly charged with Sedition.

Sec. Bourne. Yea, thou haſt written Letters.

Lord Chan. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſaith?

Brad. That I have written, I have written.

Southwell. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborn Boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallying behaveth himſelf before the Queen's Council? Whereat one looked upon another with diſdainful Countenances.

Brad. My Lords and Maſters, the Lord God which is, and will be Judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I ſtand now before his Majeſty; ſo with Reverence in his Sight I ſtand before you, and unto you accordingly in Words and Geſture I deſire to behave myſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his Time will reveal it: In the mean Seaſon, I ſhall ſuffer with all due Obedience your Sayings and Doings too, I hope.

Lord Chan. Theſe be gay and glorious Words of Reverence, but as in all other Things, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothing but lye.

All is Lies that pleaſeth not *Winchester.*

Brad. Well, I would God the Author of Truth, and Abhorrer of Lyes, would pull my Tongue out of my Head before you all, and ſhew a terrible Judgment on me here preſent, if I have purpoſed, or do purpoſe to lye before you, whatſoever you ſhall aſk me.

Lord Chan. Why then doeſt thou not anſwer? Haſt thou written ſuch Letters as here is objected againſt thee?

Brad. As I ſaid, my Lord, that I have written, I have written, I ſtand now before you, which either can lay my Letters to my Charge, or no: If you lay any Thing to my Charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a Liar.

Lord Chan. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now: Be ſhort, be ſhort, wilt thou have Mercy?

Brad. I pray God give me his Mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuſe it, but otherwiſe I will have none.

Here now was much ado, one ſpeaking this, and another that of his Arrogancy, in refuſing the Queen's Pardon, which ſhe ſo lovingly did offer unto him: Whereto Mr. *Bradford* anſwered thus:

My Lords, if I may live as a quiet Subject without Clog of Conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your Pardon; if otherwiſe I behave myſelf, then I am in Danger of the Law: In the mean Seaſon I aſk no more than the Benefit of a Subject till I be convinced of Tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good Will be done.

Upon theſe Words my Lord Chancellor began a long Proceſs of the falſe Doctrine wherewith the People were deceived in the Days of

King *Edward*, and ſo turned the End of his Talk to *Bradford*, ſaying: How ſay'ſt thou?

Brad. My Lord, the Doctrine taught in King *Edward*'s Days was God's pure Religion: Which as I then believed, ſo do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's Grace even as he will, to the World, than I was when I firſt came into Priſon.

Durham. What Religion mean you in King *Edward*'s Days? What Year of his Reign?

Brad. Forſooth even the ſame Year my Lord, that the King died, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary *Bourne* I know not what.

Now after a little pauſing, my Lord Chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the Doctrine taught in King *Edward*'s Days was Hereſy, uſing for Probation and Demonſtration thereof no Scripture nor Reaſon, but this; that it ended with Treaſon and Rebellion, ſo that, ſaid he, the very End were enough to prove that Doctrine to be naught.

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter in God's Sanctuary, and mark the End of this preſent Doctrine that you now ſo magnify.

Lord Chan. What meaneſt thou by that? I am of Opinion we ſhall have a Snatch of Rebellion even now.

Brad. My Lord, I mean no ſuch End as you would gather: I mean an End which no Man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into God's Sanctuary. If a Man look on preſent Things he will ſoon deceive himſelf.

The Queen's Mercy again offered to Mr. *Bradford.*

Here my Lord Chancellor again offer'd Mercy, and *Bradford* anſwered as before: Mercy with God's Mercy ſhould be welcome, but otherwiſe he would have none. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor rang a little Bell, belike to call in ſome Body: For there were few preſent beſides thoſe beforenamed, and the Biſhop of *Worceſter*. Now when one was come in; it is beſt, ſaid Mr. Secretary *Bourne*, that you give the Keeper a Charge of this Fellow. So the under Marſhal was called in.

Lord Chan. Ye ſhall take this Man to you, and keep him cloſe without Conference with any Man, but by your Knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any Letters, *&c.* for he is of another Manner of Charge to you now than he was before. And ſo they departed, *Bradford* looking as cheerfully as any Man could do, declaring thereby even a Deſire to give his Life for the Confirmation of his Faith and Doctrine.

The ſecond Examination of John Bradford *in* St. Mary Overies *Church, before the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops*, January 29, 1555.

AFTER the Excommunication of *John Rogers*, *John Bradford* was called in; and ſtanding before the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops ſet with him, the ſaid Lord Chancellor ſpake thus in Effect.

Lord Chan. Whereas before the 22d of *January* the ſaid *Bradford* was called before them, ſaid he, and they offered unto him the Queen's Pardon, although he had contemned the ſame; and further ſaid, that he would ſtiffly and ſtoutly maintain and defend the erroneous Doctrine taught in the Days of King *Edward* VI. yet in conſideration that the Queen's Highneſs was wonderful merciful, they thought good to offer the ſame Mercy again, before it was too late: Threfore adviſe you well, ſaid he, there is yet Space and Grace before we ſo proceed, that you be committed to the ſecular Power, as we muſt and will do, if you will not follow the Example of Mr. *Barlow* and Mr. *Cardmaker*, whom he there commended, adding many Arguments to move the ſaid *Bradford* to yield to the Religion then ſet forth. Anno 1555.

After the Lord Chancellor's long Talk, Mr. *Bradford* began to ſpeak on this Sort: My Lord and my Lords all, as now I ſtand in your Sight before you, ſo I humbly beſeech your Honours to conſider, that you ſit in the Seat of the Lord, who (as *David* doth witneſs) is in the Congregation of Judges, and ſitteth in the Midſt of them judging: And as you would have your Place to be by us taken as God's Place, ſo demonſtrate yourſelves to follow him in your Sitting, that is, ſeek no guiltleſs Blood, nor hunt not by Queſtions to bring into the Snare them which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you guilty or guiltleſs, then proceed and give Sentence accordingly: If guiltleſs, then give me the Benefit of a Subject, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the Lord Chancellor replied, and ſaid, that the ſaid *Bradford* began with a true Sentence, *Deus ſtetit in Synagoga*, &c. But, ſaid he, this and all thy Geſture declareth but Hypocrify and Vain-glory. And further he endeavoured to clear himſelf, that he ſought not guiltleſs Blood, and ſo began a long Proceſs how that *Bradford*'s Fact at *Paul's-Croſs* was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the People, which could not but turn to much Diſquietneſs, in that thou (ſpeaking to *Bradford*) was ſo refractory and ſtout in Religion at that preſent. For which, as thou wert then committed to Priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt been kept in Priſon, where thou haſt written Letters to the great Hurt of the Queen's Subjects, as was credibly declared by the Earl of *Derby* in the Parliament-Houſe. And to this he added, that the ſaid *Bradford* did ſtubbornly behave himſelf the laſt Time he was before them: And therefore not for any other Thing now I demand of thee, ſaid he, but of and for thy Doctrine and Religion.

The Witneſs of the Earl of *Derby* laid againſt Mr. *Bradford.*

Brad. My Lord, where you accuſe me of Hypocriſy and Vain-glory, I muſt and will leave it to the Lord's Declaration, who will one Day open yours and my Truth and hearty Meanings: In the mean Seaſon, I will content myſelf with the Teſtimony of mine own Conſcience, which if it yield to Hypocriſy, could not but have God to be my Foe alſo; and ſo both God and Man were againſt me. And as for my Fact at *Paul's-Croſs*, and Behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my Comfort. For if ever I did any Thing which God uſed to publick Benefit, I think that my Deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long Time in Priſon. And as for Letters and Religion, I anſwer as I did the laſt Time I was before you.

Mr. *Bradford* defendeth his Fact at *Paul's-Croſs.*

Lord Chan. There didſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and ſaucily, that thou wouldſt manly maintain the erroneous Doctrine in King *Edward*'s Days.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt Time I was before you, that I had ſix Times taken an Oath, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any Juriſdiction on the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Behalf, and therefore durſt I not anſwer to any Thing that ſhould be ſo demanded, leſt I ſhould be forſworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſaving mine Oath, I ſaid that I was more confirmed in

Anno 1555. the Doctrine ſet forth publickly in the Days of King *Edward*, than ever I was before I was put in Priſon: And ſo I thought I ſhould be, and think yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to give my Life as God will, for the Confirmation of the ſame.

Biſhop *Gardiner* maketh but a ſmall Matter of an Oath.

Lord Chan. I remember well that thou madeſt much ado about needleſs Matter, as though the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was ſo great a Matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in ſuch Sort as thou haſt done: For thou pretendeſt a Conſcience in it, which is nothing elſe but mere Hypocriſy.

Brad. My Conſcience is known to the Lord: And whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therefore then my Lord, ſo I ſay again now: That for fear leſt I ſhould be perjured, I dare not make Anſwer to any Thing you ſhall demand of me, if my Anſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any Juriſdiction for the Biſhop of *Rome* here in *England*.

Lord Chan. Why didſt thou begin to tell that we are Gods, and ſit in God's Place, and now wilt thou not make us an Anſwer?

Mr. *Bradford* ſtandeth ſtill to his Oath.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid, you would have your Place taken of us now as God's Place: And therefore I brought forth that Piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to follow God and his Ways at this preſent, who ſeeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of Conſcience I pretend this Matter of the Oath, or not.

Lord Chan. No, all Men may well ſee thine Hypocriſy: For if for thine Oaths Sake thou didſt not anſwer, then wouldeſt thou not have ſpoke as thou didſt, and have anſwered me at the firſt: But now Men well perceive, that this is but a Starting-hole to hide thyſelf in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwer, and ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple People's Eyes, as though of Conſcience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt was not a Replication or an Anſwer to that you ſpake to me; and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine Oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did ſpeak, than you did: But when I perceived you did not conſider it, but came to aſk Matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Juriſdiction on the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Behalf here in *England*, and ſo be forſworn; then of Conſcience and Simplicity I ſpake as I do yet again ſpeak, that I dare not for Conſcience Sake anſwer you. And therefore I ſeek no Starting-holes, nor go about to blind the People, as God knoweth. For if you of your Honours ſhall tell me, that you do not aſk me any Thing, whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Juriſdiction, aſk me wherein you will, and you ſhall hear that I will anſwer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of Death, I thank God; for I look, and have looked for nothing elſe at your Hands a long Time: But I am afraid, when Death cometh, I ſhould have Matter to trouble my Conſcience by the Guiltineſs of Perjury, and therefore do I anſwer as I do.

The Cauſe why Mr. *Bradford* anſwereth not to the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

Lord Chan. Theſe be gay glorious Words, full of Hypocriſy and Vain-glory, and yet doſt thou not know that I ſit here as Biſhop of *Winchester* in mine own Dioceſs, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

Brad. My Lord, give me leave to aſk you this Queſtion, that my Conſcience may be out of Doubt in this Matter. Tell me here before God, all this Audience being Witneſs, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to and confirm the Practice of Juriſdiction for the Biſhop of *Rome* here in *England*, and yet your Honour ſhall hear me give you as flat and as plain Anſwers briefly, to whatſoever you ſhall demand me, as ever any did.

Mr. *Bradford* ready to anſwer under Proteſtation.

Here the Lord Chancellor was greatly offended, and ſpake much how the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority needed no Confirmation of *Bradford*'s anſwering, nor no ſuch as he was; and turned his Diſcourſe to the People, how that *Bradford* followed crafty covetous Merchants, which becauſe they would lend no Money to their Neighbours when they were in need, would ſay that they had often ſworn, that they would never lend any more Money, becauſe their Debtors had ſo often deceived them. Even ſo thou, ſaid he to *Bradford*, doſt at this preſent, to caſt a Miſt in the Peoples Eyes, to blear them with an Hereſy, (which is greater and more hurtful to the Commonwealth than the other is) pretend thine Oath, whereby the People might make a Conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again, I dare not anſwer you for fear of Perjury, from which God defend me, or elſe I could tell you that there is a Difference between Oaths. Some be according to Faith and Charity, as the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*; ſome be againſt Faith and Charity; as this, to deny by Oath my Help to my Brother in his Need.

Difference of Oaths, ſome with Faith and Charity, ſome againſt it.

Here my Lord Chancellor again was much offended, ſtill ſaying that *Bradford* durſt not anſwer, and further endeavoured to prove, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt Charity.

But *Bradford* anſwered, that howſoever his Honour took him, yet he was aſſured of his Meaning, that no Fear but the Fear of Perjury made him unwilling to anſwer: For as for Death, my Lord, ſaid he, as I know there are twelve Hours in the Day, ſo with the Lord my Time is appointed. And when it ſhall be his good Time, then I ſhall depart hence: But in the mean Seaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the People had ſworn my Death. Into his Hands have I committed it, and do, his good Will be done. And ſaving mine Oath, I will anſwer you in this Behalf, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was not, nor is againſt Charity.

Lord Chan. How prove you that?

Brad. Forſooth I prove it thus:

The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, is not againſt Charity.

Nothing is againſt Charity, which is with God's Word, and not againſt it.

The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority in *England*, is with God's Word, and is not againſt it.

Ergo, The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority in *England*, is not againſt Charity.

Lord Chan. Is it againſt God's Word, that a Man ſhould take a * King to be ſupream Head of the Church in this Realm?

* A King how he may be taken for ſupream Head of the Church in his own Dominion

Brad. No, ſaving ſtill mine Oath, it is not againſt God's Word, but with it, being taken in ſuch Senſe as it may well be taken; that is, attributing to the King's Power, the Sovereignty in all his Dominion.

Lord Chan. I pray you where find you that?

Brad. I find it in many Places, but eſpecially in the 13th of the *Romans*, where St. *Paul* writeth, *Every Soul to be ſubject to the higher Powers:* But what Power? *The Power verily which*

which beareth the Sword; which is not the ſpiritual, but the temporal Power. As *Chryſoſtom* full well noteth upon the ſame Place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (*Chryſoſtom* I mean) there plainly ſheweth that Biſhops, Prophets, and Apoſtles, are obedient to the temporal Magiſtrates.

Here the Lord Chancellor was angred yet more, and ſaid, how that *Bradford* went about to deny all Obedience to the Queen for his Oath: And ſo, ſaid he, this Man would make God's Word a Warrant of Diſobedience: For he will anſwer the Queen on this Sort, that when ſhe ſaith, Now ſwear to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or obey his Authority: No (will he ſay) for I ſhould be forſworn, and ſo he makes the Queen no Queen.

Refuſing the Pope's Obedience being ſworn againſt him is no denying of Obedience to the Queen.

Brad. No, I go not about to deny all Obedience to the Queen's Highneſs, but denying Obedience in this Part, if ſhe ſhould demand it. For I was ſworn to King *Edward*, not ſimply, that is, not only concerning his own Perſon, but alſo concerning his Succeſſors, and therefore in denying to the Queen's Requeſt herein, I deny not her Authority, nor become diſobedient.

The prepoſterous Judgment of *Wincheſter*, to care ſo little for an Oath to God, and ſo much for his Vow to the Pope.

Lord Chan. Yes that thou doſt; and ſo he began to tell a long Tale, how if a Man ſhould make an Oath to pay to me an hundred Pounds by ſuch a Day, and the Man to whom it was due ſhould forget the Debt, the Debtor ſhould ſay, No, you cannot do it; for I am forſworn then.

Here *Bradford* deſired my Lord Chancellor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondred his Honour would make ſolemn Oaths made to God Trifles in that Sort; and make ſo great a Matter concerning Vows (as they call it) made to the Biſhop for Marriage of Prieſts.

At theſe Words the Lord Chancellor was much offended, and ſaid, he did not trifle: But, quoth he, thou goeſt about to deny Obedience to the Queen, which now requireth Obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Brad. No my Lord, I do not deny Obedience to the Queen, if you would diſcern between Genus and Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this, *Ergo*, I may not obey in the other, is no good Reaſon. As if a Man let or ſell a Piece of his Inheritance, yet this notwithſtanding, all his Inheritance is not let or ſold: And ſo in this Caſe, all Obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny Obedience in this Branch.

Lord Chan. I will none of theſe Similitudes.

Brad. I would not uſe them, if that you went not about to perſuade the People, that I meant that which I never meant: For I myſelf not only mean Obedience, but will give Enſample of all moſt humble Obedience to the Queen's Highneſs, ſo long as ſhe requireth not Obedience againſt God.

Lord Chan. No, no, all Men may ſee your Meaning well enough. There is no Man, though he be ſworn to the King, that doth therefore break his Oath, if he afterwards be ſworn to the *French* King and to the Emperor.

Brad. It is true, my Lord, but the Caſes be not like. For here is an Exception; Thou ſhalt not ſwear to the Biſhop of *Rome* at any Time. If we in like Manner were ſworn; Thou ſhalt not ſerve the Emperor, &c. you ſee there were ſome Alteration and more Doubt. But I beſeech your Honour remember what ye yourſelf have written, anſwering the Objections hereagainſt in your Book, *De vera obedientia. Let God's Word, and the Reaſon thereof, bear the Bell away.*

Anno 1555.

Here the Lord Chancellor was greatly moved, and ſaid ſtill, how that *Bradford* had written ſeditious Letters, and perverted the People thereby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the erroneous Doctrine in King *Edward*'s Time, againſt all Men: And now, quoth he, he ſaith he dare not anſwer.

Biſhop of *Wincheſter* pretendeth as though Mr. *Bradford* for fear durſt not anſwer.

Brad. I have written no ſeditious Letters, I have not perverted the People: But that which I have written and ſpoken, that will I never deny, by God's Grace. And where your Lordſhip ſaith, that I dare not anſwer you: That all Men may know that I am not afraid, ſave mine Oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you Anſwer, by God's Grace, although I now ſee my Life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy Hands I commit it, come what will: Only ſanctify thy Name in me, as in an Inſtrument of thy Grace, *Amen*. Now ask what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afraid, by God's Grace, ſtatly to anſwer.

Mr. *Bradford* ready to tender a Reaſon of his Faith.

Lord Chan. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament? Do you not believe there Chriſt to be preſent concerning his natural Body?

Brad. My Lord, I do believe that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due Adminiſtration of the Sacrament. By this Word (corporally) I mean that Chriſt is there preſent corporally unto Faith.

Lord Chan. Unto Faith: We muſt have many more Words to make it plain.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: But firſt give me leave to ſpeak two Words.

Lord Chan. Speak on.

Brad. I have been now a Year and almoſt three Quarters in Priſon, and in all this Time you never queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might have ſpoken my Conſcience frankly without Peril; But now have you a Law to hang up and put to Death, if a Man anſwer freely, and not to your Appetite, and ſo now you come to demand this Queſtion. Ah my Lord, Chriſt uſed not this Way to bring Men to Faith. No more did the Prophets or Apoſtles. Remember what *Bernard* writeth to *Eugenius* the Pope; *I read, that the Apoſtles ſtood to be judged, but I read not, that they ſate to judge. This ſhall be, that was*, &c.

Note well the Pope's Way to bring Men to Faith.

The Pope's judging and condemning Men for their Faith, reproved by *Bernard*.

Here the Lord Chancellor was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſaid moſt gently that he uſed not this Means. It was not my Doing, ſaid he, although ſome there be that think this to be the beſt Way: For I, for my Part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes: Which Thing the Biſhop of *London* confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the Audience, that he had been too mild and too gentle.

At which Words *Bradford* ſpake thus: My Lord, I pray you ſtretch out your Gentleneſs, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

As ſoon as ever he had ſpoke thus; the Lord Chancellor belike thinking that *Bradford* would have had Mercy and Pardon, ſaid, that with all his Heart, not only he, bnt the Queen's Highneſs ſhould ſtretch out Mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad. Return, my Lord? God ſave me from that going back: I mean it not ſo, but I mean, that I was three Quarters of a Year in the Tower; you forbad me Paper, Pen, and

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and Ink, and never in all that Time, nor ſince did I feel any Gentleneſs from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, Extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in Priſon thus long, not for any Matter ye had, but for Matter ye would have; God's good Will be done.

Mr. Bradford impriſoned, not for Matter they had, but for Matter they would have againſt him.

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was Dinner time. And ſo he roſe up, leaving Mr. *Bradford* ſpeaking, ſaying, that in the Afternoon they would ſpeak more with him. And he was had into the Veſtry, and was there all that Day till Night, and then was carried to Priſon again.

In the mean Time, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, a Gentleman called Mr. *Thomas Huſſey* of *Lincolnſhire*, who was once an Officer in the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Houſe, came into the Veſtry to inquire for one *Stoning*, and when it was anſwered him by the Undermarſhal's Officers of the *King's-Bench*, that there was none ſuch, he entred into the Houſe, and took Acquaintance with *John Bradford*, ſaying, that he would commune and ſpeak with him the next Morning for old Acquaintance.

Thomas Huſſey cometh to Mr. *Bradford.*

The next Morning about Seven of the Clock, this Gentleman came into the Chamber wherein *John Bradford* did lye, and being with him, he began a long Oration, how that of Love and Acquaintance he came to him to ſpeak that which he would further utter. You did *(ſaid he)* ſo wonderfully behave yourſelf before the Lord Chancellor, and other Biſhops Yeſterday, that even the greateſt Enemies you have, did ſee that they have no Matter againſt you: And therefore I adviſe you (ſpeaking as tho' it came of his own good Will, without making any other Man privy, or any other procuring him, as he ſaid) this Day, for anon you ſhall be called before them again, to deſire a Time, and Men to confer withal, ſo ſhall all Men think a wonderful Wiſdom, Gravity, and Piety in you: And by this Means you ſhall eſcape preſent Danger, which elſe is nearer than you are aware of. To this *John Bradford* anſwered, I neither can nor will make ſuch Requeſt. For then ſhall I give Occaſion to the People and to all others to think that I doubt of the Doctrine which I confeſs, which Thing I do not, for thereof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I will give no ſuch Offence.

As they were thus talking, the Chamber Door was unlocked, and Dr. *Seton* came in, whom when Mr. *Bradford* ſaw, he ſpake thus in his Heart to God, What Sir, goeth the Matter thus? This Man told me, no Man knew of his coming: Lord give me Grace to remember thy Leſſon, "Beware of thoſe "Men, *&c.* Caſt not your Pearls before "Dogs:" for I ſee theſe Men be come to hunt for Matter, that the one may bear witneſs with the other.

Dr. *Seton* cometh to Mr. *Bradford.*

Dr. *Seton*, after ſome by-talk of Mr. *Bradford*'s Age, of his Country, and ſuch like, began a gay and long Diſcourſe of my Lord of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Latimer*, and Mr. *Ridley*, and how they at *Oxford* were not able to anſwer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of *Canterbury* deſired to confer with the Biſhop of *Durham* and others: All which Talk tended to this End, that *John Bradford* ſhould make the like Suit, being in nothing to be compared in Learning to my Lord of *Canterbury.*

To this *John Bradford* briefly anſwered as he did before to Mr. *Huſſey.*

With this Anſwer neither the Doctor nor Gentleman being contented, after many Perſuaſions, Mr. Doctor ſaid, I have heard much Talk of you, and even Yeſternight a Gentleman made Report of you at the Lord Chancellor's Table, that ye were able to perſuade as much as any that he knew. And I (tho' I never heard you preach, and to my Knowledge did never ſee you before Yeſterday) yet methought your Modeſty was ſuch, your Behaviour and Talk ſo without Malice and Impatience, that I would be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a Favour towards you: wherefore be not ſo obſtinate, but deſire Reſpite and ſome learned Man to confer withal, *&c.*

The flattering commendation of Dr. *Seton* to Mr. *Bradford.*

But *John Bradford* kept ſtill one Anſwer: I cannot, nor I will not ſo offend the People. I doubt not, but I am moſt certain of the Doctrine I have taught.

Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Mr. *Bradford* arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious.

But *Bradford* anſwered, Beware of judging, leſt you condemn yourſelf. But ſtill Dr. *Seton* urged him, ſhewing him how merciful my Lord Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Brad. I never ſaw any Juſtice, much leſs Love, I ſpeak for my Part, quoth *Bradford*, in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame uncharitably: And now my Lord hath no juſt Matter againſt me.

This Talk ſerved not the Doctor's Purpoſe: Wherefore he went from Matter to Matter, from this Point to that Point. *Bradford* ſtill gave him the hearing, and anſwered not: For he perceived that they both did come but to fiſh for ſome Things which might make a Shew that my Lord Chancellor had juſtly kept him in Priſon.

When all their Diſcourſe took no ſuch Effect as they expected, Mr. *Huſſey* asked Mr. *Bradford*, Will ye not admit Conference, if my Lord Chancellor ſhould offer it publickly?

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered, before the Law had been made, or if it were offered ſo that I might be at Liberty to confer, and as ſure as he with whom I ſhould confer, then it were ſomething: But elſe I ſee not to what other purpoſe Conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which at length will come, and the lingring may give more Offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord ſhall make ſuch an Offer of his own Motion, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever he ſhall appoint.

Mr. *Bradford* refuſeth to admit Conference but upon Conditions.

Mr. Doctor hearing this, called *Bradford* arrogant, proud, and whatſoever it pleaſed him.

Dr. *Seton* raileth againſt Mr. *Bradford.*

Then *Bradford* perceiving by them that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to give him Leave to talk with God, and to beg Wiſdom and Grace of him; for, *ſaid he*, otherwiſe I am helpleſs: And ſo they with much ado departed. Then Mr. *Bradford* went and made his Prayers to God, which the Lord of his Goodneſs did graciouſly accept in his Need, praiſed therefore be his Holy Name. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. *Bradford* was led to the aforeſaid Church, and there

tarried uncalled for till Eleven of the Clock, that is, till Mr. *Saunders* was excommunicated.

The laſt Examination of Mr. Bradford, *in the Church of St.* Mary Overies.

AFTER the Excommunication of *Laurence Saunders*, *John Bradford* was called in, and being brought in before the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops there ſitting, the Lord Chancellor began to ſpeak thus in Effect: That if *Bradford*, being now come before them, would anſwer with Modeſty and Humility, and conform himſelf to the catholick Church with them, he yet might find Mercy, becauſe they would be loath to uſe Extremity. Therefore he concluded with an Exhortation, that *Bradford* would recant his Doctrine.

After the Lord Chancellor had ended his long Oration, Mr. *Bradford* began to ſpeak thus: As Yeſterday I beſought your Honours to ſet in your Sight the Majeſty and Preſence of God to follow him, who ſeeketh not to ſubvert the Simple by ſubtle Queſtions: So I humbly beſeech every one of you to do this Day; for you know well enough, that guiltleſs Blood will cry for Vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that, which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: for our Nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as Yeſterday I pretended mine Oath aad Oaths againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any Juriſdiction for him, or on his Behalf in the Realm of *England*: So do I again at this Day, leſt I ſhould be perjured. And laſt of all, as Yeſterday the Anſwers I made, were by Proteſtation and ſaving mine Oath, ſo I would your Honours ſhould know that mine Anſwers ſhall be this Day: And this I do, that when Death ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the Guilt of Perjury.

Mr. *Bradford*'s Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

At which Wordsthe Lord Chancellor was wroth, and ſaid, that they had given him Reſpite to deliberate till this Day, whether he would recant his Errors of the Bleſſed Sacrament.

Brad. My Lord, you gave me no Time for any ſuch Deliberation, neither did I ſpeak any thing of the Sacrament which you do diſallow. For when I had declared a Preſence of Chriſt to be there to Faith, you went from that Matter, to clear yourſelf that you were not cruel, and ſo went to dinner.

Lord Chan. What? I perceive we muſt begin all again with thee. Did I not Yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a Conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was an unlawful Oath?

The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, whether it be lawful or unlawful.

Brad. No indeed my Lord: You ſaid ſo, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

Lord Chan. O Lord God, what a Fellow art thou! Thou wouldeſt go about to bring into the Peoples Heads, that we, all the Lords of the Parliament Houſe, the Knights and Burgeſſes, and all the whole Realm be perjured. O what an Heretick is this! here good People, you may ſee what a ſenſleſs Hetick this Fellow is. If I ſhould make an Oath I would never help my Brother, nor lend him Money in his Need; were this a good Anſwer to tell my Neighbour deſiring my Help, that I had made an Oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it? Anno 1555.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern betwixt Oaths that be againſt Charity and Faith, and Oaths that be according to Faith and Charity, as this is againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Here the Lord Chancellor made much ado, and a long Time was ſpent about Oaths, which were good and which were evil, he captiouſly asking often of *Bradford* a direct Anſwer concerning Oaths: Which *Bradford* would not give ſimply, but with a Diſtinction. Whereat the Chancellor was much offended: But *Bradford* ſtill kept him at the Bay, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, was a lawful Oath, uſing thereto the Lord Chancellor's own Book, *De vera Obedientia*, for Confirmation.

At length they came to this Iſſue, who ſhould be Judge of the Lawfulneſs of the Oath; and *Bradford* ſaid the Word of God, according to Chriſt's Word, *John* 12. My Word ſhall judge; and according to the Teſtimony of *Iſaiah* and *Micah*, That God's Word coming out of *Jeruſalem*, ſhall give Sentence among the *Gentiles*. By this Word, quoth *Bradford*, my Lord, I will prove the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful Oath. So that the Lord Chancellor left his hold, and as the other Day he pretended a Denial of the Queen's Authority and Obedience to her Highneſs, ſo did he now.

God's Word Judge only of Oaths, whether they be made lawfully againſt the Supremacy of the Pope or no

But *Bradford*, as the Day before, proved, that Obedience in this Point to the Queen's Highneſs, if ſhe ſhould demand an Oath to the Biſhop of *Rome*, being denied, was not a general Denial of her Authority, and of Obedience to her; no more, *ſaid he*, than the Sale, Gift, or Leaſe of a Piece of a Man's Inheritance, proveth it a Sale, Gift, or Leaſe of the whole Inheritance.

One ſpecial Cauſe of Obedience denied by Conſcience, maketh no general Denial of Obedience in Cauſes lawful.

And thus much ado was made about this Matter: The Lord Chancellor talking much, and uſing many Examples of Debt, of going out of Town to morrow by Oath, and yet tarrying till *Friday*, and ſuch like. Which trifling Talk *Bradford* did touch, ſaying, that it was a Wonder his Honour weighed Conſcience no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in Vows of Prieſts Marriages made to Biſhops, and be careleſs for ſolemn Oaths made to God and to Princes. *Summa*, this was the End. The Lord Chancellor ſaid, The Queen might diſpenſe with it, and did ſo to all the whole Realm. But *Bradford* ſaid, That the Queen's Highneſs could do no more but remit her Right; as for the Oath made to God, ſhe could never remit, foraſmuch as it was made unto God.

At which Words the Lord Chancellor chafed wonderfully, and ſaid, That in plain Senſe I ſlandered the Realm with Perjury; and therefore, quoth he to the People, you may ſee how this Fellow taketh upon him to have more Knowledge and Conſcience than all the wiſe Men of *England*, and yet he hath no Conſcience at all.

Brad. Well, my Lord, let all the Standers-by ſee who hath Conſcience: I have been a Year and a half in Priſon: Now before all this People declare wherefore I was impriſoned, or what Cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſaid the other Day in your own Houſe, my Lord of *London* witneſſing with you, that I took upon me to ſpeak to the People undeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I mean my Lord of *Bath*,

Mr. *Bradford* impriſoned without a Cauſe.

Anno 1555. *Bath*, who deſired me himſelf, for the Paſſion of Chriſt, I would ſpeak to the People. Upon whoſe Words I coming into the Pulpit, had like to have been ſlain with a Dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my Sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promiſed him, as long as I lived, I would take Hurt before him that Day, and ſo went out of the Pulpit and intreated with the People, and at length brought him myſelf into an Houſe.

Beſides this, in the Afternoon I preached at *Bow*-Chutch, and there going up into the Pulpit, one deſired me not to reprove the People; for, *ſaid he*, you will never come down alive, if you do it. And yet not notwithſtanding I did in that Sermon reprove their Fact, and called Sedition at leaſt twenty Times. For all which my Doing, I have received this Recompence, Impriſonment for a Year and a Half and more, and Death now, which you go about. Let all Men be Judge where Conſcience is.

They endeavoured to interrupt him while he was ſpeaking theſe Words, but Mr. *Bradford* ſtill ſpake on, and gave no place till he had made an end. And then the Lord Chancellor ſaid, That for all that fair Tale, his Fact at the Croſs was naught.

Brad. No, my Fact was good, as you your ſelf did bear me witneſs. For when I was at firſt before you in the Tower, you yourſelf did ſay, that my Fact was good, but, quoth you, thy Mind was Evil. Well, quoth I, then my Lord, in that you allow the Fact, and condemn my Mind; for ſo much as otherwiſe I cannot declare my Mind to Man but by ſaying and doing. God one Day, I truſt, will open it to my Comfort, what my Mind was, and yours is.

Here the Lord Chancellor was offended, and ſaid, that he never ſaid ſo. I quoth he, had not ſo little Wit, as not to diſcern betwixt Meaning and Doing: And ſo brought forth many Examples little to the Purpoſe, to prove that Men conſtrue Things by the Meaning of Men, and not by their Doings. But when this would not ſerve, then cometh he to another Matter, and ſaid, That *Bradford* was put in Priſon at firſt becauſe he would not yield, nor be conformable to the Queen's Religion.

Brad. Why my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reaſon with me in Religion, but ſaid a Time ſhould afterwards be found out, when I ſhould be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordſhip ſaith, that I was put in Priſon for Religion, in that my Religion was then authorized by publick Laws of the Realm, could Conſcience puniſh, or caſt me in Priſon therefore? Wherefore let all Men be Judges, in whom Conſcience is wanting.

Here came forth Mr. *Chamberlain* of *Woodſtock*, and told my Lord Chancellor, that *Bradford* had been a Serving-man, and was with Mr. *Harrington*.

Lord Chan. True, and did deceive his Maſter of ſeven-ſcore Pound, and becauſe of this, he went to be a Goſpeller and a Preacher, good People, and yet you ſee how he pretendeth Conſcience.

Brad. My Lord, I ſet my Foot by his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth and juſtly vouch to my Face, that ever I deceived my Maſter. And as you are chief Juſticer by Office in *England*, I deſire Juſtice upon them that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it.

Here my Lord Chancellor and Mr. *Chamberlain* were ſmitten Blank, and ſaid they heard it. But, quoth my Lord Chancellor, we have another Manner of Matter than this againſt you: For you are an Heretick.

Yea, quoth the Biſhop of *London*, he did write Letters to Mr. *Pendleton*, which knoweth his Hand as well as his own, your Honour did ſee the Letters. Bp. *Bonner* cometh in again with another untruth.

Brad. This is not true, I never did write to *Pendleton* ſince I came to Priſon, and therefore I am not juſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you indicted it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Then came in another, I believe they call him Mr. *Allen*, one of the Clerks of the Council, putting the Lord Chancellor in remembrance of Letters written into *Lancaſhire*.

Lord Chan. You ſay true: For we have his Hand to ſhew.

Brad. I deny that you have my Hand to ſhew of Letters ſent into *Lancaſhire*, otherwiſe than before you all I will ſtand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all anſwered, and then the Lord Chancellor began a new Matter. Sir, quoth he, in my Houſe the other Day you did moſt contemptuouſly contemn the Queen's Mercy, and further ſaid, that you would maintain the erroneous Doctrine in King *Edward*'s Days againſt all Men, and this you do moſt ſtoutly.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all Men ſee now you have had no Matter to impriſon me before that Day juſtly. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſly contemn the Queen's Mercy, but would have had it (though if Juſtice might take place, I need it not) ſo that I might have had it with God's Mercy, that is, without doing or ſaying any thing againſt God and his Truth. And as for Maintenance of Doctrine, becauſe I cannot tell how you will ſtretch this word Maintenance, I will repeat again that which I ſpake. I ſaid I was more confirmed in the Religion ſet forth in King *Edward*'s Days, than ever I was: And if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhould declare it by giving my Life for the Confirmation and Teſtification thereof. So I ſaid then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to maintain it, than pertaining to a private Perſon by Confeſſion, I thought not, nor think not.

Lord Chan. Well, Yeſterday thou didſt maintain falſe Hereſy concerning the Bleſſed Sacrament, and therefore we gave thee Reſpite till this Day to deliberate. Another untruth in the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the Sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproved it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

Lord Chan. Why? didſt thou not deny Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament? Bleſſed are ye when Men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all Manner of Evil againſt you falſly for my Sake. *Matth.* 5. 11.

Brad. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to Faith, whole Chriſt, Body and Blood was as preſent as the Bread and Wine to the due Receiver.

Lord Chan. Yea, but doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's Body naturally and really is there, under the Forms of Bread and Wine?

Brad. My Lord, I believe Chriſt is preſent there to the Faith of a due Receiver: As for Transubſtantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Here was *Bradford* called *Diabolus*, a Slanderer:

derer: for we ask no Queſtion, quoth my Lord Chancellor, of Tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſt's Preſence.

Brad. I deny not his Preſence to the Faith of the Receiver, but deny that he is included in the Bread, or that the Bread was tranſubſtantiate.

Worceſt. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Brad. Forſooth, though my Faith can tell how, yet my Tongue cannot expreſs it, nor you otherwiſe than by Faith hear it, or underſtand it.

Here was much ado, now one Doctor ſtanding up and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, and the Lord Chancellor talking much of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, but ſtill *Bradford* kept him at that Point, that Chriſt is preſent to Faith; and that there is no Tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the Bread: But all this would not ſerve them.

The Wicked receive not the Body of Chriſt. Receiving maketh not the Preſence of the Body but Grace.

Therefore another Biſhop asked this Queſtion, whether the wicked Man received Chriſt's very Body or no? And *Bradford* anſwered plainly, No. Whereat the Lord Chancellor made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except the evil Man received it. But *Bradford* put away all his Oration in few Words, that Grace was at that Time offered to his Lordſhip, although he received it not: So that, ſaid he, the Receiving maketh not the Preſence, as your Lordſhip would infer; but God's Grace, Truth, and Power is the Cauſe of the Preſence, which Grace the Wicked that lack Faith cannot receive. And here *Bradford* prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together; *Take, eat, this is my Body:* He ſaith not, See, peep, this is my Body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a Promiſe depending upon Condition, if we take and eat.

Here the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops made a great ado, that *Bradford* had found out a Toy that no Man elſe ever did, of the Condition, and the Lord Chancellor made many Words to the People thereabout.

But *Bradford* ſaid thus, My Lord, are not theſe Words, Take, eat, a Commandment? And are not theſe Words, This is my Body, a Promiſe? If you will challenge the Promiſe, and do not the Commandment, may you not deceive yourſelf?

Here the Lord Chancellor denied Chriſt to have commanded the Sacrament, and the Uſe of it.

Wincheſter denieth the Words. *Take, eat,* to be a Commandment

Brad. Why, my Lord, I pray you tell the People what Mood *Accipite*, *Manducate*, is; is it not plain to Children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying, commandeth?

At theſe Words the Lord Chancellor made a great Toying and Trifling at the Imperative Mood, and fell to parſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a Child, and ſo concluded that it was no Commandment, but ſuch a Phraſe as this, I pray you give me Drink, which, ſaid he, is no Commandment, I think.

But *Bradford* prayed him to leave Toying and Trifling, and ſaid thus; My Lord, if it be not a Commandment of Chriſt to take and eat the Sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of Neceſſity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary Commandment, once a Year for all that be of Diſcretion, to receive the Sacrament.

Here the Lord Chancellor called him again * *Diabolus* or Calumniator, and began out of theſe Words, *Let a Man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of the Bread* (yea Bread, quoth *Bradford*) *and drink of the Cup*, to prove that it was no Commandment to receive the Sacrament: For then (ſaid he) if it were a Commandment, it ſhould bind all Men, in all Places, and at all Times.

Anno 1555.

* *Diabolus* is as much as to ſay in *Greek*, a Slanderer, or a Caviller.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern between Commandments: Some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all Places, and all Perſons: Some be not ſo general, as this of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at *Jeruſalem*, of *Abraham* offering of *Iſaac*, &c.

Here my Lord Chancellor denied the Cup to be commanded by Chriſt: For then, ſaid he, we ſhould have eleven Commandments.

Brad. Indeed I believe you think as you ſpeak: For elſe you would not take the Cup from the People, in that Chriſt ſaith, *Drink ye all of it.* But how ſay you my Lords? Chriſt ſaith to you Biſhops eſpecially, *Go and preach the Goſpel: Feed Chriſt's Flock*, &c. Is this a Commandment, or no?

Here was my Lord Chancellor in a Chafe, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

Then the Biſhop of *Durham* asked *Bradford*, when Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament? whether before the Receiver receiv'd it, or no?

Mr. *Bradford* anſwered that the Queſtion was curious, and not neceſſary; and further ſaid, that as the Cup was the New Teſtament, ſo the Bread was Chriſt's Body to him that received it duly, but yet ſo that the Bread is Bread. For, ſaid he, in all the Scripture ye ſhall not find this Propoſition, There is no Bread. And ſo he brought forth *Chryſoſtom*, *Si in corpore eſſemus*, *Hom. in* 83. *Mat.* 34. *Summa.* Much ado was here, they called *Bradford* Heretick, and he deſiring them to proceed on in God's Name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

Lord Chan. This Fellow is now in another Hereſy of fatal Neceſſity, as though all Things were ſo tied together, that of mere Neceſſity all muſt come to paſs.

But Mr. *Bradford* deſired him to take Things as they are ſpoken, and not wreſt them to a contrary Sentence. Your Lordſhip, ſaid he, doth diſcern betwixt God and Man. Things are not by Fortune to God at any Time, though to Man they ſeem ſo ſometimes. I ſpeak but as the Apoſtles did, *Lord*, ſaith he, *ſee how* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with the Prelates, are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy Hand and Counſel hath before ordained for them to do.* Acts 4.

Wincheſter readeth the Sentence of Excommunication againſt Mr. *Bradford.*

Here the Lord Chancellor began to read the Excommunication. And in the Excommunication, when he came to the Name of *John Bradford*, Lay-man: Why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Brad. No, nor never was either Prieſt, either beneficed, either married, either any Preacher, before publick Authority had eſtabliſhed Religion, or Preacher after publick Authority had altered Religion, and yet I am thus handled at your Hand: But God, I doubt not, will give his Bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his Knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his Name Sake; and

* prayed

Anno 1555. prayed to God to give him Repentance and a good Mind. After the Excommunication was read, he was delivered to the Sheriff of *London*, and ſo had to the *Clink*, and afterwards to the Compter in the *Poultry*, in the City of *London*, this being purpoſed by his Murderers, that he ſhould be deliver'd from thence to the Earl of *Darby*, to be conveyed into *Lancaſhire*, and there to be burned in the Town of *Mancheſter*, where he was born: But their Purpoſe concerning the Place was afterward altered, for he ſuffered in *London*.

He is ſent to the Compter in the Poultry.

After the Condemnation of Mr. *Bradford*, which was the laſt Day of *January*, Mr. *Bradford* being ſent to Priſon, remained there till the Firſt of *July*, during which Time he ſuſtained divers other Conferences and Conflicts with ſundry Adverſaries, who repaired to him in the Priſon. Of whom firſt Biſhop *Bonner*, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. *Taylor*, the fouth Day of *Februvry*, began to diſcourſe with the ſaid Mr. *Bradford*; the Effect whereof here enſueth.

Bp. *Bonner* Diſcourſe with Mr. *Bradford.*

On the fourth of *February*, the ſame Day Mr. *Rogers* was burned, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* came to the Compter in the *Poultrey*, to degrade Dr. *Taylor*, about One of the Clock in the Afternoon. But before he ſpake to Dr. *Taylor*, he called for *John Bradford* who was Priſoner there, whom when he ſaw he put off his Cap, and gave him his Hand, ſaying, Becauſe I perceive ye are deſirous to confer with ſome learned Men, therefore I have brought Mr. Archdeacon *Harpsfield* to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe Man. But I pray go roundly to work, for the Time is but ſhort.

Brad. My Lord as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never deſired to confer with any Man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready.

Bonner. What! (ſaid the Biſhop in a Fume to the Keeper) did you not tell me that this Man deſired Conference?

Keeper. No, my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to confer with any; but I did not ſay that it was his Deſire.

Bonner. Well, Mr. *Bradford*, you are well beloved, I pray you conſider yourſelf, and refuſe not Charity when it is offered.

Brad. Indeed, my Lord, this is ſmall Charity, to condemn a Man as you have condemned me, who never brake your Laws. In *Turkey* a Man may have Charity, but in *England* I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my Faith as ſoon as I uttered it at your Requeſts, before I had committed any Thing againſt the Laws. And as for Conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to ſay that I deſire to confer, that do I not.

More Charity amongſt the *Turks* than amongſt the perſecuting Papiſts.

Bonner. Well, well. And ſo he called for Dr. *Taylor*, and *Bradford* went his Way.

Diſcourſe between Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Willerton.*

Upon another Day in *February*, Mr. *Willerton*, Chaplain to the Biſhop of *London*, came to confer with Mr. *Bradford*; but when he perceived that Mr. *Bradford* deſired not his Company, and therefore rather wiſhed for his departing than his Stay: Well, Mr. *Bradford*, ſaid he, I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which Words Mr. *Bradford* was content, and ſo they began to talk. *Willerton* ſpake much of the Doctors, of the Fathers, of the Bread in the Sixth of St. *John*, &c. labouring to prove Tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked Men do receive Chriſt.

But *Bradford* on the contrary improved his Authorities, ſo that they came to this Iſſue, that *Willerton* ſhould draw his Reaſons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, and *Bradford* would peruſe them; and if he could not anſwer them, then he would give place. Likewiſe alſo Mr. *Bradford* ſhould draw his Reaſons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, to which *Willerton* ſhould anſwer if he could: And ſo they departed for that Day.

Mr. *Willerton* ſendeth his Writing to Mr. *Bradford* to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

The next Morning Mr. *Willerton* ſent half a Sheet of Paper written on both Sides, containing no Reaſons how he gathered his Doctrine, but only bare Sentences; "The Bread which "I will give is my Fleſh:" And the Places in the 26th of *Matthew*, the 14th of *Mark*, the 22d of *Luke*, and the 10th and 11th to the *Corinthians*, with ſome Sentences of the Doctors, all which made as much againſt him as for him.

In the Afternoon he came himſelf, and there he had a long Talk to little Effect. At length *Willerton* began to talk of the Church, ſaying, that *Bradford* ſwerved from the Church.

Brad. No that I do not, but ye do. For the Church is Chriſt's Spouſe, and Chriſt's Obedient Spouſe, which your Church is not, which robbeth the People of the Lord's Cup, and of Service in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the Service in *Engliſh*; for it is written, "The "Lips of the Prieſt ſhould keep the Law, "and out of his Mouth Man muſt look for "Knowledge."

Brad. Should not the People then have the Scriptures? Wherefore ſerveth this Saying of Chriſt, "Search the Scriptures."

Willer. This was not ſpoke to the People, but to the Scribes and learned Men.

Brad. Then the People muſt not have the Scripture.

Willer. No, for it is written, "They ſhall "be all taught of God."

Brad. And muſt we learn all from the Prieſts?

Willer. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bring the People to hang up Chriſt, and let *Barabbas* go, as the Prieſts did then perſuade the People. At which Words Mr. *Willerton* was ſo offended, that he had no deſire to talk any more. In the End Mr. *Bradford* gave him the Reaſons which he had gathered againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and deſired him to frame his into the Form of Reaſons, and then quoth *Bradford*, I will anſwer them.

Mr. *Bradford*'s Reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantion not anſwered.

Willer. Well, I will do ſo. But firſt I will anſwer yours. Which he never performed.

On the 12th of *February* one of the Earl of *Derby*'s Servants came to Mr. *Bradford*, ſaying, My Lord hath ſent me to you, he deſireth you to tender yourſelf, and he will be a good Lord to you.

Brad. I thank his Lordſhip for his good Will towards me: But in this Caſe I cannot tender myſelf more than God's Honour will allow.

Servant. Ah Mr. *Bradford*, conſider your Mother, Siſters, and Friends, Kinsfolk, and Country, what a great Diſcomfort will it be unto them to ſee you die as an Heretick?

M. *Bradford* preferreth Chriſt before all his Kindred.

Brad. I have learned to forſake Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, Friends, and all that ever

ever I have, yea, even mine ownſelf, for elſe I cannot be Chriſt's Diſciple.

Serv. If my Lord ſhould obtain for you that ye might depart the Realm, would you not be content to be at the Queen's Appointment, where ſhe would appoint you beyond the Sea.

Brad.-No, I had rather be burned in *England*, than be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſend me to *Paris*, *Lovain*, or ſome ſuch Place, forthwith they would burn me.

Mr. *Creſwell's* Diſcourſe with Mr. *Bradford.*

Upon the Fourteenth of *February*, *Percival Creſwell*, an old Acquaintance of Mr. *Bradford's*, came to him, bringing with him a Kinſman of Mr. *Fecknam's*, who after many Words, ſaid;

Creſ. I pray you let me intercede for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Creſ. But tell me what Suit I ſhould make for you.

Brad. Forſooth what you pleaſe, do it not at my Requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your Hands. If the Queen will give me Life, I will thank her. If ſhe will baniſh me, I will thank her. If ſhe will burn me, I will thank her. If ſhe will condemn me to perpetual Impriſonment, I will thank her.

Hereupon *Creſwell* went away, and about Eleven of the Clock he and the other Man came again, and brought a Book wrote by one *More* deſiring Mr. *Bradford* to read it over.

Bradford taking the Book, ſaid, Good *Percival*, I am immovably ſettled in this Article.

Creſ. Oh, if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me.

Brad. What is that?

Creſ. Deſire and name what learned Man or Men ye will have to come unto you. My Lord of *York*, my Lord of *Lincoln*, my Lord of *Bath*, and others will gladly come unto you.

Brad. No, never will I deſire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my Doctrine as I am of any Thing. But for your Pleaſure, and alſo that all Men may know I am not aſhamed to have my Faith ſifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their Way.

Dr. *Harding* cometh to Mr. *Bradford.*

About Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Dr. *Harding*, who was then the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Chaplain, came to Mr. *Bradford*, and after a ſolemn Proteſtation, declaring that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his Talk to *Bradford's* Good, he began to tell the good Opinion he had of *Bradford*, and ſpent the Time in ſuch tatling, ſo that their Talk was to little Purpoſe; ſave that *Bradford* prayed him to conſider from whence he was fallen, and not follow the World, nor to love it: For the Love of God is not where the World is.

But *Harding* counted *Bradford* in a damnable State, as one being out of the Church, and therefore deſired him to take heed of his Soul, and not to die in ſuch an Opinion.

What? Mr. *Harding*, ſaid *Bradford*; I have heard you with theſe Ears maintain this what I now ſtand in.

Harding. I grant that I have taught that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtle Doctrine, but otherwiſe I never taught it. And ſo he inveighing againſt Marriages of Prieſts, and namely againſt *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Luther*, and ſuch, who for breaking their Vows were juſtly given up into Hereſies (as he ſaid). Mr. *Bradford* ſeeing him altogether given up to Popery, after admoniſhing him thereof, bad him farewel. Anno 1555.

Dr. *Harpsfield's* Diſcourſe with Mr. *Bradford.*

Upon the 25th of *February*, *Percival Creſwell* came with Mr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, and a Servant waiting upon him. After formal Salutations, he made a long Oration, of which this is a ſhort Sum; That all Men, even the *Infidels*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Libertines*, deſire Felicity as well as the Chriſtians, and that every one thinketh they ſhall attain to it by their Religion. To which *Bradford* anſwered briefly, that he ſpake not far amiſs.

Then ſaid *Harpsfield*, But the Way thither is not all alike: For the *Infidels* by *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c; the *Turk* by his *Alcoran*, the *Jew* by his *Talmud*, do believe to come to Heaven. For ſo may I ſpeak of ſuch as believe the Immortality of the Soul.

Brad. You ſpeak truly.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the Matter, to know the Way to this Heaven.

Brad. We are not to invent Ways. There is but one Way, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, as he himſelf doth witneſs; I am the Way. The true Way to Felicity.

Harpſ. What you ſay is true, and alſo falſe. I ſuppoſe what you mean by Chriſt, is believing in Chriſt.

Brad. I have learned to diſcern betwixt Faith and Chriſt. Albeit I confeſs, that whoſo believeth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.

Harpſ. No, not all that believe in Chriſt; for ſome ſhall ſay, "Lord, Lord, have we "not caſt out Devils? &c. But Chriſt will anſwer in the Day of Judgment to theſe, "De-"part from me, I know you not."

Brad. You muſt make a Difference betwixt believing, and ſaying I believe: As for Example, If one ſhould ſay and ſwear he loveth you, for all his ſaying and ſwearing ye will not believe him, when you ſee he goeth about to utter and do all the Evil againſt you that he can. Note the Difference between believing, and ſaying I believe.

Harpſ. Well, this is not much material. There is but one Way, Chriſt. How come we to know him? Where ſhall we ſeek to find him?

Brad. Forſooth, we muſt ſeek him by his Word, and in his Word, and after his Word.

Harpſ. Very good: But tell me now how firſt we came into the Company of them that could tell us this, but by Baptiſm.

Brad. Baptiſm is the Sacrament, by which outwardly we are ingrafted into Chriſt: I ſay, outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that die without Baptiſm. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some Infants die, whoſe Parents deſire Baptiſm for them, and cannot have it. Baptiſm an outward Seal, whereby we are known to be Chriſtians.

Harpſ. To theſe we may think perchance that God will ſhew Mercy.

Brad. Yea, the Children whoſe Parents do contemn Baptiſm will not I condemn, becauſe the Child ſhall not bear the Father's Offence.

Harpſ. Well, we agree, that by Baptiſm then we are brought, and (as a Man would ſay) begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our Father, and the Church his Spouſe is our Mother. As all Men naturally have *Adam* for their Father, and *Eve* for their Mother; ſo all ſpiritual Men have Chriſt for their Father, and the Chutch for their Mother: And as *Eve* was taken out of *Adam's* Side, ſo was the Church

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taken out of Christ's Side; whereout flowed Blood for the Satisfaction and Purgation of our Sins.

Brad. All this is trully spoken.

Harpf. Now then tell me whether this Church of Christ hath not been always?

Brad. Yea, since the Creation of Man, and shall be for ever.

Harpf. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church is a visible Church, or no?

Brad. It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on Eatth; that is, by no exterior Pomp or Shew that setteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we must put on such Eyes, as good Men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on Earth: For as *Eve* was of the same Substance that *Adam* was of, so was the Church of the same Substance that Christ of, "Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bones; as St. *Paul* saith, *Ephes.* 5. Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on Earth, that is, by considering him after the Word of God, so is the Church known.

Multitude is not always the surest Mark to know the Church.

Harpf. I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a Multitude?

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the Proverb is. For in your Question is a Subtilty. What visible Multitude was there in *Elijah*'s Time, or when *Moses* was on the Mount, *Aaron* and all *Israel* worshipping the Calf?

Dr. *Harpsfield* prevented of his Purpose.

Harpf. Ye divert from the Matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer Words might very well serve.

Harpf. Well, I perceive you have Knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet further, whether this Multitude have not the Ministry or Preaching of God's Word?

Preaching of the Gospel goeth ever with the Church, unless it be interrupted sometime by Persecution.

Brad. Sir, ye go about the Bush. If ye understand Preaching for the confessing of the Gospel, I will go with you: For else if you will, you may know that Persecution often hindereth Preaching.

Harpf. Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: Hath it not the Sacraments administred?

Brad. It hath the Sacraments, howbeit the Administration of them is often hindred. But I will put you from your Purpose, because I see where about you go. If Hereticks have Baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. *Cyprian*'s Time, you know this Baptism is Baptism, and not to be reiterated. This *Bradford* spake that the Standers by might observe, that though the Popish Church hath Baptism which we have received of them, yet notwithstanding it is not the true Church, neither need we be baptized again.

The Pope's Church hath Baptism and Sacraments administred: Ergo, The Pope's Church is the true Church.

Harpf. You go far from the Matter, and I perceive you have more Errors than one.

Brad. So you say, but that is not enough till you prove it.

Harpf. Well, this Church is a Multitude. Hath it not the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Administration of the Sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the Power of Jurisdiction?

Bradford. What Jurisdiction is exercised in Persecution and Affliction?

Harpf. I mean by Jurisdiction admonishing one another, and so forth.

Brad. Well, go to, what then?

Harpf. It hath also Succession of Bishops. And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential Point.

The Argument faileth, A *causa non sufficiente, vel non causa ut causa.* A Popish Distinction of the Church to be a Multitude, having Preaching of the Gospel, Ministration of the Sacrament, Power of Jurisdiction, and Succession of Bishops.

Brad. You say as you would have it; for if this Part fail you, all the Church that you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture, this your essential Part of Succession of Bishops. In Christ's Church Antichrist will sit. And *Peter* telleth us, as it went in the old Church before Christ's coming, so will it be in the new Church since Christ's coming: That is, as there were false Prophets, and such as bear rule were Adversaries to the true Prophets; so shall there be *(saith he)* false Teachers, even of such as are Bishops, and bear rule amongst the People.

Harpf. You go always out of the Matter: But I will prove further the Succession of Bishops.

Brad. Do so.

Harpf. Tell me, were not the Apostles Bishops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new Definition of a Bishop; that is, give him no certain Place.

Harpf. Indeed, the Apostles Office was not the Bishop's Office: For it was universal, but yet Christ instituted Bishops in his Church, as St. *Paul* saith, he hath given Pastors, Prophets, *&c.* So that I think it may be proved by the Scriptures that the Succession of Bishops is an essential Point.

The Ministry of God's Word and Ministers, be an essential Point of the true Church, but not the local Succession of Ministers in one certain Place.

Brad. The Ministry of God's Word and Ministers, be an essential Point. But to translate this to the Bishops and their Succession, is a plain Subtilty: And therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a Question. Tell me, whether the Scripture knew any difference between Bishops and Ministers, which ye call Priests?

Harpf. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the Succession of Bishops: That is, of Ministers which can be understood of such Bishops as Minister not, but Lord it.

Harpf. I perceive that you are far out of the Way. By your Doctrine you can never shew in your Church, a Multitude which ministreth God's Word and his Sacraments, which hath Jurisdiction and Succession of Bishops, which hath from Time to Time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our Doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a Shew to blear Peoples Eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true Trial.

Brad. Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and Examples of good Men.

Harpf. Yea.

Brad. Well then, *Stephen* was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false Doctrine, before the Fathers of the Church then as they were taken. *Stephen* for his Purgation improveth their Accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at *Abraham*, and continuing still till *Esaias*'s Time, and the People's Captivity. From whence he maketh a great Leap until the Time he was in, which was (I think) about 400 Years, and called them by their right Names, Hellhounds, rather than Heaven-hounds. In this

Manner

Manner will I prove my Faith, and that you can never do yours.

Harpſ. Yea Sir, if we knew that you had the Holy Ghoſt, then could we believe you. Here *Bradford* would have anſwered, that *Stephen*'s Enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was ſpeaking, Mr. *Harpſfield* roſe up, and the Keeper and others that ſtood by began to talk gently, praying *Bradford* to take heed to what Mr. Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſaid that *Bradford* was out of the Church.

Brad. Sir, I am moſt certain that I am in Chriſt's Church, and I can ſhew a Demonſtration of my Religion from time to time continually.

Bradford's Prayer. *God our Father, for the Name and Blood of his Chriſt be merciful unto us, and unto all his People, and deliver them from falſe Teachers, and blind Guides, thro' whom* (alas) *I fear, much Hurt will come to this Realm of* England. *God our Father bleſs us, and keep us in his Truth and poor Church for ever.* Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, ſaying, that he would come again the next Morning.

Dr. *Harpſfield* returneth again to Mr. *Bradford.* Upon the 16th of *February* in the Morning, the Archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few By-words ſpoken, they ſate down.

Mr. Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repeating what they had ſaid, and how far they had gone overnight, and therewith began to prove upwards Succeſſion of Biſhops here in *England* for 800 Years: In *France* at *Lyons* for 1200 Years: In *Spain* at *Hiſpalen* for 800 Years: In *Italy* at *Milan* for 1200 Years, labouring by this to prove his Church. He uſed all his Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more Confirmation of his Words, and ſo concluded with an Exhortation and an Interrogation: The Exhortation was, that *Bradford* would obey this Church; the Interrogation, whether *Bradford* could ſhew any ſuch Succeſſion, for the Demonſtration of his Church (for ſo he called it) which followed.

Unto this his long Oration, *Bradford* made this ſhort Anſwer; my Memory is Evil, ſo that I cannot particularly anſwer your Oration.

Therefore I will do it generally, becauſe your Oration is rather to perſwade than to prove, and therefore a ſmall Anſwer will ſerve. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles, being here on Earth, had been required by the Prelates of the Church then, to have made a Demonſtration of that Church by Succeſſion of ſuch high Prieſts as had approved the Doctrine which he taught, I think that Chriſt would have done as I do: That is, have alledged that which upholdeth the Church, even the Verity, the Word of God, taught and believed, not by the high Prieſts, which of long Time had perſecuted it, but by the Prophets and other good ſimple Men, which perchance were counted Hereticks of the Church: Which Church was not tied to Succeſſion, but to the Word of God. And thus to think St. *Peter* giveth me Occaſion, when he ſaith that as it went in the Church before Chriſt's Coming, ſo ſhall it go in the Church after his Coming: But then the Pillars of the Church were Perſecutors of the Church: Therefore the like we muſt look for now.

Harpſ. I can gather and prove Succeſſion in *Jeruſalem* of the High-prieſts from *Aaron*'s Time. Anno 1555.

Brad. I grant, but not ſuch Succeſſion as allowed the Truth.

Harpſ. Why, did they not allow *Moſes*'s Law.

Brad. Yes, and keep it, as touching the Books thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true Interpretation and Meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do, and therefore the Perſecution which they ſtirred up againſt the Prophets and Chriſt, was not for the Law, but for the Interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we muſt fetch the Interpretation of the Scriptures at your Hands. But to make an End, Death I look for daily, yea hourly, and I think my Time is but very ſhort; therefore I had need to ſpend as much Time with God as I can whilſt I have it, for his Help and Comfort, and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly and in more Words anſwer your long Talk. If I ſaw Death not ſo near me as it is, I would then weigh every Piece of your Oration, if you would give me the Sum of it, and I would anſwer accordingly: But becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at Hand, I ſhall deſire you to hold me excuſed, though I do as I do, and I heartily thank you for your gentle good Will: I ſhall heartily pray God our Father to give you the ſame Light and Life I do wiſh to myſelf. And ſo *Bradford* began to riſe up.

The Jews corrupt the Law, as the Papiſts do the Scriptures.

But then Mr. Archdeacon began to tell him he was in a very perillous Caſe, and that he was ſorry to ſee him ſo ſettled. As for Death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither matters it, ſo that you die well.

Brad. I doubt not in this Caſe but that I ſhall die well: For as I hope and am certain my Death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo I truſt I ſhall die chearfully to the Comfort of his Children.

Bold Confidence and Hope of God's Word and Promiſe, ſeemeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in Mortification.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you ſhould ſay the Sun doth not now ſhine? (The Sun ſhone through the Window where they ſate).

Harpſ. Well, I am ſorry to ſee you ſo ſecure and careleſs.

Brad. Indeed I am more carnally ſecure, and careleſs than I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this Caſe I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in the Truth.

Harpſ. That ye are not; for you are out of the catholick Church.

Brad. No, though you have excommunicated me out of your Church, yet I am in the catholick Church of Chriſt, and am, and by God's Grace ſhall be a Child, and an obedient Child of it for ever. I hope Chriſt will have no leſs Care for me, than he had for the blind Man excommunicated out of the Synagogue: And further, I am ſure that the neceſſary Articles of the Faith, I mean the twelve Articles of the Creed, I confeſs and believe with that which you call the holy Church, ſo that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the Teſtimony of my Lord of *Durham*, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred Year after Chriſt, to believe or not believe.

Harpſ. What is that?

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Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why: Ye are not condemned only for that.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked Men do receive Chriſt's Body.

Harpſ. You agree not with us in the Preſence, nor in any thing elſe.

Chriſt not included really in the Sacrament.

Brad. How you believe you know: For my Part I confeſs a Preſence of whole Chriſt, God and Man, to the Faith of the Receiver.

Harpſ. Nay, you muſt believe a real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Chriſt's Body preſent to the Faith of the Receiver.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tie him to it otherwiſe than Faith ſeeth and perceiveth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the Sacrament, or tie him to it otherwiſe than to the Faith of the Receiver, then the wicked Men ſhould receive him, which I do not believe, and by God's Grace never will.

Harpſ. More Pity: But a Man may eaſily perceive, you make no Preſence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.

Brad. I confeſs a Preſence, and a true Preſence but to the Faith of the Receiver.

What (quoth one that ſtood by) of Chriſt's very Body which died for us?

Brad. Yea, even of whole Chriſt, God and Man, to feed the Faith of him that receiveth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing elſe but to exclude the Omnipotency of God, and all Kind of Miracle in the Sacrament.

None denieth Omnipotency more than the Papiſts, which ſay, that Chriſt's Body cannot be in the Sacrament unleſs the Subſtance of Bread be away.

Brad. I do not exclude his Omnipotency, but you do it rather: For I believe that Chriſt can accompliſh his Promiſe, the Subſtance of Bread and Wine being there, as well as the Accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feed our Bodies, and therefore we have but a little Piece of Bread; but we come to feed our Souls with Chriſt by Faith, which the Wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *Panem Domini*, as *Judas* did, and not *Panem Dominum*, as the other Apoſtles did.

Argument. Whoſo receiveth the Body of Chriſt doth receive the Fruit and Grace of Life: No wicked Men do receive the Fruit and Grace of Life: Ergo, no wicked Men receive the Body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. The Wicked do receive the very Body of Chriſt, but not the Grace of his Body.

Brad. They receive not the Body. For Chriſt's Body is no dead Carcaſs: He that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without Grace.

Harpſ. Well, you have many Errors. You count the Maſs for Abomination, and yet St. *Ambroſe* ſaid Maſs, and ſo he read out of a written Book a Sentence of St. *Ambroſe* to prove it.

Brad. Why Sir? the Maſs as it is now, was nothing ſo in St. *Ambroſe*'s Time. Was not the moſt Part of the Canon made ſince by *Gregory* and *Scholaſticus?*

* That is falſe, for *Scholaſticus* was not before *Ambroſe*'s Time.

Harpſ. Indeed a great Piece of it was made (as ye ſay) by *Gregory:* But *Scholaſticus* was * before St. *Ambroſe*'s Time.

Brad. I think not: However I will not contend. St. *Gregory* ſaith, that the Apoſtles ſaid Maſs without the Canon, only with the Lord's Prayer.

Harpſ. You ſay true: For the Canon is not the greateſt Part of the Maſs, the greateſt Part is the Sacrifice, Elevation, Tranſubſtantiation, and Adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I think the ſame: But yet *Hoc facite*, telleth plainly the Sacrifice of the Church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the Sacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The Sacrifice of the Church is no propitiatory Sacrifice, but a gratulatory Sacrifice. And as for *Hoc facite*, is not referred to any ſacrificing, but to the whole Action of taking, eating, *&c.*

Note this Doctrine good Reader.

Harpſ. You ſpeak not learnedly now; For Chriſt made his Supper only to the twelve Apoſtles, not admitting his Mother or any of the ſeventy Diſciples to it. Now the Apoſtles do ſignify the Prieſts.

Brad. I think that you ſpeak as you would Men ſhould underſtand it: For elſe you would not keep the Cup away from the Laity. We have great Cauſe to thank you, that you will give us of your Bread. For I perceive you order the Matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Then *Harpsfield* would have proved Elevation by a Place of *Baſilius*.

Elevation was not brought in indeed before the Time of Pope *Honorius*.

Brad. I have read the Place, which ſeemeth to make nothing for Elevation: But be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan the doubtful Places of the Doctors with you. I have been in Priſon long without Books and all Neceſſaries for Study, and now Death draweth night, and by your Leave I muſt now leave off, to prepare for it.

Harpſ. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in Soul or Body. For you are in a perillous Caſe both ways.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good Will. My Caſe is as it is. I thank God it was never ſo well with me; for Death to me ſhall be Life.

Creſwell. It were beſt for you to deſire Mr. Archdeacon that he would make Sute for you, that you might have a Time to confer.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can: For I pity his Caſe.

Brad. Sir, I will not deſire any Body to ſue for Time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any Body ſhould think I were ſo. But if you have the Charity and Love you pretend towards me, and do think that I am in an Error, I think the ſame ſhould move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, ſo do I of you, that you are far out of the Way, and I do not only think it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in this and ſuch like gentle Talk they departed.

Diſcourſe between Dr. *Heath*, Dr. *Day*, and Mr. *Bradford*.

On the 23d of the ſame Month, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* came to the Compter to ſpeak with Mr. *Bradford*. When he was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *York*, uſed him very gently: they would have him to ſit down, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on, not only his Night-cap, but his upper Cap alſo, ſaying unto him, That Obedience was better than Sacrifice.

While they were thus ſtanding together, my Lord of *York* began to tell Mr. *Bradford* that they came to him out of pure Love and Charity, without being ſent: And himſelf, alſo for the Acquaintance which he had with *Bradford*, more than the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* had: And after commending *Bradford*'s godly Life, he concluded with this Queſtion, How he was certain of Salvation and of his Religion.

After thanks for their good Will, *Bradford* anſwered, By the Word of God, even by the

Scriptures I am certain of Salvation and Religion.

York. Very well ſaid; But how do ye know the Word of God and the Scriptures, but by the Church?

Brad. Indeed my Lord, the Church was and is a Means to bring a Man more ſpeedily to know the Scriptures and the Word of God, as the Woman of *Samaria* was the Means by which the *Samaritans* knew Chriſt: But when they had heard him ſpeak, they ſaid, Now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy Words, but becauſe we ourſelves have heard him; ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures ſhewed unto us, and diſcerned by the Church, we do believe them, and know them as Chriſt's Sheep, not becauſe the Church ſaith they are the Scriptures, but becauſe they be ſo, being aſſured thereof by the ſame Spirit which wrote and ſpake them.

York. You know in the Apoſtles Time at firſt the Word was not written.

The Authority of the Church alledged againſt Hereticks, and why.

Brad. True, if you mean it for ſome Books of the New Teſtament: But elſe for the Old Teſtament St. *Peter* telleth us, "We have a "more ſure Word of Prophecy:" Not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being alive and compaſſed with Infirmity, attributed to the Word written more Weight, as wherewith no Fault could be found, whereas for the Infirmity of their Perſons Men perchance might have found ſome Fault at their Preaching; albeit in very Deed no leſs Obedience and Faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one Spirit of Truth.

York. That Place of St. *Peter* is not ſo to be underſtood of the Word written.

Brad. Yea Sir, that it is, and of none other.

Chicheſter. Yea, indeed Mr. *Bradford* doth tell you truly in that Point.

York. Well, you know that *Irenæus* and others do magnify much, and alledge the Church againſt the Hereticks, and not the Scripture.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch Hereticks as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the Apoſtles, ſo that they were enforced to uſe the Authority of thoſe Churches wherein the Apoſtles had taught, and which had ſtill retained the ſame Doctrine.

Chich. You ſpeak the very Truth; for the Hereticks did refuſe all Scriptures, except it were a Piece of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledging of the Church cannot be principally uſed againſt me, which am ſo far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only Judge.

York. A pretty Matter, that you will take upon you to judge the Church, I pray you where hath your Church been hitherto? For the Church of Chriſt is catholick and viſible hitherto.

The Church is catholick and viſible, but yet ſometimes more catholick and viſible than at others.

Brad. My Lord, I do not judge the Church, when I diſcern it from that Congregation, and thoſe which be not the Church, and I never denied the Church to be catholick and viſible, although at ſometimes it is more viſible than at other Times.

Chich. I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your Doctrine, was theſe four hundred Years?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhall tell yourſelf, if you will tell me this one Thing, where the Church was in *Elijah*'s Time, when *Elijah* ſaid that he was left alone? Anno 1555.

Chich. That is no Anſwer.

Brad. I am ſorry that you ſay ſo: But this will I tell your Lordſhip, that if you had the ſame Eyes wherewith a Man might have eſpied the Church then, you would not ſay it were no Anſwer. The Fault why the Church is not ſeen by you, is not becauſe the Church is not viſible, but becauſe your Eyes are not clear enough to ſee it. The true Church is viſible and ever hath been, but every Man hath not Eyes to ſee it.

Chich. You are much deceived in making this Collation betwixt the Church then and now.

York. Very well ſpoken my Lord; for Chriſt ſaid, *I will build my Church*; and not I do, or have built it: But I will build it.

Brad. My Lords, St. *Peter* teacheth me to make this Collation, ſaying; as in the People *there were falſe Prophets, which were moſt in eſtimation before Chriſt's coming, ſo ſhall there be falſe Teachers amongſt the People after Chriſt's coming, and very many ſhall follow them.* And as for your future Tenſe, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Chriſt's Church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſt's Work only: For *Paul* and *Apollos* be but Waterers. The Biſhops driven to an inconvenience.

Chich. In good Faith I am ſorry to ſee you ſo light in judging the Church.

York. He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the Church, A Man ſhall never come to Certainty that doth as they do.

Brad. My Lords, I ſpeak ſimply what I think, and deſire Reaſon to anſwer my Objections. Your Affections and Sorrows cannot be my Rules. If you conſider the Order and Caſe of my Condemnation, I cannot think but that it ſhould ſomething move your Honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it) no Matter was laid againſt me, but what was gathered upon mine own Confeſſion. Becauſe I denyed Tranſubſtantiation, and the Wicked to receive Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not by the Church, although the Pillars of the Church (as they be taken) did it.

Chich. No; I heard ſay the Cauſe of your Impriſonment was, for that you exhorted the People to take the Sword in the one Hand, and the Mattock in the other.

Brad. My Lord, I never meant any ſuch thing, nor ſpake any thing in that Manner. Falſe Surmiſe againſt *Bradford.*

York. Yea, and you behaved yourſelf before the Council ſo ſtoutly at firſt, that you would defend the Religion then; and therefore worthily were you impriſoned.

Brad. Your Grace heard me anſwer my Lord Chancellor to that Point. But ſuppoſe I had been ſo ſtout as they and your Grace make it; were not the Laws of the Realm then on my Side? Wherefore unjuſtly was I impriſoned: Only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my Confeſſion of Chriſt's Truth againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the Wicked do receive, as I ſaid. The Preſence of Chriſt's Body to the Faith of the worthy Receiver.

York. You deny the Preſence.

Brad. I do not, to the Faith of the worthy Receivers.

York. Why? what is that to ſay other, than that Chriſt lieth not on the Altar?

Brad. My Lord, I believe no ſuch Preſence.

Chich. It ſeemeth that you have not read *Chryſoſtom:* For he proveth it.

Anno 1555.

Brad. Hitherto I have been kept well enough without Books: Howbeit this I do remember of *Chrysostom*, that he saith that Christ lieth upon the Altar, as the Seraphins with their Tongs touch our Lips with the Coals of the Altar in Heaven, which is an Hyperbolical Locution, of which you know *Chrysostom* is full.

York. It is evident that you are too far gone; but let us come then to the Church, out of which ye are excommunicate.

Mr. *Bradford* excommunicated with the poor blind Man.

Brad. I am not excommunicate out of Christ's Church, my Lord, altho' they which seem to be in the Church, and of the Church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind Man was, *John* 9. I am sure Christ receiveth me.

Here, after much Talk of Excommunication, at length Mr. *Bradford* said,

Assuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the *Romish* Church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the Mother Church, to be Christ's Church.

Chich. Ah Mr. *Bradford*, you were but a Child when this Matter began. I was a young Man, and then coming from the University, I went with the World, but I tell you it was always against my Conscience.

Brad. I was but a Child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done Evil. For ye are come, and have brought others to that wicked Man which sitteth in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church: For it cannot be understood of *Mahomet*, or any out of the Church, but of such as bear Rule in the Church.

York. See how you build your Faith upon such Places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though you were in the Church where you are not.

What Bishop *Tonstall* writeth of Transubstantiation.

Brad. Well, my Lord, though I might by Fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your Case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my Faith in the Sacrament, knowing as you know, that at least 800 Years after Christ, as my Lord of *Durham* writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe Transubstantiation.

Note how these Bishops themselves do grant, that the Time was when Transubstantiation was not defined by the Church, *Tonstall* saith that it was more then 800 Years after Christ.

York. This is a Toy that you have found out of your own Brain; as though a Man not believing as the Church doth, that is, Transubstantiation, were of the Church.

Chich. He is an Heretick, and so none of the Church, that doth hold any Doctrine against the Definition of the Church, as a Man to hold against Transubstantiation. *Cyprian* was no Heretick, though he believed re-baptizing of them who were baptized by Hereticks, because he held it before the Chruch had defined it, whereas if he had held it after, then had he been an Heretick.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemn to the Devil any Man that believeth truly the twelve Articles of the Faith (wherein I take the Unity of Christ's Church to consist) although in some Points he believe not the Definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the Articles of our Belief, though in other Things he dissent from your Definitions, yet he shall be saved.

York. Chich. Yea, said both the Bishops, this is your Divinity.

Brad. No, it is St. *Paul*'s; who saith, that if they hold the Foundation, Christ, though they build upon him Straw and Stubble, yet they shall be saved.

York. Lord God, how you delight to lean to so hard and dark Places of the Scriptures.

Chich. I will shew you that *Luther* did excommunicate *Zuinglius* for this Matter, and so he read a Place of *Luther* making for his Purpose.

Brad. My Lord, what *Luther* writeth, as you mind it not, no more do I in this Case. My Faith is not build on *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, or *Oecolampadius*, in this Point: And indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their Works in this Matter. As for them, I do think assuredly, that they were God's Children, and are Saints with him.

York. Well, you are out of the Communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not, for it consisteth and is in Faith.

York. Lo, how you make your Church invisible; for you would have the Communion of it consist in Faith.

Brad. For to have Communion with the Church needeth no Visibleness of it; for Communion consisteth, as I said, in Faith, and not in exterior Ceremonies, as appeareth both by St. *Paul*, who would have one Faith, and by *Irenæus* to *Victor*, for the Observation of *Easter*, saying, that disagreeing about fasting should not break the Agreement of Faith.

Chich. The same Place hath often even wounded my Conscience, because we separated ourselves from the See of *Rome*.

Brad. Well, God forgive you; for you have done Evil in bringing *England* thither again.

Succession of Priests.

Here my Lord of *York* took a Paper-Book of common Places, and read a Piece of St. *Augustine*, how that there were many Things that held St. *Augustine* in the Bosom of the Church; Consent of People and Nation, Authority confirmed with Miracles, nourished with Hope, increased with Charity, established with Antiquity: Besides this, there holdeth me in the Church, said St. *Augustine*, the Succession of Priests from *Peter*'s Seat until this present Bishop. Last of all, the very Name of catholick did hold me, *&c.* Lo, (quoth he) how say you to this of St. *Augustine?* Paint me out your Church thus.

All this might be objected against Christ and his Apostles, by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*.

Brad. My Lord, these Words of St. *Augustine* make as much for me as for you: Altho' I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alledged against Christ and his Apostles. For there was the Law and the Ceremonies consented to by the whole People, confirmed with Miracles, Antiquity, and continual Succession of Bishops from *Aaron*'s Time until that present.

Chich. In good faith, Mr. *Bradford*, you make too much of the State of the Church before Christ's coming.

Brad. Therein I do but as St. *Peter* teacheth, 2 *Pet* 2. and St. *Paul* very often. You would gladly have your Church here very glorious, like a most pleasant Lady. But Christ saith, and so may his Church say, *Blessed are they that are not offended at me.*

York. Yea, you think that none is of the Church, but such as suffer Persecution.

Brad. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace to judge me by my Words, and mark what St. *Paul* saith, *All that will live godly in* Christ Jesus *must suffer Persecution.* Sometimes

times Chriſt's Church hath Reſt here; but commonly it is not ſo, and eſpecially towards the End, her Form will be more unſeemly.

York. But what ſay you to St. *Auguſtine?* where is your Church that hath the Conſent of the People and Nations?

Brad. Even all People and Nations that be God's People have conſented with me, and I with them in the Doctrine of Faith.

York. Lo, ye go about to ſhift off all Things.

Brad. No, my Lord; I mean ſimply, and God knoweth I ſo ſpeak.

York. St. *Auguſtine* doth here talk of Succeſſion, even from St. *Peter*'s Seat.

Succeſſion from St. *Peter.*

Brad. Yea, that Seat then was not ſo much corrupt as it is now.

York. Well, you always judge the Church.

Brad. No, my Lord, Chriſt's Sheep diſcern Chriſt's Voice, but they judge it not; ſo they diſcern the Church, but judge her not.

York. Yes, that they do.

Brad. No, and it pleaſe your Grace: And yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge alſo of the *Romiſh* Church; for ſhe obeyeth not Chriſt's Voice, as Chriſt's true Church doth.

The Church of *Rome* ſwerveth from the Voice of Chriſt, and wherein.

York. Wherein?

Brad. In *Latin* Service, and robbing the Laity of Chriſt's Cup in the Sacrament, and in many other Things, in which it committeth moſt horrible Sacrilege.

Chich. Why? *Latin* Service was in *England* when the Pope was gone.

Brad. True; the Time was in *England* when the Pope was away, but not all Popery; as in King *Henry*'s Days.

York. Latin Service was appointed to be ſung and had in the Quire, where only were *Clerici*, that is, ſuch as underſtood *Latin*, the People ſitting in the Body of the Church praying their own private Prayers; and this may well be yet ſeen by making of the Chancel and Quire, ſo as the People could not come in, or hear them.

Latin Service defended.

Brad. Yea, but in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Time, and alſo in the *Latin* Church in St. *Jerom*'s Time, all the Church, ſaid he, anſwereth mightily, *Amen.* Whereby we may ſee that the Prayers were made ſo, that both the People heard them and underſtood them.

Againſt *Latin* Service.

Chich. Ye are to blame, to ſay that the Church robbeth the People of the Cup.

Brad. Well, my Lord, term it as you pleaſe: All Men know that the Laity hath none of it.

The People robbed of the Cup.

Chich. Indeed I wiſh the Church would define again, that they might have have it, for my Part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can define to make it a Bond?

York. Well, Mr. *Bradford*, we loſe our Labour; for you ſeek to put away all Things which are told you for your Good: Your Church no Man can know.

Brad. Yes, that we well may.

York. I pray you whereby?

The Church known only by the Scriptures.

Brad. Forſooth *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, only by the Scriptures; and this you well know he ſpeaketh very often.

York. Indeed that of *Chryſoſtom* is in *Opere Imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. The Church is beſt known by Succeſſion of Biſhops.

Brad. No, my Lord, *Lyra* upon *Matthew* writeth full well, that *The Church conſiſteth not in Men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporal Power, but in Men indued with true Knowledge, and Confeſſion of Faith, and of Verity.* Anno 1555.

And in *Hilary*'s Time, you know he writeth to *Auxentius*, that the Church was hidden rather in Caves and Holes, than did gliſter and ſhine in Thrones of Pre-eminence.

Then came one of the Servants and told them, that my Lord of *Durham* tarried for them at the Archbiſhop of *York*'s Houſe; and this was after they had tarried three Hours with Mr. *Bradford.* And after that their Man was come they put up their written Books of common Places, and ſaid that they lamented his Caſe: They deſired him to read over a Book which did Dr. *Crome* good; and ſo wiſhing him good in Words, they went their Way, and poor *Bradford* to his Priſon.

After this Communication with the Biſhops was ended, within two Days following came into the Compter two *Spaniſh* Friers to talk with Mr. *Bradford*, ſent, as they ſaid, by the Earl of *Derby*; of whom one was the King's Confeſſor, the other was *Alphonſus*, who had before written a popiſh Book againſt Hereſies, the Effect of which their Reaſoning here likewiſe followeth.

Communication between Mr. *Bradford* and two *Spaniſh* Friers.

Upon the 25th Day of *February*, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, two *Spaniſh* Friers came to the Compter where Mr. *Bradford* was Priſoner; to whom *Bradford* was called. Then one Frier, who was the King's Confeſſor, asked in *Latin* (for all their Diſcourſe was in *Latin*) of *Bradford*, whether he had not ſeen or heard of one *Alphonſus* that had written againſt Hereſies?

Brad. I do not know him.

Confeſ. Well, this Man (pointing to *Alphonſus*) is he, we are come to you of Love and Charity, by the Means of the Earl of *Derby*, becauſe you deſire to confer with us.

Brad. I never deſired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But ſeeing you are come of Charity, as you ſay, I cannot but thank you: And as concerning Conference, though I deſire it not, yet I will not refuſe to talk with you if you will.

Alphonſus. It were requiſite that you did pray to God, that ye might follow the Direction of God's Spirit, that he would inſpire you, ſo that ye be not addicted to your own Self-will or Wit.

Whereupon Mr. *Bradford* made a Prayer, and beſought God to direct all their Wills, Words, and Works, as the Will, Words, and Works of his Children for ever.

Alph. Yea, you muſt pray with your Heart. For if you ſpeak but with Tongue only, God will not give you his Grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, leſt ye be judged. You have heard my Words, now Charity would have you leave the Judgment of the Heart to God.

Alph. You muſt be as it were a Neuter, and not wedded to yourſelf, but as one ſtanding in Doubt: Pray and be ready to receive what God ſhall inſpire; for in vain laboureth our Tongue to ſpeak elſe.

Brad. Sir, my Sentence, if you mean it for Religion, muſt not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no Cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his Truth, and becauſe it

Anno 1555. it is ſo certain and true that it may abide the Light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any Man; in Reſpect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alph. What is the Matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brad. Sir, I have been in Priſon almoſt two Years: I never tranſgreſſed any of their Laws for which I might juſtly be impriſoned, and now am I condemned, only becauſe I frankly confeſſed, whereof I repent not, my Faith concerning the Sacrament, when I was demanded in theſe two Points; one, that there is no Tranſubſtantiation; the other, that the Wicked do not receive Chriſt's Body.

The Cauſe why Mr. *Bradford* was condemned.

Alph. Let us look a little on the firſt. Do you not believe that Chriſt is preſent really and corporally in the Form of Bread?

Brad. No, I do believe that Chriſt is preſent to the Faith of the worthy Receiver, as there is preſent Bread and Wine to the Senſes and outward Man: As for any ſuch Preſence of including and placing Chriſt, I believe not, nor dare I believe.

Chriſt preſent to the Faith of the worthy Receiver.

Alph. I am ſure you believe Chriſt's natural Body is circumſcriptible. And here he made much ado of the two Natures of Chriſt, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper Place, demanding ſuch Queſtions as no wiſe Man would have ſpent any Time about. At length, becauſe the Friar had forgot to conclude, Mr. *Bradford* put him in Mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded. How that becauſe Chriſt's Body was circumſcriptible, concerning the human Nature in Heaven, therefore it was ſo in the Bread.

A *Spaniſh* Argument. Chriſt's Body is circumſcriptible In Heaven: *Ergo*, Chriſt's Body is circumſcriptible in Bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Even as if you ſhould ſay; becauſe you are here, *Ergo*, it muſt needs follow that you are at *Rome*. For thus you reaſon; becauſe Chriſt's Body is in Heaven: *Ergo*, it is in the Sacrament under the Form of Bread: Which no wiſe Man will grant.

Alph. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expreſly ſpoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes Sir, I believe whatſoever you ſhall by Demonſtration out of the Scriptures declare unto me.

Chriſt is able to do it, *Ergo*, he doth it.

He is obſtinate, quoth *Alphonſus* to his Fellow: And then turning to *Bradford*, ſaid, is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the Queſtion is of God's Will, and not of his Power.

Alph. Why? doth he not ſay plainly, This is my Body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the Faith of the worthy Receiver.

Alph. To the Faith; how is that?

Brad. Forſooth Sir, as I have no Tongue to expreſs it; ſo I know ye have no Ears to hear and underſtand it. For Faith is more than Man can utter.

Alph. But I can tell all that I believe.

Brad. You believe not much then. For if you believe the Joys of Heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thither. For as the Mind is more capable and receivable than the Mouth, ſo it conceiveth more than Tongue can expreſs.

Alph. Chriſt ſaith it is his Body.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certain Manner.

Alph. After a certain Manner; that is, after another Manner than it is in Heaven.

Brad. St. *Auguſtine* telleth it more plainly, that it is Chriſt's Body after the ſame Manner as Circumciſion was the Covenant of God, and the Sacrament of Faith is Faith; or to make it more plain, as Baptiſm and the Water of Baptiſm is Regeneration.

Argument. As Grace is in the Water of Baptiſm: So is the Body in the Sacrament. But Grace is in the Water by Signification: Ergo, ſo is the Body in the Sacrament.

Alph. Very well ſaid, Baptiſm and the Water thereof, is a Sacrament of God's Grace and Spirit in the Water cleanſing the Baptized.

Brad. No Sir, away with your encloſing: But this I grant, that after the ſame Sort Chriſt's Body is in the Bread, on which Sort the Grace and Spirit of God is in the Water.

Alph. God's Grace is in Water by Signification.

Brad. So is the Body in the Bread in the Sacrament.

Alph. You are much deceived, in that you make no Difference between the Sacraments that be ſtanders, and the Sacraments that are tranſitory and paſſers by. As for Example, the Sacrament of Orders, which you deny, tho' St. *Auguſtine* affirmeth it, it is a Stander, although the Ceremony be paſt. But in Baptiſm ſo ſoon as the Body is waſhed, the Water ceaſeth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord; no longer than it is in Uſe, is it Chriſt's Sacrament.

Here the Frier was in a wonderful Rage, and ſo loud (as he had often done before) that the whole Houſe rang again. This Frier had the Character of being a very learned Man, but ſurely by his Behaviour here he had very little Patience, for if *Bradford* had been any thing hot, one Houſe could not have held them. At length they came to this Point, That *Bradford* could not find in Scripture that Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper bare any Similitude together. And here he triumphed before the Conqueſt, ſaying, that theſe Men would have have nothing but Scripture, and yet are able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

The Frier in a Chafe.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Table compared with Baptiſm in the Scripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you ſhall ſee that by the Scripture I will find Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper coupled together.

Alph. No, that thou canſt never do. Let me ſee a Text of it.

Brad. St. *Paul* ſaith, *That as we are baptized into one Body, ſo were we* Potati in uno ſpiritu, *i. e. we have drank of one Spirit*, meaning the Cup in the Lord's Supper. 1 *Cor.* 11.

Alph. St. *Paul* hath no ſuch Words.

Brad. Yes, that he hath.

Confeſ. I think he hath not.

Brad. Give me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

So a Prieſt that ſate by them gave him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the plain Text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine, the Frier found this ſimple Shift, that St. *Paul* ſpake not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well, the Text is plain enough, and there are many of the Fathers which do ſo underſtand the Place: for *Chryſoſtom* doth expound it ſo.

Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his Hand, deſirous to ſuppreſs this Foil, turned the Leaves of the Book from Leaf to Leaf, till he came to the Place, 1 *Cor.* 11. and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no Difference of the Lord's Body.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſaith, *He that eateth of the Bread:* Calling it Bread ſtill: And that after Conſecration (as ye call it) as in the Tenth of the *Corinthians* he ſaith; *The Bread which we break*, &c.

Alph. Oh how ignorant are ye, who know not that Things after their Converſion do retain the ſame Names which they had before, as *Moſes*'s Rod: And calling for a Bible, after he had found the Place, he began to triumph: But *Bradford* cooled him quickly, ſaying;

Converſion is mentioned in turning *Moſes*'s Rod, ſo it is not in the Sacrament. *Moſes*'s Rod was ſeen to be turned, ſo is not the Sacrament.

Sir, there is Mention made of the Converſion, as well as that the ſame appeared to the Senſe. But here ye cannot find it ſo. Find me one Word how the Bread is converted, and I will then ſay, ye bring ſome Matter that maketh for you.

At theſe Words *Alphonſus* was troubled, and at length he ſaid, That *Bradford* hanged on his own Senſe.

Brad. No that do I not; for I will bring you the Fathers of the Church 800 Years after Chriſt, to confirm what I ſpeak.

Alph. No, you have the Church againſt you.

Brad. I have not Chriſt's Church againſt me.

Alph. Yes that you have. What is the Church?

Brad. Chriſt's Wife, the Chair and Seat of Truth.

Alph. Is ſhe viſible!

The Church is viſible but to them that have ſpiritual Eyes.

Brad. Yea, that ſhe is to them that will put on the Spectacles of God's Word to look on her.

Alph. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good Fathers from Chriſt's Aſcenſion, even for 800 Years at leaſt continually.

Brad. What will you ſo prove? Tranſubſtantiation.

Alph. Yea, that the Bread is turned into Chriſt's Body.

Brad. You ſpeak more than you can do.

Alph. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give Place.

Alph. Will you believe?

Brad. Belief is God's Gift; therefore I cannot promiſe: But I tell you that I will give Place; and I hope I ſhall believe his Truth always, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Saviour.

Here the Frier found a great Fault with *Bradford*, that he made no Difference betwixt *Habitus* and *Actus*; as tho' *Actus*, which he called Credulity, had been in our Power. But this he let paſs, and came again, asking *Bradford*, if he could prove it as he ſaid, whether he would give Place?

Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for Paper, Pen, and Ink, to write; and then ſaid I, Suppoſe that I prove by the Teſtimony of the Fathers, that continually for 800 Years after Chriſt, at leaſt, they did believe that the Subſtance of Bread remain in the Sacrament? what will ye do?

Alph. I will give Place.

The Papiſts hold that the Act of believing is in Man's Power.

Brad. Then write you here that you will give Place if I ſo prove, and I will write that I will give Place if you ſo prove: Becauſe ye are the Ancient, ye ſhall have the Pre-eminency.

Here the Frier fumed marvelloufly, and ſaid; I came not to learn from thee: Are not here Witneſſes? (meaning the Prieſts) be not they ſufficient? But the Man was ſo angry, that if Mr. *Bradford* had not paſſed over this Matter of writing, the Frier would have gone to plain ſcolding. Anno 1555.

At length the King's Confeſſor asked *Bradford* what the ſecond Queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked Men receive not Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, as St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of *Judas*, that he received *Panem Domini*, but not *Panem Dominum.*

Alph. St. *Auguſtine* ſaith not ſo.

The Friers depart in a Heat from Mr. *Bradford.*

Brad. Yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of the Matter. Thus went they away, without bidding *Bradford* farewel.

After they were gone, one of the Prieſts came, and deſired *Bradford* not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Sir, be not you ſo wavering; in all the Scriptures cannot you find me, *Non eſt Panis.*

Prieſt. Yes that I can in five Places.

A Prieſt put to a Foil.

Brad. Then I will eat your Book. So the Book was opened, but no Place found; and he went his Way ſmiling. God help us.

It followed after this, upon the twenty firſt of *March*, that by means of one of the Earl of *Derby*'s Men, there came to the Compter to Dinner one Mr. *Collier*, once Warden of *Manchester*, and the ſaid Servant of the Earl of *Derby*, of whom Mr. *Bradford* learned, that Dr. *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter* would be with him in the Afternoon about two of the Clock. At dinner Time, when the ſaid Warden diſcommended King *Edward*, and went about to ſet forth the Authority of the Pope, which *Bradford* withſtood, defending the King's Faith, that it was Catholick, and that the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy was uſurped, bringing forth the Teſtimony of *Gregory*, which affirmeth the Name of ſupream Head, to be a Title of the Forerunner to Antichriſt. A Woman Priſoner was brought in, whereupon the ſaid *Bradford* took Occaſion to riſe from the Table, and ſo went to his Priſonchamber to pray to God for his Grace and Aſſiſtance therein, continuing there till he was called down to ſpeak with Dr. *Weſton*, who was then come in.

Mr. *Bradford* then being called down, ſo ſoon as he was entred into the Hall, Dr. *Weſton* very gently took him by the Hand, and asked how he did, with ſuch other Talk. At length he deſired them to go out of the Chamber: So they all went out, ſave Dr. *Weſton* himſelf, Mr. *Collier*, the Earl of *Derby*'s Servant, the Subdean of *Weſtminſter*, the Keeper, Mr. *Claydon*, and the Parſon of the Church near the Compter.

Conference between Mr. *Bradford* and Dr. *Weſton.*

Now when he began with Mr. *Bradford*, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being deſired by the Earl of *Derby*: And (quoth he) after I perceived by this Man, that you could be contented rather to ſpeak with me, than any other; I could not but come to do you all the Good I can; for you may be ſure I will never hurt you.

Sir, quoth Mr. *Bradford*, when I perceived by the Report of my Lord's Servant, that you did bear me good Will: More (as he ſaid) then any other of your Sort, I told him then, that I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you ſhould come unto me. This did I ſay, quoth he, otherwiſe I deſired not your coming.

Weſt. Well, quoth he, now I am come to talk with you: But before we ſhall enter into any

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any talk, certain Principles we muſt agree upon, which ſhall be this Day's work.

Dr. *Weſton*'s Leſſons, ſuch as he never followed himſelf.

Frſt, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vain Glory, and not hold any Thing for the Praiſe of the World.

Brad. Sir, St. *Auguſtine* maketh that indeed a Piece of the Definition of an Heretick; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will a Spice of it remain in us, as long as this Fleſh liveth) yet I promiſe you by the Grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yield to it. God I hope will never ſuffer it to bear Rule in them that ſtrive againſt it, and deſire all the Dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Weſt. I am glad to hear you ſay ſo, altho' indeed I think you do not ſo much eſteem it as others do.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put away Singularity in your Judgment and Opinions.

Brad. Sir, God forbid that I ſhould ſtick to my Singularity or private Judgment in God's Religion. Hitherto I have not deſired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other Doctrine than is Publick and Catholick, underſtanding Catholick as good Men do; according to God's Word.

Dr. *Weſton* willeth Mr. *Bradford* to put down in writing the chief Grounds of his Faith.

Weſt. Very well, this is a good Day's Work, I hope to do you good: And therefore now thirdly, I ſhall pray you to write me the Heads of thoſe Things whereupon you ſtand in the Sacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and *Wedneſday* next: Until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be aſſured that you are without all Peril of Death. Of my Fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all Dubitations, *&c.*

Brad. Sir, I will write to you the Grounds I lean to in this Matter. As for Death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me, ſhall be no great Hindrance to me therein.

Weſt. You know that St. *Auguſtine* was a *Manichean*, yet was he converted at length; ſo have I good Hope of you.

Brad. Sir, becauſe I will not flatter you, I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am even ſettled in that Religion for which I am condemned.

Weſt. Yea, but if it be not the Truth, and you ſee evident Matter to the contrary, will you not then give Place?

Brad. God forbid, but that I ſhould always give Place to the Truth.

Well. I would have you ſo to pray.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

Weſt. Yea but pray with a Condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No Sir, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſettled and aſſured of his Truth.

Well, quoth *Weſton*, as the learned Biſhop anſwered St. *Auguſtine*'s Mother, that though he was obſtinate, yet the Tears of ſuch a Mother could not but win her Son: So, quoth he, I hope your Prayers (for then *Bradford*'s Eyes did ſhew that he had wept in Prayer) cannot but be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe him. Do ye not, quoth he, remember the Hiſtory thereof?

Yea Sir, quoth *Bradford*, I think it be of St. *Ambroſe*.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here *Weſton* would have laid a Wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to *Bradford*; As you are overſeen herein, ſo are you in other Things.

Brad. Well, Sir, I will not contend with you for the Name. This (I remember) St. *Auguſtine* writeth in his Confeſſions.

Mr. *Bradford* wrongfully charged with Sedition.

After this Talk Dr. *Weſton* began to tell Mr. *Bradford*, that the People were perſuaded by him to withſtand the Queen.

Whereunto *Bradford* anſwering again, bade him hang him up as a Traitor and a Thief, if ever he encourag'd any to Rebellion: His Keeper and the Prieſts that were there affirmed the ſame. At that Time there was much Talk to little Purpoſe. Dr. *Weſton* declared moreover how he had ſaved Men going in the Cart to be hanged, and ſuch like.

The End was this, that *Bradford* ſhould ſend unto him, the Heads of the Doctrine of the Supper, and after *Wedneſday* he would come unto him again, thus he departed, after he had drunk to him in Beer and Wine. I omit here Talk of *Oxford*, of Books of *Germany* Writers, of the Fear of Death, and ſuch other Talk, which are to no Purpoſe.

Conference between Mr. *Bradford* and Dr. *Pendleton*.

In the mean Time, when Mr. *Bradford* had written his Reaſons and Arguments, and had ſent them to Dr. *Weſton*, ſoon after, about the 28th of *March*, there came to the Compter Dr. *Pendleton*, and with him the aforeſaid Mr. *Collier*, ſometime Warden of *Mancheſter*, and *Stephen Bech.* After Salutations Dr. *Pendleton* began to ſpeak to Mr. *Bradford*, that he was ſorry for his Trouble. And further, ſaid he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me, I made the more Speed, being as ready to do you Good, and pleaſure you what I can, as ye would wiſh.

Dr. *Pendleton* once of the ſame Religion with Mr. *Bradford*.

Brad. Sir, the Manner how I was content to ſpeak with you was on this Sort: Mr. *Bech* often asked me whom he ſhould bring unto me, and named you amongſt others: And I ſaid that I had rather ſpeak with you than with any other. Now the Cauſe why I ſo would I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a Man might judge) of the Religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you have earneſtly ſet forth the ſame. Gladly therefore would I learn of you, what thing it was that moved your Conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you have ſeen ſince which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton. I do not know for what you are condemned.

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation is the Cauſe for which I am condemned, and becauſe I deny wicked Men do receive Chriſt's Body: Wherein I would deſire you to ſhew me what Reaſons which before you knew not, did move your Conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſaid) you were as I am in Religion.

Dr. *Pendleton* belike would ſtudy out the Reaſons that moved him to alter: For he had none ready to ſhew.

Here Mr. *Pendleton* half amazed, began to excuſe himſelf, though he had not fully denied Tranſubſtantiation indeed, although I ſaid, quoth he, that the Word was not in Scripture; and ſo he made an endleſs Tale of the Thing that moved him to alter: But ſaid he, I will gather to you the Places which moved me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Mr. *Bradford* that he might have a Copy of that which he had ſent to Dr. *Weſton*; which Mr. *Bradford* promiſed him.

Some Reaſoning alſo they had, whether evil Men did receive Chriſt's Body, *Bradford* denying, and *Pendleton* affirming. *Bradford* ſaid,

ſaid, that they received not the Spirit: *Ergo*, not the Body; for it is no dead Carcaſs. Hereto *Bradford* brought alſo St. *Auguſtine*, how *Judas* received *Panem Domini*, and not *Panem Dominum*, and that he muſt be in Chriſt's Body which muſt receive the Body of Chriſt. But *Pendleton* went about to put it away with *Idem*, and not *Ad idem*, and how that *In Corpore Chriſti* was to be underſtood of all that be in the viſible Church with God's Elect. *Bradford* denied this to be St. *Auguſtine*'s Meaning, and ſaid alſo that the Allegation of *Idem*, and not *Ad Idem*, could not make for that Purpoſe. They talked more of Tranſubſtantiation, *Pendleton* bringing forth *Cyprian*, *Panis natura niutatur*, *&c.* And *Bradford* ſaid that in that Place *Natura* did not ſignify Subſtance. As the Nature of an Herb is not the Subſtance of it; ſo the Bread changed in Nature is not to be taken for changed in Subſtance: For now it is ordained not for the Food of the Body ſimply, but rather for the Soul. Here alſo *Bradford* alledged the Sentence of *Gelaſius*. *Pendleton* ſaid, that he was a Pope. Yea, ſaid *Bradford*, but his Faith is my Faith in the Sacrament, if ye would receive it.

The Place of St. *Cyprian* expounded how the Nature of Bread is changed.

They reaſoned alſo whether *Accidentia* were *Res*, or no. If they be properly *Res*, ſaid *Bradford*, then are they Subſtances; and if they be Subſtances, they are earthly, and then there are earthly Subſtances in the Sacrament, as *Irenæus* ſaith, which much needs be Bread. But *Pendleton* ſaid, that the Colour was the earthly Thing, and called it an accidental Subſtance.

I omit the Talk they had of my Lord of *Canterbury*, of *Peter Martyr*'s Book, of *Pendleton*'s Letter laid to *Bradford*'s Charge when he was condemn'd, with other Talk about the Church; whether *Dic Eccleſia* was ſpoken of the univerſal Church, or of a particular Church, (at length Mr. *Pendleton* granted that it was ſpoken of a particular Church) alſo of Vainglory, which he deſired *Bradford* to beware of, and ſuch-like Talk. A little before his departing Mr. *Bradford* ſaid thus; Maſter Doctor, as I ſaid to Dr. *Weſton* before, ſo ſay I to you now, that I am the ſame Man in Religion againſt Tranſubſtantiation ſtill, as I was when I came into Priſon; for hitherto I have ſeen nothing in any one Point to convince me of the contrary. At which Words Mr. *Pendleton* was ſomething moved, and ſaid that it was no catholick Doctrine. Yes, quoth Mr. *Bradford*, and that I will prove even by the Teſtimony of the catholick Fathers until the Council of *Lateran*, or thereabout. Then *Pendleton* went his way, ſaying that he would often come to Mr. *Bradford*.

Mr. *Bradford* could hear no reaſon of the Papiſts to weaken his Opinion againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

God our Father be with us all, and give us the Spirit of his Truth for ever. *Amen.*

The ſame Day in the Afternoon, about five of the Clock, Dr. *Weſton* came to *Bradford*, and after gentle Salutations, he deſired the Company every Man to depart, and ſo they two ſate down. And after he had thanked *Bradford* for his writing to him, he pulled out of his Boſom the ſame Writing which *Bradford* had ſent him. The Writing is this that followeth.

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Certain Reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, gathered by John Bradford, *and given to Dr.* Weſton *and others.*

THAT which is former, ſaith *Tertullian*, is true; that which is latter is falſe. But the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is a late Doctrine: For it was not defined generally before the Council of *Lateran*, about 1215 Years after Chriſt's coming, under Pope *Innocent*, the Third of that Name. For before that Time it was free for all Men to believe, or not believe it, as the Biſhop of *Durham* doth witneſs in his Book of the Preſence of Chriſt in his Supper, lately put forth: *Ergo*, The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

Tranſubſtantiation not brought into the Church before the Year 1215 by Pope *Innocent.*

2. That the Words of Chriſt's Supper be figurative, the Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy or Proportion of the Sacraments, and the Sentences of all the holy Fathers, which were and wrote for the Space of 1000 Years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, do teach: Whereupon it followeth, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his Diſciples Bread, and called it his Body, the Scriptures do witneſs. For he gave that, and called it his Body, which he took in his Hand, whereon he gave Thanks, which alſo he brake, and gave to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, Bread, as the Fathers *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and all the Reſidue which are of Antiquity, do affirm: But in as much as the Subſtance of Bread and Wine is another Thing than the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, it plainly appeareth that there is no Tranſubſtantiation.

4. The Bread is no more tranſubſtantiate than the Wine: But that the Wine is not tranſubſtantiate, St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* do teach us: For they witneſs, that Chriſt ſaid, that he would drink no more of the Fruit of the Wine, which was not Blood, but Wine: And therefore it followeth, that there is no Tranſubſtantiation. *Chryſoſtom* upon St. *Matthew*, and *Cyprian* do affirm this Reaſon.

The Wine is not tranſubſtantiate: Ergo, neither the Bread.

5. As the Bread in the Lord's Supper is Chriſt's natural Body, ſo it is his myſtical Body; for the ſame Spirit that ſpake of it, This is my Body, did ſay alſo, For we many are one Bread, one Body, *&c.* but now it is not the myſtical Body by Tranſubſtantiation, and therefore it is not his natural Body by Tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame Spirit which ſaith, This is my Body, ſaith alſo, We many are one Bread and one Body, *&c.*

6. The Words ſpoken over the Cup in St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, are not ſo mighty and effectual, as to tranſubſtantiate it: For then the Cup, or that which is in it, ſhould be tranſubſtantiated into the New Teſtament: Therefore the Words ſpoken over the Bread, are not ſo mighty as to make Tranſubſtantiation.

The Words do not tranſubſtantiate the Cup into New Teſtament, Ergo, neither the Bread into the Body.

7. All that Doctrine which agreeth with thoſe Churches which be apoſtolical Mother Churches, or original Churches, is to be counted for Truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe Churches received of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. But it is manifeſt, that the Doctrine taught at this preſent by the Church of *Rome*, concerning Tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the apoſtolical and mother Churches in *Greece*, of *Corinthus*, of *Philippos*, *Coloſſia*, *Theſſalonica*, and

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and *Epheſus*, which never taught Tranſubſtantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, as it was taught in Times paſt. For *Gelaſius* the Pope, ſetting forth the Doctrine which that See then held, doth manifeſtly confute the Error of Tranſubſtantiation, and reproveth them for Sacrilege, who divided the Myſtery, and kept the Cup from the Laity: Therefore the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Truth.

The Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* for Tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the *Greek* Churches, nor with the old *Roman* Church.

This was the Writing which *Weſton* pulled out of his Boſom; and yet before he began to read it, he told Mr. *Bradford* that he had enquired of his Converſation at *Cambridge* ſince his laſt being with him; and, *ſaid he*, becauſe you are a Man not given to the Glory of the World, I will ſpeak it before your Face: Your Life I have learned was always ſuch there, as all Men, even the greateſt Enemies you have, cannot but praiſe it, and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: But now I will read over your Arguments, and ſo we will confer them. They are ſuch that a Man may well perceive you ſtand on Conſcience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to read the firſt; to which he ſaid, that though the Word Tranſubſtantiaton began but lately, yet the Thing always was, and hath been ſince Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend, or inſiſt upon the Word only, but upon the Thing, which is as new as the Word.

Then Dr. *Weſton* went to the Second, and there brought out St. *Auguſtine*, how that if an evil Man going to the Devil, did make his Will, his Son and Heir would not ſay his Father did lye in it, or ſpeak tropically: much more Chriſt, going to God, did never lye, or uſe any figurative Speech in his laſt Will and Teſtament. Do you not remember this place of St. *Auguſtine*, ſaid he?

Brad. Yea, Sir, but I do not remember that St. *Auguſtine* hath thoſe Words tropically, or figuratively, as you rehearſe them: For any Man may ſpeak a Thing figurately, and not lye: And ſo Chriſt did in his laſt Supper.

After this Dr. *Weſton* went to the Third, and brought forth *Cyprian*, how that the Nature of Bread is turned into Fleſh. Here, *ſaith he*, my Lord of *Canterbury* expoundeth Nature for Quality, by *Gelaſius*. Which Interpretation ſerveth for the Anſwer of your Argument, that Chrin called Bread his Body: That is, the Quality, Form, and Appearance of Bread. And further, the Scripture is wont to call Things by the ſame Names which they had before, as *Simon* the Leper; he was not ſo at that Time, but becauſe he had been ſo.

Simon, tho' he were called the Leper: Yet he was ſeen to be no Leper.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before *Gelaſius*: Therefore *Cyprian* muſt not expound *Gelaſius*, but *Gelaſius Cyprian*: And ſo they both teach, that Bread remaineth ſtill. As for Things having ſtill the Names they had, is no Anſwer, except you could ſhew that this now were not Bread, as eaſily as a Man might have known and ſeen then *Simon* to have been healed and clear from his Leproſy.

But Bread is ſeen ſtill to be Bread: And therefore hath its Name not of that it was, but of that it is.

After this Dr. *Weſton* went to the Fourth, of the Cup, which he did not fully read, but digreſſed into a long Talk of *Cyprian*'s Epiſtle *De Aquitiis*: Alſo of St. *Auguſtine*, expounding the breaking of Bread by Chriſt to his two Diſciples going to *Emmaus*, to be the Sacrament; with ſuch other Talk to no certain Purpoſe: and therefore Mr. *Bradford* prayed him, that inaſmuch ss he had written the Reaſons that eſtabliſhed his Faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he would likewiſe do to him, that is, anſwer him by writing, and ſhew him more Reaſons in writing to confirm Tranſubſtantiation. Which Dr. *Weſton* promiſed to do, and ſaid that he would ſend or bring it to Mr. *Bradford* again within three Days.

Dr. *Weſton* required to write his Reaſons.

Thus when he had read over the Arguments, and here and there ſpoke little to the Purpoſe for the avoiding of them, and *Bradford* had prayed him to give him his Anſwers in writing: Then he began to tell Mr. *Bradford* how and what he had done for Mr. *Grimoald*, and that *Bradford* needed not to fear any Reproach or Slander he ſhould ſuffer, meaning belike to have *Bradford* ſecretly to come to them as *Grimoald* did; for he ſubſcribed.

Mr. *Bradford* plain and firm in Confeſſion of the Truth.

Brad. Mr. Dean, I would not have you conceive that I mind the Shame of Men in this Matter: I would rather have you think as the very Truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or ſeen any Thing to weaken my Faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſs ſettled in it than I was at my firſt coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at Firſt as you ſhall find at the Laſt.

Weſt. In good Faith Mr. *Bradford*, I love you the better for your Plainneſs: And do not think otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall find me plain in all my Talk with you.

Here *Weſton* began to ask *Bradford* of his Impriſonment and Condemnation; and *Bradford* told him altogether how he had been handled. Whereat *Weſton* ſeemed to wonder: Yea in plain Words he ſaid, that *Bradford* had been handled otherwiſe than he had given Cauſe; and ſo ſhewed him, that my Lord of *Bath* reported that he had deſerved a Benefit at the Queen's Hand, and at all the Councils.

In this kind of Talk they ſpent almoſt an Hour, and Mr. *Bradford*, being weary, roſe up, and *Weſton* called the Keeper, and before him he bade *Bradford* be of good Comfort, and told him that he was in no danger of Death.

Sir, quoth the Keeper, but it is in every Man's Mouth, that he ſhall die to-morrow.

Whereat *Weſton* ſeemed half amazed, and ſaid, he would go ſay Even-ſong before the Queen, and ſpeak to her in his Behalf. But it is to be thought that the Queen had almoſt ſupped at that preſent: For it was paſt ſix of the Clock.

Before the Keeper, *Bradford* told *Weſton* again that ſtill he was one Man, and even as he was at the Firſt; and till he ſhould ſee Matter to teach his Conſcience the contrary, he ſaid he muſt needs ſo continue.

The Keeper deſired *Bradford* to hearken to Mr. Doctor's Counſel, and prayed Mr. Doctor to be good unto him: And ſo after they had drank together, Mr. Doctor with moſt gentle Words took his Leave for three Days.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper told *Bradford*, that Mr. Doctor ſpake openly, that he ſaw no Cauſe why they ſhould burn him. Which Sentence, for the Ambiguity of the Meaning, made him ſomewhat ſorry, leſt he had behaved himſelf in any Thing, wherein he had gathered any Conformableneſs to them in their Doctrine, which God knoweth, ſaith *Bradford*, I never as yet did. God our Father bleſs us, as his Children, and keep us from all Evil for ever. *Amen.*

Another Conference between Mr. *Bradford* and Dr. *Weſton.*

Upon the fifth Day of *April* Dr. *Weſton* came to the Compter about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, who excuſed himſelf for being ſo long abſent; partly by Sickneſs, partly for that Dr. *Pendleton* told him that he would come unto him; and partly for that, *ſaid he*, I withſtood certain Monks which would have come again into *Weſtminſter*; telling him moreover, that the Pope was dead, and alſo declared unto him, that he had ſpoken to the Queen in his Behalf, and that Death was not near to him.

Laſt of all he excuſed himſelf for not anſwering his Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; becauſe my coming to Day, *ſaid he*, was more by Fortune, than of Purpoſe.

Brad. I would gladly, Mr. Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your Anſwers to my Arguments.

Weſt. Why? you have remembred ſomething that I ſpake to you, when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No Sir, I never call'd them in manner to mind, ſince that Time, as well, becauſe I hoped you would have written them; as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo material.

Bradford's Arguments not anſwered.

Weſt. In good Faith I cannot ſee any other or better Way for you, than to ſubmit yourſelf to the Judgment of the Church.

Brad. Marry ſo will I, Sir, if ſo be by the Church you underſtand Chriſt's Church.

Weſt. Lo, you take upon you to judge the Church.

The Papiſts will not have the Church judged.

Brad. No Sir, that do I not; in taking upon me to diſcern, I do not judge the Church.

Weſt. Yes, that you do; and make it inviſible.

Brad. I do neither.

Weſt. Why, who can ſee your Church?

Brad. Thoſe Sir, that have ſpiritual Eyes, wherewith they might have diſcerned Chriſt's viſible Converſation here upon Earth.

The Church is viſible but only to ſpiritual Eyes.

Weſt. Nay, Chriſt's Church hath three Tokens, that all Men may look well upon: Namely, Unity, Antiquity, and Conſent.

Brad. Theſe three may be as well in Evil as in Good, as well in Sin as in Virtue, as well in the Devil's Church, as in God's Church. As for an Example, Idolatry amongſt the *Iſraelites* had all thoſe three. *Chryſoſtom* telleth plainly, as you well know, that the Church is well known only by the Scriptures.

Weſt. In good Faith, you make your Church inviſible, when you will have it known only by the Scriptures.

Brad. No Sir, the Scriptures do plainly ſet forth to us the Church, that all Men may well enough know her thereby, if they pleaſe to look.

Weſt. The Church is like a Tower or Town, that all Men may ſee.

Brad. True Sir, all Men that be not blind. Viſible enough is the Church, but Mens Blindneſs is great. Impute not therefore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to Mens Blindneſs.

Why the Church is not ſeen.

Weſt. Where was your Church forty Years ago? Or where is it now, except in a Corner of *Germany?*

Brad. Forſooth Sir, the Church of God is diſperſed, and not tied to this or that Place, but to the Word of God; ſo that where it is, there is God's Church, if it be truly taught.

Weſt. Lo, is not this to make the Church inviſible? Point me out a Realm a hundred Years paſt which maintained your Doctrine.

Brad. Sir, if you will, or would well mark the State of the Church before Chriſt's coming, with it now (as S. *Peter* and *Paul* willeth us) I think you would not look for ſuch Shews of the Church to be made, as to point it by Realms. You know that in *Elijah*'s Time, both in *Iſrael* and elſewhere, God's Church was not pointable; and therefore he cried out, that he was left alone. Anno 1555.

Weſt. No marry, did not God ſay that there was 7000 which had not bowed their Knees to *Baal?* Lo then 7000, ſhew me 7000 a hundred Years ago of your Religion.

Brad. Sir, theſe 7000 were not known to Men: For then *Elijah* would not have ſaid, that he had been left alone. And that is plain enough by the Text, namely, that God ſaith, *I have reſerved to me ſeven thouſand.* Mark that it ſaith, God hath reſerved to himſelf, to his own Knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred Years ago God had his ſeven thouſand in his proper Places, tho' Men knew not thereof.

Weſton. Well, Mr. *Bradford*, I will not make your Caſe worſe, than for Tranſubſtantiation: Although I know that we agree not in other Matters. And I pray you make it not worſe yourſelf. If I can do you good, I will: Hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, and therefore I cannot promiſe you Life, except you will ſubmit yourſelf to the Definition of the Church.

Brad. Sir, If you will define your Church, and bring no falſe Church into that Definition, you ſhall ſoon ſee that I will be at a Point with you.

Weſt. In good Faith Mr. *Bradford*, I ſee no Good will be done, and therefore I wiſh you as much Good as I can; and perhaps I may come or ſend to you again: And ſo he departed, and went for Mr. *Weal.*

After his Departure, the Keeper, Mr. *Claydon*, and *Stephen Bech* came to Mr. *Bradford*, and ſpake to him in ſuch a Manner as if they had been his utter Enemies, notwithſtanding the Friendſhip they hitherto pretended. If God be with us, it matters not who is againſt us.

Divers came to Mr. *Bradford* in Priſon, ſome to diſpute, ſome to confer, ſome to give Counſel, ſome to take Comfort, and be confirmed in their Faith, and others came to viſit him. There was a certain Gentlewoman's Servant, which Gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miſerably handled by her Father and Mother, and all her Kindred in her Father's Houſe, for not coming to Maſs, and ſhe had been put to Death, had not the Providence of God delivered her from her Father's Houſe, although at the Loſs of all ſhe had.

Conference between *Bradford* and a Gentlewoman's Servant.

This Gentlewoman's Servant therefore coming to Mr. *Bradford*, and taking him by the Hand, ſaid, God be thanked for you. How do you?

Mr. *Bradford* anſwered, Well, I thank God. For as Men in ſailing, which be near to the Shore or Haven where they would be, would be nearer; even ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Serv. Sir, I have never ſeen you ſo ſtrong and healthful in Body, as methink you be now, God be thanked for it.

Why, ſaid *Bradford*, I have given over all Care and Study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always ſtudied to be withal.

Anno 1555.

Serv. Well, God hath done much for you ſince the Time that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his Glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my Sins, but hath ſuffered me to live, that I might ſeek Repentance.

Serv. Truly, we hear ſay, there is a Rod made ſo grievous, out of which I think no Man ſhall pluck his Head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſt's Flock, arm themſelves to ſuffer: For I think verily, God will not have one of his to eſcape untouched, if he love him, let them ſeek what Means or Ways they can.

Serv. Well Sir, there is a Diſcourſe of a Frier that preach'd before the King, who told him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent Blood that hath been ſhed of late.

By this Frier he meaneth *Alphonſus* mentioned before.

Verily, quoth *Bradford*, I had a Book within theſe two Days of his Writing, and therein he ſaith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the Hereticks ſhould live: And therefore I do marvel how that Talk ſhould riſe: For I have heard of it alſo, and I have alſo talked with this Frier (he is named Frier * *Fonſo*) and with divers others, and I praiſe God they have confirmed me: For they have nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vain.

* *Alphonſus*, otherwiſe called in the vulgar Speech Frier *Fonſo*.

Serv. Sir, Father *Cardmaker* commendeth himſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: For indeed my Lord Chancellor did caſt him in my Teeth: But as *David* ſaith, God hath diſappointed him.

Serv. Forſooth, God's Name be praiſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What elſe? our Quarrel is moſt juſt: Therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My Miſtreſs commendeth herſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Serv. Well, God be praiſed, but ſhe hath been ſorer afflicted with her own Father and Mother, than ever you were with your Impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerved her, I truſt, to his Glory.

A Story of a faithful Woman and Martyr in the primitive Church, named *Juleddo*.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this Day a godly Hiſtory, written by *Baſilius Magnus*, of a virtuous Woman which was a Widow, and was named *Juleddo*. She had great Lands and many Children, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, who for her Virtue and pious Living, had great Indignation againſt her, and of very Malice he took away her Lands, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to go to Law with him: And in Concluſion, the Matter came to to the Trial before the Judge, who demanded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully with-held theſe Lands from this Woman? He made Anſwer and ſaid, he might ſo do: For *(ſaid he)* this Woman is diſobedient to the King's Proceedings; for ſhe will in no wiſe worſhip his Gods, nor offer Sacrifice unto them. Then the Judge hearing that, ſaid unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to loſe thy Land, but alſo thy Life, unleſs that thou worſhip our Gods, and do Sacrifice unto them. This good Woman hearing that, ſtept forth to the Judge, and ſaid, Is there no Remedy but either to worſhip your falſe Gods, or elſe to loſe my Lands and Life? Then farewel Suit, farewel Lands, farewel Children, farewel Friends, yea, and farewel Life too: And in reſpect of the true Honour of the everliving God, farewel all. And with that Saying the Judge committed her to Priſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffered moſt cruel Death: And being brought to the Place of Execution, ſhe exhorted all Women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For, ſaith ſhe, ye were redeemed with as dear a Price as Men. For although ye were made of the Rib of the Man, yet be you all of his Fleſh: So that alſo, in the Caſe and Trial of your Faith towards God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus died ſhe conſtantly, not fearing Death: I pray you tell your Miſtreſs of this Hiſtory.

Serv. That I ſhall, Sir, by God's Grace: For ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and Mr. *Saunders*, and received your gentle Counſel.

Brad. We never gave her other Counſel but the Truth, and in Witneſs thereof, we have and will ſeal it with our Blood. For I thought this Night that I had been ſent for, becauſe at Eleven of the Clock there was ſuch rapping at the Door.

Then anſwered a Maid, and ſaid, Why then I perceive you were afraid.

Mr. *Bradford* not afraid of Death.

Brad. Ye ſhall hear how fearful I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a Nap before I went: And after I was aſleep, theſe Men came into the next Chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my Fearfulneſs, I heard them not: Therefore belike I was not afraid that ſlept ſo faſt.

Serv. Do you lack any Thing towards your Neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your Prayers, and I truſt I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I ſaw a Prieſt come to you to Day in the Morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a Letter from a Frier, and I am writing an Anſwer.

Serv. Then we hinder you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſs you.

Serv. Amen, *ſaid he*, and gave him Thanks and departed.

Mr. *Bradford* continued ſtill in Priſon, until the Month of *July*, in ſuch Labours and Sufferings as he always before had ſuſtained in Priſon. But when the Time of his determined Death was come, he was ſuddenly conveyed ont of the Compter where he was Priſoner, in the Night Seaſon to *Newgate*, as is declared before, and from thence he was carried the next Morning to *Smithfield*, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame Truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the People to repent, and to return to Chriſt, and ſweetly comforting the pious young Man of nineteen or twenty Years of Age, who ſuffered with him, chearfully he ended his painful Life to live with Chriſt.

John Leaf fellow Martyr with Mr. *Bradford*.

With whom was burnt *John Leaf*, Apprentice to *Humphry Gawdy*, Tallow-chandler, of the Pariſh of *Chriſt-Church* in *London*, born at *Kirkly More-ſide* in the County of *York*; who upon the *Friday* before *Palm-Sunday* was committed to the Compter in *Bread-ſtreet*, by an Alderman of the Ward where the ſaid *John Leaf* dwelt. Afterwards he coming to Examination before Biſhop *Bonner*, gave a firm and chriſtian Teſtimony of his Doctrine and Profeſſion,

The Answer of *John Leaf* concerning his Faith in the Sacrament.

feſſion, anſwering to ſuch Articles as were objected to him by the ſaid Biſhop.

Firſt, As touching his Belief and Faith in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, he anſwered, that after the Words of Conſecration ſpoke by the Prieſt over the Bread and Wine, there was not the very true and natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in Subſtance; and further did hold and believe, that the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now called, uſed, and believed in this Realm of *England*, is idolatrous and abominable; and alſo ſaid further, that he believed, that after the Words of Conſecration ſpoke by the Prieſt over the material Bread and Wine, there is not the ſelf-ſame Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood there contained; but Bread and Wine, as it was before. And further ſaid, that he believed, that when the Prieſt delivereth the ſaid material Bread and Wine to the Communicants, he delivereth but only * material Bread and Wine; and the Communicants do receive the ſame in Remembrance of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, and ſpiritually in Faith they receive Chriſt's Body and Blood, but not under the Forms of Bread and Wine; and alſo affirmed, that he believed auricular Confeſſion not neceſſary to be made unto a Prieſt: For it is no Point of Soul Health: Neither that the Prieſt hath any Authority given him by the Scripture to abſolve and remit any Sin.

* Only as touching the Subſtance, but not as concerning the Effect thereof.

Auricular Confeſſion.

He meaneth after the popiſh Manner of remitting Sin.

Upon theſe his Anſwers, and Teſtimony of his Faith, he was at that time diſmiſſed, ordering him to appear again on the next *Monday*, *June* 10, in the ſaid Place, there and then to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation. At which time the aforeſaid Biſhop propounded the ſaid Articles again to him as before, endeavouring by all manner of Ways to bring him to renounce his Religion; but notwithſtanding all his Perſuaſions, Threats and Promiſes, found him the ſame Man ſtill, ſo planted upon the ſure Rock of Truth, that no Words or Deeds of Men could remove him.

Then the Biſhop, after many Words to and fro, at laſt asked him, if he had been Mr. *Rogers*'s Scholar? To whom the aforeſaid *John Leaf* anſwered again, granting it ſo to be; and that he believed in the Doctrine of the ſaid *Rogers*, and in the Doctrine of Biſhop *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, and others of their Opinion, who were lately burned for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would die in that Doctrine that they died for: And after other Replications again by the Biſhop, moving him to return to the Unity of the Church, he anſwered again in theſe Words: My Lord, *ſaid he*, you call mine Opinion Hereſy, it is the true Light of the Word of God: And again repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would never forſake his ſtayed and well grounded Opinion, while the Breath ſhould be in his Body. Whereupon the Biſhop being too weak, either to refute his Sentence, or to remove his Conſtancy, proceeded conſtantly to read the popiſh Sentence of Condemnation; whereby this pious and conſtant young Man being committed to the ſecular Power of the Sheriffs there preſent, was then adjudged, and not long after ſuffered, the ſame day with Mr. *Bradford*, confirming with his Death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his Life.

John Leaf Mr. *Rogers*'s Scholar.

Sentence againſt *John Leaf*.

It is reported of the ſaid *John Leaf*, by one that was in the Compter at the ſame Time, and ſaw the Thing, that after his Examinations before the Biſhop, when two Bills were ſent unto him in the Compter in *Bread-ſtreet*, the one containing a Recantation, the other his Confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put his Hand, firſt hearing the Bill of Recantation read unto him (becauſe he could not read nor write himſelf) which he refuſed. And when the Bill of his Confeſſions was read unto him, inſtead of a Pen he took a Pin, and ſo pricking his Hand, ſprinkled the Blood upon the ſaid Bill, deſiring the Reader thereof to ſhew the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Bill with his Blood already. Anno 1555.

The Behaviour of Mr. Bradford *and* John Leaf *at their Martyrdom.*

FIRST, when they came to the Stake in *Smithfield* to be burned, Mr. *Bradford* lying proſtrate on one Side the Stake, and the young Man *John Leaf* on the other Side, they lay flat on their Faces, praying to themſelves the Space of a Minute. Then one of the Sheriffs ſaid to Mr. *Bradford*, Ariſe, and make an End; for the Preſs of the People is great.

At that Word they ſtood up, and Mr. *Bradford* took a Faggot in his Hand and kiſſed it, and likewiſe the Stake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Sheriffs, that his Servant might have his Raiment. For *(ſaid he)* I have nothing elſe to give him: And beſides that, he is poor Man. And the Sheriff ſaid he ſhould have it. And then Mr. *Bradford* immediately took off his Raiment, and went to the Stake: And holding up his Hands, and caſting his Eyes towards Heaven, he ſaid thus, *O England, England, repent of thy Sins, repent of thy Sins, beware of Idolatry; beware of Antichriſt; take heed they do not deceive you.* And as he was ſpeaking theſe Words, the Sheriff order'd his Hands to be ty'd if he would not be quiet: O Maſter Sheriff *ſaid he*, I am quiet: God forgive you this, Maſter Sheriff. And one of the Officers who was to make the Fire, hearing Mr. *Bradford* ſo ſpeaking to the Sheriff, ſaid, If you have no better Learning than this, you are but a Fool, and you had beſt hold your Peace. To which Mr. *Bradford* gave no Anſwer; but asked all the World Forgiveneſs, and forgave all the World, and deſired the People to pray for him: Then he turned his Head to the young Man that ſuffer'd with him, and ſaid, Be of good Comfort, Brother; for we ſhall have a merry Supper with the Lord this Night: And then embracing the Reeds, he ſaid thus, *Strait is the Gate and narrow is the Way that leadeth to eternal Salvation, and few there be that find it.*

The Words of Mr. *Bradford* at the Stake.

And thus they both ended this mortal Life like two Lambs, without any Alteration of their Countenance, being void of all Fear, hoping to obtain the Prize that they had long run for; to which I beſeech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

On the Death of John Bradford.

LET no Diſciple 'bove his Maſter be;
God's Servants are not from Afflictions free.
God, whom he loves, chaſtiſes every Son;
Strait is the Way to the Celeſtial Throne.
Theſe Words whilſt, Bradford, *thou doſt ruminate:*
No humane Threats, no Fears, no diſmal State

On the Death of Mr. *Bradford.* Tranſlated by Mr. *N. Bail.*

* Can

The Martyrdom of M^r John Bradford and John Leaf in Smithfield.

The Burning of Four Martyrs in Canterbury.

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Anno 1555. *Can ſhock thy ſteddy Soul; no fiery Dart*
Of Satan's Malice wound thy conſtant Heart:
But thou doſt freely (arm'd with Grace divine)
Thy Body to the flaming Pile reſign.

A Letter from Mr. *Bradford* to his Mother, a pious Matron, dwelling in *Mancheſter*, and to his Brethren and Siſters, and other Friends there.

OUR dear and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Priſoner at this preſent (praiſed be his Name) I am, preſerve and keep you, my good Mother, with my Brothers and Siſters, my Father John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence *and* James Bradſhaw, *with their Wives and Families*, &c. *now and for ever*, Amen.

Mr. *Bradford*'s Letter to his Mother, Brethren, and Siſters, whereof the Earl of *Derby* complained in the Parliament.

I am now in Priſon, ſecure enough from ſtarting, to confirm what I have preached unto you, as I am ready (I thank God) to ſeal the ſame with my Life and Blood, if God ſhall vouchſafe to make me worthy of that Honour. For, good Mother and Brethren, it is a moſt ſpecial Benefit from God, to ſuffer for his Name's ſake and Goſpel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhall be Partaker of his Glory, as St. Paul *ſaith*, If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall
2 *Tim.* 2. reign with him. *Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at leaſt for my Sake, who am now in the right and high Way to Heaven: For by many Afflictions we muſt enter into the Kingdom of*
Acts 14. *Heaven. Now will God make known his Children. When the Wind doth not blow, a Man cannot know the Wheat from the Chaff; but when the Blaſt cometh, then the Chaff flieth away, but the Wheat remaineth, and is ſo far from being hurt, that by the Wind it is more cleanſed from the Chaff, and known to be Wheat. Gold when it is caſt in the Fire, is the more precious; ſo are God's Children by the Croſs of Affliction. God always beginneth his Judgment at his Houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt Miſery in the Land of* Jewry, *but yet the whole Land ſmarted for it after: So now the Children of God are firſt chaſtiſed in this World, that they ſhould not be damned with the World: For ſurely the great Plagues of God hang over this Realm.*

God beginneth his Judgment with his own Houſe.

Ye all know there was never more Knowledge of God, and leſs godly Living, and true ſerving of God. It was counted a fooliſh Thing to ſerve God truly; and earneſt Prayer was not minded. Preaching was but a Paſtime. The Communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the Fleſh was quite out of Uſe. Alms was almoſt nothing. Malice, Covetouſneſs, and Uncleanneſs, was common every where, with Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and Idleneſs. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damn us with the World, he beginneth to puniſh us: As me for carnal living. For, as for my Doctrine, I am very certain that it is and was God's Truth, and by his Grace I reſolve to give my Life for it; but becauſe I loved not the Goſpel as ſincerely as I ought, therefore doth he thus puniſh me; nay, in puniſhing, he rather bleſſeth me. Indeed I thank him more for this Priſon, than for any Parlour, yea, than for any Pleaſure that ever I had; for in it I always find God my ſweeteſt and greateſt Good. The Fleſh is now puniſhed to admoniſh us heartily to live as we profeſs; and to certify the wicked of their juſt Damnation, if they repent not.

Perhaps you are weakened in that which I have preached, becauſe God doth not defend it, as you think, but ſuffereth the popiſh Doctrine to come again and prevail: But you muſt know, good Mother, that God by this doth prove and try his Children and People, whether they will unfeignedly and ſimply ſtand ſtedfaſt to him and his Word. He did ſo with the Iſraelites, *bringing them into a Deſart, after their coming out of* Egypt, *where (I mean in the Wilderneſs) was Want of all Things, in Compariſon of that which they had in* Egypt. *Chriſt when he came into this World, brought no worldly Wealth, nor Quietneſs with him, but rather War,* The World *(ſaith he)* ſhall rejoice, but ye *John* 19. ſhall mourn and weep, but your weeping ſhall be turned into Joy: And therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they ſhall be comforted. *They are marked then with God's Mark in their Foreheads, and not with the Beaſt's Mark, I mean the Pope's ſhaven Crown, who now with his Shavelings rejoice; but wo unto them, for they ſhall be caſt down, they ſhall weep and mourn. The rich Glutton had here his Joy, and* Lazarus *Sorrow, but afterwards the Caſe was changed. The End of carnal Joy is Sorrow. Now let the Whoremonger joy with the Drunkard, Swearer, covetous, malicious and blind Buzzard Sir* John: *For the Maſs will not bite them, nor make them bluſh as preaching doth. Now they may do what they will, come Devils to Church, and go Devils home again, for no Man muſt ſpeak againſt it. They are glad of all this; now they have their Heart's deſire, as the* Sodomites *had when* Lot *was gone; but what followed? forſooth when they cried Peace, all ſhall be well, then came God's Vengeance, Fire and Brimſtone from Heaven, and burnt up every Mother's Child; even ſo (dear Mother) will it be to our Papiſts.*

God uſeth to prove and try his Children.

Of this Place the Earl of *Derby* ſeemeth to take hold, complaining that he curſeth them that teach any falſe Doctrine, &c.

Wherefore fear God; ſtick to his Word, tho' all the World ſwerve from it. Die you muſt once, and when and how, you cannot tell. Die therefore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſerving him truly, according to his Word: For we may be ſure, that of all Deaths it ought to be our greateſt Deſire to die for the Cauſe of God. This is the ſafeſt Way of dying; we need not doubt but that we ſhall go to Heaven, if we die for his Name's ſake. And that you ſhall ſo die, the Word of God will warrant you, if you ſtick to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeak as I think; for by God's Grace I will drink before you of this Cup, if it be put to me.

The beſt Death is to die for Chriſt's ſake.

I doubt not but God will give me Grace and Strength to undergo what I purpoſe: Pray for me, that I may be immoveable in the fiery Trial. I am ready whenever God ſhall be pleaſed to call me. Death nor Life, Priſon nor Pleaſure, I truſt in God, ſhall be able to ſeparate me from my Lord God and his Goſpel. In Peace, when no Perſecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then you believed me, and will you not do ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeak nothing but that which by God's Grace I will verify with my Life? Good Mother, I write to you before God, as before him I have preached.

I have taught the pure Word of God: It is the ſame infallible Truth whereof he ſaid, Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs, but my Word ſhall not paſs. *The Maſs, and ſuch Baggage as the falſe Worſhippers of God, and the Enemies of Chriſt's Croſs (the Papiſts) have brought in again, to poiſon the Church of God, highly diſpleaſeth him, and is abominable in his Sight. Happy may he be who for Conſcience-ſake will ſuffer the Loſs of Life or Goods, in contending againſt it. Come not near it. If God be God, follow him: If the Maſs be God, let who will ſee it, hear, or be preſent at it, go to the*

Devil with it. What is there which God ordained? His Supper was ordained to be received by us as a Memorial of his Death, for the Confirmation of our Faith, that his Body was broken for us, and his Blood ſhed for the Pardon of our Sins; but in the Maſs there is no receiving, but the Prieſt alone keepeth all to himſelf. Chriſt ſaith, Take, eat: No, ſaith the Prieſt, Gape, peep. Here (in the Maſs) is a ſacrificing, yea, crucifying Chriſt again as much as they can. Here is Idolatry in worſhipping the outward Sign of Bread and Wine; here is all in Latin, *you cannot tell what is ſaid. In ſhort, here is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good Mother) come not near it.*

Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Maſs.

I preſume ſome will ſay, that it will be worſe for you, if you refuſe to go to Maſs, and do as others do. But be aſſured, that God will aſſiſt and protect you, as you ſhall one Day find: He hath promiſed to them who ſuffer for his Cauſe, his great Bleſſing in this World, and in the World to come Life everlaſting.

You ſhall be counted an Heretick: But they are the Hereticks that ſo call you, whoſe Praiſe is a Scandal.

You are not able to Reaſon againſt the Prieſts, but God will, that they ſhall not be able to withſtand you. I doubt not but Father Traves, *and others of my Brothers and Siſters will comfort and aſſiſt you by their Counſel and pious Examples; but if they do not, I your Son in God, by his Grace, will ſo do, and go before you: Pray that I may be conſtant: Rejoice in my Sufferings, for it is for your Sakes, that thereby I may confirm the Truth I have taught. Beware that this Letter come not abroad, but only into Father* Traves *his Hands: For if it ſhould be known that I have Pen and Ink in Priſon, it would be much worſe for me. Therefore keep it to yourſelves, and commend me to God's Mercy through Jeſus Chriſt, and pray that he would make me worthy to give my Life for the Sake of his Church and Goſpel. From the Tower of* London, October 26. 1553.

For all this Caveat, yet this Letter came to the Earl of *Derby*'s Knowledge.

My Name I write not, you know the Reaſon well enough: Like the Letter never the worſe. Commend me to all our good Brethren and Siſters in the Lord. Howſoever you do, be obedient to the higher Powers, that is, in no Point either in Hand or Tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good Conſcience you cannot obey, lay your Head on the Block, and ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall do or ſay. By Patience poſſeſs your Souls.

To Mr. Laurence Saunders, *Priſoner in the* Marſhalſea.

* This Friend moved them to ſubſcribe to the Papiſts Articles, with this Condition: So far as they were not againſt God's Word, being indeed clean contrary to it: And yet ſhortly after he valiantly ſuffered Death for refuſing the ſame.

My good Brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious Favour and Love towards us, and by us, as by Inſtruments of his Grace, to work his Glory and the Confuſion of his Adverſaries. Out of the Mouth of Infants and Babes he will ſhew forth his Praiſe to deſtroy the Enemy, *&c.*

I have peruſed your Letters to myſelf, and have read them to others. For Anſwer whereof, if I ſhould write what Dr. Taylor *and Mr.* Philpot *do think, then muſt I ſay, that they think the Salt ſent unto us by your * Friend, is unſeaſonable. And I think they both will declare it heartily, if they ſhould come before Men. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and moſt dear Brother) becauſe I am ſo ſinful and ſo defiled (the Lord knoweth that I lie not) with many grievous Sins, which I hope are waſhed away with the Blood of Chriſt, I neither can nor would be conſulted withal, but as a Cypher in* Agrime. *Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a Sum: I pray God in no Caſe I may ſeek myſelf, and indeed, I thank God for it, I purpoſe it not.* Anno 1555.

That which remaineth I commit to my Lord God; and I truſt in him, that he will do according to this; Caſt thy Care on the Lord, &c. Caſt all your Care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy Way, and truſt, &c. Whoſoever truſteth in the Lord, Mercy ſhall compaſs him about. For the Lord is faithful: He will in Temptation make a Way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of Temptation the Godly, &c. O would God I were godly, &c. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of Temptation ſuch as truſt in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean Conditions: For if we will not Adorare Beſtiam, *we never ſhall be delivered, but againſt their Will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the Good he hath begun in us.*

He will do it my Brother, my dear Brother, whom I have in my inward Bowels to live and dye with. O that I were with you. Pray for me my own Heart Root in the Lord.

For ever your own, John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mr. *Saunders.*

GOD's ſweet Peace in Chriſt be with you, my good Brother in the Lord Jeſus, and with all your Fellow-captives, Amen.

I was hindered this Morning from muſing on that which I purpoſed to have thought on by reaſon of you, againſt whom I ſaw myſelf guilty of Negligence, even in this Point that I would not write, I ſhould ſay, that I had not written unto you as yet: Therefore I prepared myſelf out of hand to clear myſelf hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my Fault (for that were more to load me) but by asking God and you Pardon, to get it no more laid to my Charge. Now when I was thus purpoſing, and partly doing, there cometh one with a Letter from you: For which as I have Cauſe to thank God and you, ſo I ſee myſelf more blame worthy for thus long holding my Peace. Howbeit, good Brother, in this I have given a Demonſtration to you, to behold my Negligence in all other Things and eſpecially in praying for you, and for the Church of God, which for my Sins and Hypocriſy (Hypocriſy indeed even in this writing, God deliver me from it) have deſerved to be puniſhed. God is juſt, for we have deſerved all Kinds of Plagues at his Hands; but yet merciful is he that will on this wiſe chaſtize us in this World, that we ſhould not be condemned with the World. He might otherwiſe have puniſhed us, I mean, he might have caſt us in Priſon for other Cauſes, me eſpecially, than for his Goſpel and Word ſake. Praiſed therefore be his Name, who vouchſafeth us worthy of this Honour. Ah good God forgive us our Sins, and work by this thy fatherly Correction on us, on me eſpecially, effectually to love thee and thy Chriſt; and with Joyfulneſs carry thy Croſs to the End.

Ah good Brother, if I could always have God, his Majeſty, Mercy, Heaven, Hell, &c. before mine Eyes, then ſhould I endure, as St. Paul *writeth of* Moſes, *Heb.* 11. He endured as he that ſaw him which is inviſible. *Pray for me, as I know you do, and give Thanks alſo: For,* In the Lord I truſt, I ſhall not waver. If I walk by *Pſal. 23.* the Valley of the Shadow of Death I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. *I think we ſhall be ſhortly called forth; for now* Legem habent, & ſecundum legem, *&c. otherwiſe will they not reaſon with us: And I think their ſhoot-anchor will be, to have us to ſubſcribe. Which*

Anno 1555. *Thing if we do, though with this Condition (ſo far as the Thing ſubſcribed to is not againſt God's Word) yet this will be offenſive. Therefore let us all confeſs that we are no Changlings, but the ſame as we were in Religion, and therefore cannot ſubſcribe except we will diſſemble both with God, our ſelves, and the World. Theſe Things I write to you, dear Brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epiſtle. Ah Brother, that I had the practical Underſtanding with you in that Vine which you deſcribe: pray the Lord that I may think ſo indeed. God make me thankful for you. All our Fellow-priſoners ſalute you, and give Thanks to God for you. The ſame do you for us, and pray that,* &c.

1 *John* 2. 13.

Your Brother in the Lord Jeſus,

to live and die with you,

J. Bradford.

To my dear Fathers, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Dr. *Latimer*.

Mr. *Bradford's* Letter Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Dr. *Latimer*.

JESUS Immanuel. My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beſeech God our ſweet Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every one of your Staves had ſtood next the Door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear Brother Rogers *hath broken the Ice valiantly, as this Day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty* Hooper, *ſincere* Saunders, *and truſty* Taylor *end their Courſe, and receive their Crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the Porter to open me the Gates after them, to enter into the deſired Reſt. God forgive me mine Unthankfulneſs for this exceeding great Mercy, that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his Mercy to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that I juſtly ſuffer (for I have been a great Hypocrite, and a grievous Sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet what Evil hath he done? Chriſt, whom the Prelates perſecute, his Verity which they hate in me, hath done no Evil, nor deſerved Death. Therefore ought I moſt heartily to rejoice of this tender Kindneſs of the Lord towards me, which uſeth Remedy for my Sin, as a Teſtimonial of his Teſtament, to his Glory, to my everlaſting Comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the Overthrowing of Antichriſt and his Kingdom. Oh what am I, Lord, that thou ſhouldſt thus magnify me ſo vile a Man and Miſer, as always I have been? Is this thy Cuſtom, to ſend for ſuch a Wretch and Hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery Chariot, as thou didſt for* Elijah? *O dear Fathers, be thankful for me, that I ſtill might be found worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctify his holy Name. And for your Part, make you ready: For we are but your Gentlemen-uſhers. The Marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the Marriage. I now go to leave my Fleſh there where I received it. I ſhall be conveyed thither, as* Ignatius *was at* Rome, Leopardis; *by whoſe Evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his Will that I ask, it may make them better by me,* Amen.

He meaneth that he ſhould be conveyed by the Queen's Guard into *Lancaſhire* to be burnt, as his Adverſaries had once determined, like as *Ignatius* was by a Company of Soldiers conveyed to *Rome*, and caſt to the Leopards.

For my Farewel therefore, I write and ſend this unto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall never be ſeparated. In the mean Seaſon I will not ceaſe, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of Heaven, and that you would ſo do by me, I moſt heartily pray every one of you: You know now I have moſt need. Faithful is God, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our Strength. *He never did it hitherto, and I am aſſured he never will, Amen.* He is on my right Hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my Heart ſhall rejoice, for he ſhall not leave my Soul in Hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy One, by his Grace in Chriſt, to ſee Corruption.

Out of Priſon in haſte, looking for the Tormenter, February 8. 1555.

John Bradford.

William Minge, *who died in Priſon.*

THE next Day after Mr. *Bradford* and *John Leaf* ſuffered in *Smithfield*, *William Minge*, Prieſt, died in Priſon at *Maidſtone*, being there in Bonds for Religion, and would (had he lived a little longer) alſo have ſuffered the Fury of his Adverſaries, whoſe Nature was to ſpare and favour none that favoured Chriſt's pure Goſpel: This *William Minge* with as great Conſtancy and Boldneſs yielded up his Life in Priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to have called him to ſuffer by Fire, as other good Men had done before at the Stake, as he himſelf was ready to do, had it pleaſed God to have called him thereunto.

James Treviſam, *buried in the Fields.*

UPON *Sunday* the Third of *July* 1555. died one *James Treviſam* in the Pariſh of St. *Margaret* in *Lothbury*, who being impotent and lame, kept his Bed a long Time. This *Treviſam* had a Servant named *John Small*, who was reading in the Bible, when one *Berd* the Promoter came to the Houſe, and would needs go up Stairs, where he found four Perſons beſides him and his Wife; to wit, the young Man that read, and two Men and a Woman. All whom the ſaid *Berd* apprehended and carry'd to the Compter, where they remained about a Fortnight, notwithſtanding all the Friends they could make. Not only ſo, but the ſaid *Berd* intended to carry the poor lame bedridden Man to *Newgate* in a Cart (and brought a Cart to the Door for that Purpoſe) had not the Neighbours, who had a little more Humanity, prevented that barbarous Deſign. Nevertherleſs, the poor Man was obliged to have two Sureties for his forthcoming, notwithſtanding he could not get out of his Bed, being not only lame, but alſo very ſick at the ſame Time. In a few Days time he grew ſo ill that his Life was not expected; and the Parſon of the Pariſh, one Mr. *Farthing*, came to viſit him, and had Communication with him, and they both agreed very well in matters of Religion, and ſo the Parſon departed. No ſooner was he come down into the Street but he was met by one *Toller* a Founder, who threatned to accuſe him for agreeing with *Treviſam*; for, ſaid the Founder, he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar. Upon that the Parſon went to him again, and then they could not agree. And ſo the Parſon went to the Biſhop of *London*, and told him. The Biſhop anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt

Mr. *Farthing* Parſon of St. *Margaret's* in *Lothbury*, accuſeth *Treviſam*.

burnt; and if he were already dead he ſhould be buried in a Ditch. And when he was dead, the Parſon ſhewed as much Spight and ill Nature to his poor ſorrowful Widow as poſſible he could, not ſuffering her to put him in a Coffin, or any Thing elſe, but were fain to carry him on a Table to *Moor-fields*, and there he was buried. The ſame Night the Body was taken up again, and the Sheet taken from him, and he left naked above Ground. The Owner of the Field ſeeing this, buried him again; a Fortnight after the Sumner came to his Grave, and ſummoned him to appear at *Paul*'s before his Ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid againſt him. But what became of this Affair afterwards I cannot certainly ſay.

The Hiſtory of Mr. John Bland, *Preacher and Martyr.*

THE 12th Day of *July*, *John Bland*, *John Frankeſh*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, and *Humphry Middleton*, were all four burnt at *Canterbury* together for one Cauſe. Of which Number, *Frankeſh* and *Bland* were Miniſters and Preachers of the Word of God, the one being Parſon of *Adeſham*, the other Vicar of *Rolvindon*. Mr. *Bland* was a Man ſo little born for his own Advantage, that no part of his Life was ſeparated from the common and publick Utility of all Men. For his firſt Doings were there imployed to the bringing up of Children in Learning and Virtue. Under whom were trained up ſeveral hopeful young Men, which even at this preſent do handſomely flouriſh. In which number is Dr. *Sands*, a Man of ſingular Learning and Worthineſs, as may well become a Scholar for ſuch a Schoolmaſter, whom I gladly here name for his ſingular Gifts of Virtue and Erudition.

Mr. *Bland* Schoolmaſter to Dr. *Sands*, ſome time Biſhop of *Worceſter*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*.

After this, he coming to the Miniſtry in the Church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible Deſire to profit the Congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was caſt into *Canterbury* Priſon for preaching of the Goſpel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the Interceſſion of his Friends, yet he would preach the Goſpel again as ſoon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third Time apprehended, when his Friends yet once again would have found Means to have delivered him, if he would promiſe to abſtain from preaching; he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch Condition, notably well expreſſing unto us the Manner and Example which we read in the Apoſtle St. *Paul*; *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love of Chriſt? Tribulation, or Anguiſh, or Hunger, or Nakedneſs, or Danger, or Perſecution, or the Sword*, &c. But to expreſs the whole Life and Actions of this pious Martyr, ſeeing we have his own Teſtimony concerning the ſame, it will be beſt to refer the Reader to his own Report, writing to his Father the whole Diſcourſe of his Troubles, from the Beginning almoſt to the latter End, in Order and Manner as ye ſhall hear.

Anno 1555.

An Account of the whole Proceedings againſt Mr. Bland, *written by himſelf to his Father.*

DEarly beloved Father in Chriſt Jeſus, I thank you for your gentle Letters. And to ſatisfy your Mind as concerning the Troubles whereof you have heard, theſe ſhall both declare unto you all my Vexations that have happened unto me ſince you were with me, alſo ſince I have received your laſt Letters. God keep you ever.

Declaration of the Troubles of Mr. *Bland*, how and by whom he was apprehended, and brought to his Condemnation.

Your Son, *John Bland*.

FIRST, The Third of *September*, being *Sunday*, after Service ended, e'er I had put off my Surplice, *John Auſten* came to the Table (commonly called the Lord's Table) and laid both his Hands upon it, ſaying, Who ſet this here again? Now they ſay they took the Table down the *Sunday* before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it up again. The Clerk anſwered, that he knew not. Then, ſaid *Auſten*, he is a Knave that ſet it here. I was then going down the Church, marvelling what he meant, and ſaid, Goodman *Auſten*, the Queen's Highneſs hath ſet forth a Proclamation that ye may move no Sedition: And before I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, Thou art a Knave: And I ſaid, Well, Goodman *Auſten*, what I have ſaid, I have ſaid. By God's Soul, quoth he, thou art a very Knave. Then my Clerk ſpake to him, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, Ye are both Heretick Knaves, and have deceived us in this Manner too long already, and if ye ſay any Service here again, I will turn your Table upſide down; and in that Rage he, with others, took the Table and laid it on a Cheſt in the Chancel, and ſet the Treſſels by it. Soon after I rode to Mr. *Iſaac*, and declared unto him how ſeditiouſly *Auſten* had behaved himſelf. Mr. *Iſaac* directed a Warrant to the Conſtable, which was immediately ſerved, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame Night, and was bound by Recognizance, with Sureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed ſo well, that it was never called for: The Table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

John Auſten Perſecutor.

John Auſten offended with the Communion Table.

Note the uncharitable Spirit of this Paſſage, and ſo commonly of them all.

The Communion Table ſet up again.

The 26th of *November*, being *Sunday*, *Richard Auſten* and his Brother *Thomas* came to the aforeſaid Table after the Communion was done, and as I was going by them, *Richard* ſaid unto me, Mr. *Parſon*, we want to ſpeak with you. And I ſaid, What is your Will? And he ſaid, You know that you took down the Tabernacle wherein the Rood did hang, and ſuch other Things: We would know what Recompence you would make us: For the Queen's Proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch Things muſt be put again.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch Proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by Commandment.

No, ſaid *Thomas Auſten*, ye will not know the Queen's Proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Then ſaid *Richard*, Ye are againſt the Queen's Proceedings; for you ſay there are abominable Uſes and Deviliſhneſs in the Maſs.

Goodman *Auſten*, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I will ſay

Anno 1555. ſay it again, and God willing, ſtand to the Proof of it.

Maſters all, quoth *Richard Auſten*, bear Record of theſe Words, and went his Way.

Mr. *Bland* charged for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs. Quoth *Thomas Auſten*, thou will as ſoon eat this Book as ſtand to them. No, quoth I, not ſo ſoon.

Tell us, quoth he, what Deviliſhneſs is in the Maſs. I have often preached it unto you, ſaid I, and ye have not believed it, nor born it away, nor will now neither, tho' I ſhould tell you.

Thou (quoth he) haſt told us always like an Heretick as thou art. Now ye lye, Goodman *Auſten*, quoth I, by your leave. Marry, *ſaid he*, thou lieſt. And I ſaid, you lye, for I have taught you Chriſt and his Truth.

Quoth he, thou art an Heretick, and haſt taught us nothing but Hereſy: For thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, Goodman *Auſten*, I can ſay that God is in Heaven, and ye will ſay, (I hope) that it is true, and ſo have I taught you truly.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught us like an Heretick, and haſt ſaid, that there is no Devil in Hell.

Well, ſaid I, lye on; methinks you can ſay little Truth. Many other Taunts he gave, too long to write. And at laſt he ſaid, Ye pulled down the Altar, will ye build it again? No, ſaid I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, *ſaid he*, then will I. For I am Church-warden.

Tho. Auſten threatneth to bring in a Popiſh Prieſt againſt Mr. *Bland.* I charge you ſaid I, that you do not, except you have Authority. I will not, *ſaid he*, be hindered by your Charge. For we will have a Maſs here on *Sunday*, and a Preacher that ſhall prove thee an Heretick, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, ſaid I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for ſure I am that he cannot diſprove any Doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, *ſaid he*, and that thou ſhalt hear, if thou run not away e're then.

No, Goodman *Auſten*, I will not run away.

Marry, *ſaid he*, I cannot tell; thou art as like as not: With many more Words we came out of the Church, and ſo departed.

When *Sunday* came I looked for our Preacher, and at the Time of Morning Prayer I ſaid to the Clerk, why do you not ring? ye forget that we ſhall have a Sermon to Day. No, quoth he, Mr. *Miles*'s Servant hath been here this Morning, and ſaid, his Maſter hath Letters from my Lord Chancellor, that he muſt go to *London*, and cannot come. That Day I

Mr. *Bland* ſlandered. preach'd to them a Sermon in his ſtead. Now have they ſlandered me, that I had prepared a Company from divers Places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their Lye. For ſome ſaid I had them at *Adeſham*, and that *Richard Auſten* had Knowledge, and ſent for the Conſtable to ſee the Peace kept, which is found a Lye. Others ſaid, I had them lying in wait for him between *Canterbury* and *Adeſham*. Other ſaid, I had them in both Places, that if the one miſs'd, the other ſhould not. God forgive them all. Now upon theſe two Matters they boaſt, that they ſent two Bills of Complaint to the Councils. Wherefore by the Advice of Friends, I made this Teſtimony, and ſent it up by Mr. *Wiſeman*.

The Behaviour of John Bland, *Parſon of* Adeſham, *in the County of* Kent, *on* Sunday, *the third Day of* December *laſt.*

Mr. *Bland* Parſon of *Adeſham*, cleareth himſelf.

WHereas upon certain Communication had between the ſaid Parſon and *Richard Auſten*, and *Thomas Auſten* in the Preſence of all the Pariſh of *Adeſham*, the *Sunday* before St. *Andrew*'s Day laſt, the ſaid *Auſten* then declared, That the ſaid Parſon had taught there in Times paſt great Hereſies, which to confound, they would prepare a Preacher againſt the next *Sunday* following, if ſo be the ſaid Parſon would abide, and not run away: Upon which Rumour, divers Perſons reſorted out of the Country, unto the ſaid Pariſh Church, at the Day appointed, there to hear the Preacher; and at the Time in which the Sermon ought to be made, no Man appeared there to preach: But it was reported to the Parſon that the Preacher appointed, had urgent Buſineſs, and could not come. So that the Multitude being now come together, the ſame Parſon perceiving that the Peoples Expectation was defrauded, ſaid, Foraſmuch as you are willingly come to hear ſome good Advertiſement of the Preacher, who cannot be now preſent, I think it not convenient to let you depart without ſome Exhortation for your Edification. And further declaring that he had no Licence to preach, ſaid, That he would not meddle with any Matter in controverſy. And then he began the Epiſtle for the Day, deſiring the Audience to mark three or four Places in the ſaid Epiſtle, which touched of Quietneſs and Love to one another: And there briefly reading the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame Places, and ſo making an End thereof, deſired all Men to depart quietly and in Peace, as they did, without any Manner of Diſturbance, or Token of Evil.

Mr. *Bland* exhorting the People to Love and Quietneſs.

Witneſſes the undernamed, with divers others.

Edmund Mores, *William Forſtall.*
Richard Randal, *Thomas Gooding.*
John Hills,

Another Matter of Trouble wrought againſt John Bland, *as appeareth by his own Narration.*

UPON *Innocents* Day, being the 28th of *December*, they had procured the Prieſt of *Stodmaſh* to ſay Maſs; he had nigh made an end of Mattins e're I came; and when he had ended them, he ſaid to me, Mr. *Parſon*, your Neighbours have deſired me to ſay Mattins and Maſs; I hope ye will not be againſt the Queen's Proceedings. No (quoth I) I will offend none of her Majeſty's Law, God willing. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as though he had not heard? And I ſpake the ſame Words to him again with an higher Voice; but he would not hear, though all the reſt in the Chancel heard: I ſpake ſo loud the third Time, that all the Church might hear, That I would not offend the Queen's Laws, and then he went to Maſs; and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the Clerk unto me, with

the Beckning of my Finger, and ſaid unto him, I pray you deſire the Prieſt when the Goſpel is done, to tarry a little, I have ſomething to ſay to the People; and the Clerk did ſo.

Mr. *Bland* again exhorteth the People in his Pariſh Church.

And the Prieſt came down into the Stall where he ſate; and I ſtood up in the Chancel Door, and ſpake to the People of the great Goodneſs of God always ſhewed unto his People, unto the Time of Chriſt's coming; and in him and his coming, what Benefit they paſt, we preſent, and our Succeſſors have; and among other Benefits I ſpake of the great and comfortable Sacrament of his Body and Blood. And after I had briefly declared the Inſtitution, the Promiſe of Life to the Good, and Damnation to the Wicked, I ſpake of the Bread and Wine, affirming them to be Bread and Wine after the Conſecration, as yonder Maſs-book, ſaying, Holy Bread of eternal Life, and the Cup of perpetual Salvation. So that like as our bodily Mouths eat the ſacramental Bread and Wine, ſo doth the Mouth of our Souls (which is our Faith) eat Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood. And when I had made an End of that, I ſpake of the Miſuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſs; ſo that I judged it in that Uſe no Sacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade us all eat and drink; and in the Maſs one only eateth and drinketh, and the reſt kneel, knock, and worſhip: And after theſe Things ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the Benefactors of the Maſs, and began to declare who made the Maſs, and recited every Man's Name, and the Patch that he put to the Maſs; but before I had rehearſed them all, the Church-warden and the Conſtable, his Son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my Book from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the Chancel, with an exceeding Roar and Cry. Some cried, Thou Heretick; ſome, Thou Traitor; ſome, Thou Rebel; and when every Man had ſaid his Pleaſure, and the Rage was ſomething paſt, Be quiet good Neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeak to you quietly. If I have offended any Law, I will make Anſwer before them that are in Authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this Side, and another on that, and began again. Then *Richard Auſten* ſaid, Peace, Maſters, no more till Maſs be done, and they ceaſed. Then I ſaid to the Church-warden and the Conſtable, each holding me by the Arm; Maſters, let me go into the Church-yard till your Maſs be done. No, ſaid the Church-warden, thou ſhalt tarry here till Maſs be done. I will not, quoth I, but againſt my Will. And they ſaid, Thou ſhall tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away. Then I ſaid to the Conſtable, Lay me in the Stocks, and then ye will be ſure of me, and turned my Back to the Altar. By that Time *Richard Auſten* had deviſed what to do with me, and called to the Conſtable and the Church-warden, and bade them put me into a ſide Chappel, and ſhut the Door to me, and there they made me tarry till Maſs was ended. When the Maſs was ended, they came into the Chappel to me, and ſearched what I had about me; and found a Dagger, and took it from me. Then ſaid *Tho. Auſten*, Church-warden, after many Brablings that they made with me, Thou keepeſt a Wife here amongſt us, againſt God's Law and the Queen's. Ye lye, Goodman *Auſten*, ſaid I, it is not againſt God's Law, nor, as I ſuppoſe, againſt the Queen's. Thus they brought me out of the Church, and without the Door they railed on me without Pity or Mercy: But anon the Prieſt came out of the Church, and *Ramſey* that of late was Clerk, ſaid unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore *Thomas Auſten* took him by the Arm, and ſaid, Come on Sarrah, you are of his Opinion, and took his Dagger from him, and ſaid, he ſhould go with him. I am content, *ſaid he*, and a little mocked them in their envious Talk. By this Time *John Gray* of *Wingham*, Servant to *John Smith*, came in at the Church Style, and ſeeing them hold *Ramſey* by the Arms, ſaid to him, How now *Ramſey*, have you offended the Queen's Laws? No, quoth he. Then there is no Tranſgreſſion. Therewith *Thomas Auſten* took him, and ſaid, Ye are one of their Opinion, ye ſhall go with them for Company, and took his Dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very Shame they let him go again. But they carried me and *Ramſey* to *Canterbury*, guarded with eighteen Perſons. A Sheet of Paper will not hold the Talk that we had that Night with Mr. *Hardes*, Juſtice, Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Spilman*, and Mr. *Tutſam*.

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Ramſey apprehended by *Thomas Auſten*.

John Gray of *Wingham* troubled for a Word ſpeaking.

Bland and *Ramſey* carried to *Canterbury*.

He ſpeaketh of the Abuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſs.

The next Day they made a Bill againſt me, but it ſerved not their Purpoſe, which was, that they would have had me to Priſon. But *James Chapman*, and *Bartholomew Joyes* were bound in twenty Pounds each of them for my Appearance at the next general Seſſions, or in the mean Time to appear, if I were ſent for before the Queen's Majeſty's Council, or any other Commiſſioners ſent by the Queen's Authority. And *Ramſey* was bound to the Peace, and to be of good Behaviour till the next Seſſions. His Sureties were *Thomas Hodgeking* and *Simon Barrat*.

James Chapman and *Bartholomew Joyes*, Sureties for Mr. *Bland*.

Th. Hodgeking and *Simon Barrat*, Sureties for *Ramſey*.

Mr. *Bland* violently plucked down in his Sermon by the Church-warden.

Now the 23d or 24th of *February* Sir *Thomas Finch*, Knight, and Mr. *Hardes* ſent for me and my Sureties to Mr. *Finch*'s Place, and took me from my Sureties, and ſent me to the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, by Sir *Thomas Moyles*'s Order, as they ſaid, where I lay ten Weeks, and then was bail'd, and bound to appear at the next Seſſions holden at *Canterbury*; but after, they changed it to be at *Aſhford* on *Thurſday* in *Whitſon* Week, being the nineteenth of *May*: But in the mean Time the Matter was exhibited to the ſpiritual Court.

Mr. *Bland* taken from his Sureties.

The firſt Examination of Mr. John Bland *in the Spiritual Court, before Dr.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *and Mr.* Collins *Commiſſary.*

Mr. *Bland* thruſt into a Side Chappel till the Maſs was done.

THE 18th Day of *May*, Mr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, obliged the Mayor's Serjeant to bring me before him and Mr. *Collins* Commiſſary, into *Chriſt*'s-*church*, and they took me into a Chamber in the Suffragan of *Dover*'s Houſe.

Then the Archdeacon ſaid, Art thou a Prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſaid, Art thou a Graduate of any Univerſity? and I ſaid, Yea. What Degree, *ſaid he*, haſt thou taken? The Degree, quoth I, of Maſter of Arts. The more Pity, quoth he, that thou ſhouldſt behave thyſelf as thou haſt done. Thou haſt been a common licenſed Preacher, haſt

Mr. *Bland* Maſter of Arts of *Cambridge*.

Anno 1555.

haſt thou not? and I ſaid, I have been ſo. Marry, quoth he, ſo I underſtand.

Harpſ. What haſt thou preached?

Bland. God's Word, to the edifying of his People.

Harpſ. No, no, to the Deſtruction both of thy Soul and theirs too, if the Mercy of God be not ſpeedily extended towards you. I pray thee tell me what thou haſt preached?

Bland. I told you already what I have preached.

Harpſ. Nay, but tell me what one Matter haſt thou preached to the edifying of the People, as thou ſayeſt?

Bland. I will tell you no particular Matter; for I ſee you would have ſome Matter againſt me.

Harpſ. No, by my Faith, I only deſire to win thee from the Hereſies thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected others withal. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is not the real Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt after the Conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thine Opinion?

Note how theſe Papiſts ſeek for Matter to ſuck the Blood of poor Men.

Bland. Sir, I perceive, as I ſaid before, that ye ſeek ſome Matter againſt me. But ſeeing that I am bound in the Seſſions to my good Behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with Words, and well I know not with what Words; and alſo both mine Authority to preach, and my Living are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an Anſwer.

Collins. Mr. *Bland*, do you not remember, that St. *Peter* biddeth you make Anſwer to every Man that asketh you a Reaſon of the Faith that is in you?

Bland. I know that, and am content ſo to Anſwer as that Text biddeth: But I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not ask me after that Manner, but rather to bring me into Trouble. Then they ſaid, No, ye ſhall not be troubled for any Thing that ye ſay here.

A Man not bound to anſwer ſuch as ask of purpoſe to bring him into Trouble.

Bland. I am content for Knowledge ſake to commune with you in any Matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell to reaſoning for the Space of an Hour, of the Sacrament, both againſt me. At laſt Mr. *Collins* ſaid, Mr. *Bland*, will ye come and take in Hand to anſwer ſuch Matters on *Monday* next as ſhall be laid to you?

Mr. *Bland* upon Promiſe talketh with them of the Sacrament.

Bland. Sir, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any Thing that ſhould be ſaid here for Learning's ſake. And they ſaid, ye ſhall not, but it is for other Matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as ſome tell me, on *Thurſday* next at *Aſhford*, I am in doubt whether I can or no: Yet have I purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to *London* to Mr. *Wiſeman*, for an Obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receive ſome Money to pay my Debts withal. Then ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. *Wiſeman*, that ye ſhall ſuſtain no Loſs.

Mark what Fidelity is in the Promiſe of theſe Men.

Bland. That ſhall not need: For I can ſuſtain no great Loſs if I go not. But I pray you let me have a longer Day. No, quoth he.

Mr. *Bland* warned to appear again before them.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on *Monday*.

Harpſ. Wilt thou not come when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer Day.

Harpſ. * Thou ſhalt have no other Day: I charge thee to come on *Monday*.

* Note here the extream dealing of *Harpſfield*.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it ſhall be for this or like Matters: Will it pleaſe you, or Mr. *Collins*, for God's ſake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this Matter, ſeeing ye ſay ye would gladly win me?

Harpſ. With all my Heart will I take the Pains, and I will alſo borrow my Lord of *Dover*'s Library, to have what Books thou wilt: And thus they departed. Now the 17th of *May* at *Aſhford* I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for that Purpoſe, but was bound to appear at the Seſſions held at *Crambroke* the Third of *July*.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland *before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.*

ON the 21ſt of *May* I appeared in the Chapter-houſe, where was a great Multitude of People, unlooked for by me, and Mr. Archdeacon ſaid thus to me; Ye are come here according as ye were appointed; and the Cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Queen's Highneſs here to place me, to ſee God's Holy Word ſet forth, and to reform thoſe that are here fallen into great and heinous Errors, to the great Diſpleaſure of God, and the Decay of Chriſt's Sacraments, and contrary to the Faith of the catholick Church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is ſore poiſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected and deceived many with thy evil Preaching; which if thou wilt renonunce and come Home again to the catholick Church, both I and many others would be very glad: And I for my Part ſhall be right glad to ſhew you the Favour that lieth in me, as I ſaid unto you when you were appointed hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatisfy again the People that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the Matter with you this Day; although I did neither ſo intend nor appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the Matter with thee, if thou wilt not without Diſputation help to heal the Souls that are brought to Hell-ward by thee? What ſayeſt thou?

Falſe Surmiſes pretended againſt Mr. *Bland*.

Bland. I do proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my Conſcience guilty of any Error or Hereſy, neither that I ever taught any Error or Hereſy willingly. And where your Maſterſhip ſaith, That I have feigned an open Diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus prove: Upon *Saturday* I was at *Ugden*'s, and there Mr. *Bingham* laid it to my Charge, that ſuch an open Diſputation, as you have here offered, ſhould be this Day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and ſaid to him, That before that preſent I never heard any ſuch Word; neither would I Anſwer or Diſpute: And Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Seth* of *Overland*, and Mr. *Ugden* can witneſs to this; and further I ſaid to them, that I never ſpake to you of any Diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your Maſterſhip have any Thing to ſay to me by the Law, I will make to Anſwer it.

His Anſwer to Mr. *Harpſfield*'s Words.

Harpſ. Hear ye what he ſaith? His Conſcience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundeſt thou thy Conſcience? Let me hear what thy Faith is?

Bland.

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould ask me a Reaſon of my Faith, more than any other Man in this open Audience?

Harpſ. Why thou Heretick, art thou aſhamed of thy Faith? If it were a chriſtian Belief, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

To believe the Articles of our chriſtian Faith never ſo well, it will not ſuffice the Papiſts.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my Faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, *&c.* with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the Holy Scriptures of God to be moſt certain and true.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my Faith: I do believe and ground my Faith and Conſcience upon all the Articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy Doctors of the Church, and upon all the general Councils that ever were ſince the Apoſtles Time. Lo, hereupon ground I my Faith; with many more Words which I do not well remember.

And when he could get no other Anſwer from me, than what I had ſaid before, he called for a Scribe to make an Act againſt me. And after much Communication, I ſaid, By what Law and Authority will ye proceed againſt me? Mr. *Collins* ſaid, By the Canon Law.

Mr. *Bland* requireth to have his Counſellor.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in Strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a Counſellor in the Law, and I will make Anſwer according to the Law.

Harpſ. Why thou Heretick, thou wilt not confeſs thy Faith to me, that have Authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confeſſed my Faith to thee before all this Audience. As concerning the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, thou haſt taught, that after the Conſecration it is Bread and Wine, and not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How ſay'ſt thou, haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this Matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. *Collins*, ye, ſaid then it was for other Matters that I ſhould come hither: And further, that ye would be content at my Deſire, to confer Scriptures with me, to ſee if ye could win me; and ye ſaid, ye would borrow my Lord of *Dover*'s Library, that I ſhould have what Book I would; and now ye require me thus to anſwer, contrary to your Promiſe before any Conference be had, and ſeek rather to bring me into Trouble, than to win me.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall help me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I hope to diſſolve all thy Doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipful Men, my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. *Collins*, to hear us.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: There ſhall be no ſuch Witneſs. But when we agree, ſet to our Hands. Here the People made a Noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the Witneſs: And here we had many more Words than I can rehearſe. But at laſt I ſaid, Sir, will ye give me Leave to ask you one Queſtion? And he ſaid, Yea, with all my Heart. For in that thou askeſt any Thing, there is ſome Hope that thou may'ſt be won.

Mr. *Bland*'s Queſtion to Dr. *Harpſfield.*

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed Almighty God to ſend his Angel unto the Virgin *Mary* to ſalute her, and ſaid, *Hail, full of Grace*, &c. came any Subſtance from God our Father into the Virgin's Womb to become Man? Whereat Mr. Archdeacon, my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. *Collins* were ſilent. But my Lord ſpake firſt, and ſaid, The Holy Ghoſt came to her; and e're he had brought out his Sentence, Mr. *Syriac Peters* ſaid, *The Power of the moſt High over ſhadowed her.* Truth, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, it was the Power of God ſent by the Holy Ghoſt. They had forgot, that He was begotten of the Subſtance of his Father; or elſe they perceived whereunto this Queſtion tended: And ſo both I and they left it, by what Words I cannot tell. But I ſaid, Sir, ſhall I ask one other? And he ſaid, Yea. Is there in the Sacrament, after the Conſecration, Chriſt's natural Body, with all the Qualities of a natural Body, or no! Anno 1555.

Another Queſtion to Dr. *Harpſfield.*

Harpſ. Hark, ſaid, Mr. Archdeacon, hear ye this Heretick? He thinks it an Abſurdity to grant all the Quantities of Chriſt's natural Body to be in the Sacrament. But it is no Abſurdity: For even that natural Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is glorified, and that ſame Body is in the Sacrament after the Conſecration. But perceive ye not the Arrogancy of this Heretick, that will put me to anſwer him, and he will not anſwer me? He thought to put me to a Pinch with his Queſtion; for I tell you it is a learned Queſtion.

Dr. *Harpſfield*'s Anſwer.

Bland. If ye be ſo much diſcontented with me, I will ſay no more; yet I would all Men heard, that ye ſay the glorified Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament after the Conſecration.

How can the glorified Body be in the Sacrament, when the Sacrament was given before the Body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified? The Body unglorified was given in the Sacrament in a glorified Act, quoth *Harpſfield.*

Harpſ. I may call thee groſs Ignorant. Thou groſs Ignorant, is not the ſame Body glorified, that was born of the Virgin *Mary?* Is it then any Abſurdity to grant that to be in the Sacrament? And while he ſpake many other Words, I ſaid to Mr. *Petit*, That the Sacrament was inſtituted, delivered, and received of his Apoſtles, before Chriſt's Body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which Saying Mr. *Petit* partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Thou haſt no Learning. Was not Chriſt's Body given to his Apoſtles, as in a glorified Act? And yet no Inconvenience, although his natural Body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin *Mary* without Pain, was not that the Act of a glorify'd Body? And when he walked on the Water, and when he came into the Houſe to his Apoſtles, the Doors being ſhut faſt, were not theſe Acts of a glorify'd Body?

Then my Lord of *Dover* helped him to a better Place, and ſaid, When Chriſt was in Mount *Tabor*, he was there glorify'd in the Sight of his Apoſtles.

Harpſ. Ye ſay Truth, my Lord, he was glorify'd in the Sight of three of his Apoſtles.

Bland. This methinks is new Doctrine.

Harpſ. Well, ſeeing he will by no other Way be reformed, let the People come in and prove theſe Matters againſt him. And thereupon the Archdeacon brought forth a Copy of the Bill of Complaint that was put up againſt me at *Chriſtmas*, and about that we had a little Talk. And then Mr. Archdeacon roſe up, and ſaid, See ye good People that know this Matter, that ye come in, and prove it againſt him. Whereunto anſwered *Thomas Auſten*, I pray you let us be no more troubled with him, and then ſpake *John Auſten*, and *Heath* a one-ey'd Man, and began to accuſe me; but I gave them no other Anſwer, but do to me what ye

Dr. *Harpſfield* reviveth the Bill of Complaint againſt Mr. *Bland.*

Anno 1555.

can by Law, and I will anſwer it. Then ſaid *Thomas Auſten*, *Bland*, ye were once abjured. Ye ſay not truly, Goodman *Auſten*, ſaid I, I was never abjured. Either, *ſaid he*, ye were abjured, or elſe ye had the King's Pardon. Neither of both, ſaid I; ye ſpeak this of mere Malice, with many other Words. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. *Collins* to command me to appear the next Day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent Buſineſs that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a Letter to Mr. Commiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the Matter till my coming Home again; and if he would not, I would contentedly ſubmit myſelf to the Law when I came Home.

Now about the 28th Day of *June* I came to Mr. Commiſſary to let him know of my Return, and offered myſelf to ſatisfy the Law, if it were proceeded againſt me, before Mr. *Cocks* of *Surry*, and *Marks* the Apparitor; but Mr. Commiſſary gently ſaid, that he had done nothing againſt me. And ſo appointed me to appear before him the *Friday* Seven-night after. In the mean Time a Seſſions was held at *Crambroke*, where I was bound to appear; and carrying Surety with me to be bound again, for I expected no other, did appear the third Day of *July*.

Mr. *Bland* appearing at Seſſions in *Crambroke*.

Then ſaid Sir *John Baker*, *Bland*, we hear that you be a *Scot*; where were ye born and brought up? And I ſaid I was born in *England*. And he ſaid, where? And I ſaid, in *Sedber*, and brought up by one Dr. *Lupton*, Provoſt of *Eaton* College. Well, *ſaid he*, I know him well. Remain to your Bond till Afternoon.

Mr. *Bland* brought up by Dr. *Lupton*, Provoſt of *Eaton* College.

Then ſaid Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Ah *Bland*, thou art a ſtiff-necked Fellow. Thou wilt not obey the Law, nor anſwer when thou art called. Then ſaid Sir *John Baker*, Mr. Sheriff take him to your Ward: And the Bailiff ſet me in the Stocks, with others, and would not hear me ſpeak one Word; and ſo we remained in the Goal of *Maidſtone*, till a Fortnight before *Michaelmas*, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to *Rocheſter*, to the Aſſizes held there, where we were two Days among the Priſoners: And when we were called, and the Judges asked our Cauſes, when my Cauſe was rehearſed, Mr. *Barrow*, Clerk of the Peace, ſaid, that I was an excommunicate Perſon.

Then the Judges of Aſſize remanded us to *Maidſtone* again, ordering us to be brought to the next Seſſions that ſhould be held at the Town of *Malden*: However the Sheriff never ſent for us; ſo that we tarried at *Maidſtone* till the Seſſions held at *Greenwich* the 18th and 19th of *February*. I and others being within the Bar amongſt the Felons, and Irons upon our Arms, were called out the latter Day by the Jaylor and Bailiffs, and eaſed of our Irons, and carried by them into the Town to Sir *John Baker*, Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Webb*, and two others whom I knew not.

Another Examination of Mr. Bland.

BAKER. *Bland*, wherefore were you caſt into Priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Maſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Yea, but for what were you in before that Time?

Bland. For an unjuſt Complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the Complaint?

I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy Book? And I gave him a *Latin* Teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Church, and obey and follow the Queen's Proceedings, and do as an honeſt Man ſhould do?

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt Man ought to do?

Baker. Will ye do as I ſaid?

Bland. Will it pleaſe your Maſterſhip to give me Leave to ask you a Queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

A Queſtion propounded to Sir *John Baker*.

Bland. Sir, may a Man do any Thing that his Conſcience is not ſatisfy'd in to be good?

Baker. Away, away; and threw down the Book, and ſaid, It is no Teſtament. And I ſaid, Yes. And Mr. *Webb* took it up, and ſaid unto me very gently, Mr. *Bland*, I knew you when you were not of this Opinion; I would to God ye would reform yourſelf; with better Words than I can write. And I ſaid; If ye have known me of another Opinion than I am now of, it was for lack of Knowledge.

Haſty Judgment of a Juſtice.

Baker. Yea, ſaiſt thou ſo? by St. *Mary*, and thou hold thee there, I will give ſix Faggots to burn thee withal, e're thou ſhouldeſt be unburned: Hence Knave, hence. And ſo were we returned into our Place again within the Bar. And at Night, when Judgment of Felons and all was done, we were called, and the Judge ordered the Jaylor to deliver us to the Ordinary. And if, ſaid the Judge, they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they ſhall have Judgment and Execution. And one of our Company ſaid, My Lord, if we be killed at your Hands for Chriſt's Sake, we ſhall live with him for ever.

Mr. *Bland* and his Fellows ſent to the Ordinary by Sir *John Baker*.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland *in the Spiritual Court.*

THEN we came to the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, and there we remained till the ſecond Day of *March*, on which Day we were brought into the Chapter-houſe of *Creechurch*, where were ſitting the Suffragan of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Collins*, Mr. *Mills*, with others, and then went to them Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Webb* and Mr. *Hardes*, Juſtices. And when I was called, Mr. *Webb* ſaid, Here we preſent this Man unto you, as one vehemently ſuſpected of Hereſy.

Bland. Mr. *Webb*, ye have no Cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſy. I have been a Priſoner this whole Year, and no Matter proved againſt me. I pray you what is the Reaſon that I have been kept ſo long in Priſon?

Webb. Leave your arrogant asking of Queſtions, and anſwer to that that is laid to your Charge.

Bland. I do ſo; for I ſay you have no Cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſy.

Webb. Yes; ye deny'd to Sir *John Baker*, to be conformable to the Queen's Proceedings.

Bland. Is it a juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſy, for asking a Queſtion with Leave? So we had more Words there than I will remember.

Then ſtood up Mr. *Petit*, and ſaid, ye were caſt into Priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then have I had wrong: For I never fled nor diſobey'd mine Ordinary, nor did any

Thing contrary to the Law. If I did, let them now ſpeak: But they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw that they held their Peace, I ſaid, Mr. Commiſſary, have you been the Cauſe of this my Impriſonment? No, quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the *Friday* after the Seſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeak no more, but ſhut up in a Corner till my Companions were alſo preſented, and then we were ſent to *Weſtgate* into Priſon, and were put in ſeveral cloſe Holds, ſo that we could not ſpeak to one another, neither was any Man permitted to come to us. We appeared four Times in this Manner: But one they diſpatched, by what Means I cannot tell; whoſe Name was *Cornwall*, a Tanner.

And thus paſſed the Talk between *Bland* and the Juſtices, and certain Gentlemen of the Shire. Now followeth the Order of the Reaſoning between him and the Clergy-men, before whom he was examined. But foraſmuch as the chief Actor againſt him was the Biſhop of *Dover*, or Suffragan of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Richard Thornton*, to the Intent it may appear what little Truth or Conſtancy is in theſe catholick Perſecutors, I thought here to exhibit, a certain Letter, written to him by a Papiſt. Wherein is declared what a Goſpeller the ſaid *Richard Thornton* was in King *Edward*'s Time, who now turning with the Tide, ſhewed himſelf a moſt bitter Perſecutor againſt God's Servants in Queen *Mary*'s Time. The Copy of this Letter here followeth.

The Copy of a Popiſh Letter written to the Biſhop of *Dover*, by one *Thomas Goldwell* a Prieſt, declaring what a Profeſſor he was in King *Edward*'s Time.

*Right Reverend and my good Lord, after my hearty Thanks for your good Cheer at my laſt being with your Lordſhip, this ſhall be to certify you, that as ſoon as my Lord's Grace arrived *, I gave him your Letters, but I had much Work to obtain any Thing of him for you. For there hath been very evil Informations given of you, and it hath been ſaid, that you have concurred with all Manner of evil Proceedings, which have for ſome Years been in* England, *as well againſt the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the ſupreme Authority of Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, as with the Uſe of the late abominable Communion, and with the Marriage of Prieſts, as well Religious as Secular; and that you have given Orders to (I cannot tell how many) baſe, unlearned, and evil-diſpoſed People, by reaſon of which they have taken upon them to preach, and thereby have done much Hurt in* Kent. *So that Men think that yet if any new Mutation (which God forbid) ſhould happen, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed Almighty God to provide, that your Abſolution was ſent unto you (when you little thought of it) abſolving you from all your paſt Offences, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding the Vanity of the World than the Offence of God, which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due Love I bear unto you) preſumed to ſing Maſs in* Pontificalibus, *the Holy-days immediately following, and alſo to miniſter to Children the Sacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (being a Member of the Devil) did ſomewhat comfort you ſo to do.* Anno 1555.

* He meaneth of the Arrival of Cardinal *Poole*.

Thornton Biſhop of *Dover* againſt the Pope and Sacrament of the in King *Edward*'s Time.

Oh my Lord, what Honour ſhould it have been both to God and to yourſelf, and alſo Edification to all good People (though all worldly Men and Hereticks would have laughed you to ſcorn) if you conſidering your great Offences towards God, and his Goodneſs towards you, would, as you have offended in the Face of the World, to the Damnation of many, likewiſe have ſhewed your ſelf penitent in the Face of the World, to the Edification of many, and not ſo ſoon to have celebrated for Vanity Pontificaliter; *but for a Time to have abſtained for Reverence* Totaliter *from the Altar, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Church. Which I have alſo ſeen obſerved by ſome honeſt Men, not being thereto enjoin'd by any Man, but as their own Conſciences obliged them. But what is paſt cannot be recall'd. And I thought it not my Part to leave your Lordſhip, mine own Friend and Maſter, in the Mire. Where I ceaſed not to ſolicit your Cauſe with my Lord's Grace, till at laſt I obtained of his Grace for your Lordſhip all the Faculties of which I ſend you a Copy here encloſed, partly for your own Conſolation, and partly for the Comfort of others, deſiring your Lordſhip to uſe them to the Honour of God, that there come to me thereof no Rebuke: Not publiſhing them to any Perſon, but to ſuch as you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a Biſhop in* England, *who hath granted him ſo great Authority concerning thoſe which be under his Cure. Only Mr. Archdeacon hath the like, and in one Thing, more great than be theſe your Lordſhips. Wherefore your Lordſhip ſhall do well to remit unto him all ſuch Prieſts as have Cure of Souls, whether they be beneficed Men, or Pariſh Prieſts. For he hath not only Authority to abſolve them, as you have, but alſo to give them Authority to abſolve ſuch as be underneath their Cures. And thus I commit your Lordſhip to the Protection of Almighty God. Written at* Bruſſels *the* 16*th of* June, 1554.

Power to give Abſolution granted to the Biſhop of *Dover* from the Cardinal.

Your Lordſhip's Beadman,

Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much, by way of Digreſſion, concerning the Biſhop of *Dover*. Now to return again to the Examination of Mr. *Bland*: Let us hear his own Report of his Anſwers, as followeth.

Here followeth mine Anſwer, as nigh as I can call to Remembrance, every Word and Sentence; yet if any that was preſent can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is not one Sentence, but it was openly ſpoken the ninth of *March* in the Chapter-houſe of *Creechurch*, in the Preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Mayor of the City being called to be Aſſiſtant, and all others ſhut out.

The Anſwer of Mr. Bland *in his Appearance before the Commiſſary, and others in the Spiritual Court.*

MAſter *Collins* ſaid; Mr. *Bland*, ye know that ye are preſented unto us as one ſuſpected of Hereſy. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reform yourſelf to the Laws of this Realm, and of the holy Church?

Bland. I deny that I am juſtly ſuſpected of Hereſy, and that ye heard when I was preſented, that I deny'd the Suſpicion to be juſt,

Anno 1555.

but to defend the unjuſt Puniſhment that I have ſuffered: Neither can ye prove that any Occaſion hath been given by me, whereby any Man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you have any Law or Authority to proceed againſt me for any thing done for a whole Year ago and more, I will anſwer to it.

Mr. *Bland* unjuſtly ſuſpected of Hereſy, and more unjuſtly puniſhed.

Collins. Ye were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and Matter of Hereſy laid to your Charge.

Bland. That Matter was done and ſaid a whole Year ago, for I have been in Priſon this Year and more. If ye have any Thing againſt me by any Law, I deſire you to let me know the Law and the Matter, and I will anſwer according to the Law.

Then ſaid my Lord Suffragan; But that I am one of the Judges, I would riſe, and ſtand by thee, and accuſe thee to be a Sacramentary, and bring Witneſs to prove it; yea, and further, that thou haſt called the Maſs an abominable Idol.

Bland. You, my Lord, never heard me ſay ſo: But I heard you once ſay, That in your Conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſs three Years. Thou lieſt, quoth he, I never ſaid ſo.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring Witneſs to prove it, with the Day, Time and Place; and I once did hear Mr. *Collins* at a Viſitation in *Wingham* ſay, That Chriſt was a full Satisfaction for all Sin, preſent, paſt and to come, contrary to that he ſaith now.

And here we had more Words of this Matter, which I let paſs for lack of good Remembrance.

Mr. *Collins* ſaid, This is but a Drift. You were better anſwer now, elſe you ſhall go to Priſon again, and be called on *Monday*, and have Articles laid to you, and if ye then anſwer not directly, ye ſhall be condemned *Pro confeſſo*, and that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will I then deny to anſwer to any Thing that ye can lay to my Charge by the Law; wherefore I truſt ye will let me have the Benefit of the Law.

Collins. This is the Law, that if be required of the Ordinary, to render a Reaſon of your Faith, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Mr. *Bland* confeſſeth all the Arcles of his Creed. If the Faith of the Sacrament be in the Scripture, and ſo neceſſary a Thing, why did not the Apoſtles then put it in the Creed, and make thirteen Articles? If it be not in the Scripture, nor yet put in the Creed, why then doth the Pope ſo extreamly bind us unto it?

Bland. To that then will I anſwer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, with all the other Articles of the ſame Creed: And I believe all the Articles contained both in the Creed called the Maſs Creed, and in the Creed of *Athanaſius:* And I do believe, that all the Holy Scriptures, and all Things therein contained, are moſt true.

Collins. This will not ſerve you: Ye muſt anſwer to all ſuch Articles in all theſe as ſhall be laid to you, or asked of you.

Bland. Let me know the Law that it is in that Force (without any juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion proved againſt me) and I will anſwer.

Collins. How ſay, will ye anſwer?

Bland. Sir, I have anſwered you. Have him away, ſaid my Lord of *Dover*, he had better have anſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to anſwer, if ye have any Thing againſt me by the Law.

Biſhop of *Dover.* Ye have preached many Hereſies in *Adeſham*, where I am Parſon now; and therefore ye muſt make Anſwer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my Charge by the Law, and I will anſwer them, if ye can prove I am bound to anſwer to that which was done a Year ago or more: For if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my Charge, and compel me to anſwer to all Things done in all my Life.

Collins. It is not a Year ago ſince you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is a Year and ten Weeks ſince the Words were ſpoken, and I have been a Priſoner ever ſince, and have been at five Seſſions, and never could have my Cauſe tried. Methinks your Charities ſhould think it Puniſhment enough if I had been guilty.

Collins. All this will not ſerve you; you muſt needs anſwer, and it will be better for you to anſwer now than at another Time. Will ye reform yourſelf and go to the Church, and worſhip Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and be obedient unto all the Queen's Laws?

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To anſwer to ſuch Things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had ſome Matters againſt me by the Law.

Mr. *Bland* called before the ſpiritual Judges, not for any Matter they had, but that they would have againſt him.

Collins. Well, on *Monday* at Nine of the Clock ye ſhall ſee the Law, and have Articles laid unto you.

Then they had eſpied Mr. *Cox* the Lawyer, and called him in, and ſaid, Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the Law to anſwer: And he ſaid as they had ſaid.

Collins. Do ye not believe, that after the Conſecration of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread, but the Subſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, both God and Man?

Bland. Mr. Commiſſary, I know not by any Law why ye ſhould ask me that Queſtion more than any other Man here. And after a little Talk, my Lord *Dover* asked me this Queſtion: Doſt not thou believe, after the Conſecration, that it is the Body of Chriſt? And I ſaid, No, I do not ſo believe: For the Scriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remain the Fleſh of Chriſt, to eat as a Man ſhould eat Man's Fleſh.

Then Mr. *Glaſier* ſaid, That was the Opinion of the *Capernaites*, there is no Man here of that Opinion: And ſpake long of cutting of Chriſt's Body, as Men cut Fleſh in the Shambles.

Then Dr. *Faucet* ſaid, Mr. *Bland*, foraſmuch as you and I were brought up both in one Houſe, and born both in one Pariſh, I would be as glad as any Man alive to do you good; but ye may not thus ſtand againſt the Church. For Chriſt ſaith, ye muſt humble yourſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow him: And to humble yourſelf in this Place, is to be content, and not ſtick to your own Judgment, but to humble yourſelf to the holy Chrch, which hath determined, that after the Conſecration there remanieth no Bread, but the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Determination of the Church is to be followed ſo far as the Church determineth by the Scriptures.

Bland. Mr. Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourſelves in that Place, to admit the Determination of the Church, then muſt we know by the Scriptures, that the ſame Church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: And therefore I do not believe any ſuch Tranſubſtantiation, nor never will, God willing. Then, quoth he, I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a Dog.

Then

Then said Mr. *Glasier*, How think ye? Did St. *Paul*, when he said, I not the Bread that we brake a partaking of the Body of Christ? Did he mean Bakers Bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean Bakers Bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real Flesh.

Glasier. No, by St. *Mary*, we say not so, but we say it is the natural Body glorified, under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

Bland. Then the Apostles had it not as we have; or else his glorified Body was crucified for us.

Glasier. Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures. For Christ's Body was ever glorified. in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: Yea, and he shewed his Body divers Times glorified, as in the Mount *Tabor*: And when he walked on the Water, we see he was light, and had no Weight in him. Was not that then a glorified Body?

Bland. Then belike *Peter*'s Body was glorified, if walking on the Water was the Deed of a glorified Body: And the Iron that *Elisha* made to swim upon the Water.

2 *Kings* 6. 6.

Tush, said my Lord of *Dover*, that was done by Prayer. But there was such a Noise made with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said.

It availeth not to reason with the Papists in the Time of their Kingdom.

Bland. Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to Reason with you, no more than it availeth you in the Time of the Gospel. For then neither the Reason of *Eckius*, *Cochlæus*, nor yet of Detection of the Devil's Sophistry of my Lord Chancellor's Doing, could take any Place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in them.

Dover. No, you know *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and such others.

Bland. Indeed, my Lord, I have seen Part of their Doings.

Dover. That is seen by thee to Day.

Glasier. I was glad when I heard you say ye believed the catholick Church, and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17.

Glasier. Ye know that Christ saith; *If thy Brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses all Things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it unto the Church; if he hear not the Church, take him as an Heathen.* I pray where could ye have found this Church of yours fifty Years ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all Times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.

Then my Lord of *Dover* cried, No more, I command you to hold your Peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

Collins. Ye shall come again on *Monday* at Nine of the Clock, and in the mean Time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal; your Friend Dr. *Faucet*, or Mr. *Glasier*, if ye desire them.

Bland. I will refuse to talk with no Man: As for any Conference of your Part, it is but weak Laws, established as they are. But when there was no Law, I did desire Conference. And so for that Time I departed.

The *Monday* after we were brought to the same Place again; and then Mr. *Collins* began to speak to me, but after what Manner, it is clean out of my Mind: But the End was, that I would reform myself. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my Charge, and to see the Law, which they said before I should see.

Anno 1555.

Dover. What needs that? We have enough against you: * For ye denied unto me Transubstantiation in the Sacrament.

* Yea, but why then did you imprison him a whole Year before?

Bland. I did not refuse to answer till ye promised that I should see the Law, whereby ye might compel me to answer.

Dover. My Lord took the Scribe's Book, and read the Answer that I made to Dr. *Faucet*'s Reason, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no such Answer when ye asked me: I take Mr. *Collins* and Mr. *Glasier* to witness. Then they brought forth a Decretal, a Book of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Law, to bind me to answer, which my Heart abhorred to look upon. This Effect was, that the Ordinary had Authority to examine, and that those whom they so examined must needs answer. But I said that it meaned such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much Communication: For I charged them with unjust Imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

Mr. *Oxenden* would have helped them, and said, the Justices put me in Prison for preaching a seditious Sermon, and for troubling a Priest at Mass.

Bland. That is not true; for after I had been ten Weeks in Prison I was bailed out, till I was cast in again (as the Justice said) for the disobeying mine Ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Are ye willing to confer with some? it will be better for you; now we offer it, because ye would not desire it.

Bland. As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did perceive before, but that one Thing might have come, without Leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures: And therefore I expected Dr. *Faucet* would have come to me without desiring, if any Profit to me had been in Conference; for though I was never able to do him good; yet once I was his Tutor.

Collins. Will ye come to his Chamber in the Afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a Prisoner, and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and so departed. At this Time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the *Tuesday* seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but I hear they excommunicated, and let him go. His Name was *Miller* a Clothier.

These three belike were *Bland*, *Sheterden*, and *Middleton*.

Miller a Clothier excommunicated and let go.

Here followeth a certain Confutation of Mr. Bland *against false and manifest Absurdities, granted by Mr.* Milles, *Priest of* Christchurch *in* Canterbury.

MILLES. We say that Christ is in or under the Sacrament really and corporally, which are the Forms of Bread and Wine, and that there is his Body contained invisibly, and the Qualities which we do see, as Whiteness and Roundness, be there without Substance by God's Power, as Quantity and Weight be there also by visible Measure.

The popish Faith of the Sacrament.

Bland. This is your own Divinity, to make Accidents the Sacrament, and in Christ's real

Anno 1555.

Body inviſibly contained in them, and ſo to deſtry the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors ſay; * *Materia Sacramenti eſt Panis & Vinum.* And God by his Power worketh no Miracles with *Hoc eſt Corpus meum*, ſo to change the Subſtance of Bread and Wine into his Body and Blood, in that he maketh Accidents to be without their Subſtance by inviſible Meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſt's Sacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and trifle with God's Work.

1. The Matter of the Sacrament is Bread and Wine. If Chriſt be able to be where he liſt, and occupy no Place: Why then is not he able to be as well under the Subſtance of Bread, as under the Accidents of Bread, ſeeing he is omnipotent? Chriſt may be where he liſt: *Ergo*, Chriſt is really in the Sacrament without occupying of Place. The Antecedent is true, and the Conſequence is falſe.

Milles. To Chriſt is given all Power in Heaven and in Earth, ſo that by the omnipotent Power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth; and is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of Place; for a glorified Body occupieth no Place.

Bland. Mark your own Reaſon. All Power is given to Chriſt both in Heaven and Earth; by the omnipotent Power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: *Ergo*, he is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of Place.

I deny your Argument; for it followeth neither of your Major nor Minor. And firſt I would learn of you, how you know that Chriſt liſteth to be preſent at the Will of every Prieſt. For if the Prieſt liſt not to ſay your Maſs, then Chriſt liſteth not to be there.

Again, ye ſay, all Power is given unto Chriſt both in Heaven and in Earth, ſo that is the Cauſe by your Reaſon, that by the omnipotent Power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: And by that Reaſon he had no Power of his Godhead, till he had his human Body, and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: For all Power was not given to Chriſt, before the Humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *Filius*. Here is more Danger than ye are aware of, if ye would ſtand to it with juſt Judges.

Milles. We eat Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood ſpiritually when we receive it with Faith and Charity. And we alſo do eat it corporally in the Sacrament; and the Body that we ſo receive hath Life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: Which although it be received with the Body of Chriſt, yet it is not viſible after a groſs Sort, and the Fleſh of Chriſt that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a Man be druken, it is not by receiving of the Blood of Chriſt: For it is contrary to the Nature of Chriſt's Blood. If he be drunken, it is by the Qualities and * Quantities, without Subſtance of Blood.

* Caſe being put that the Prieſt taking a great Quantity in the Chalice, be made drunk, which of theſe three is it that maketh him drunk? the Nature of Blood: the Accidents only of Wine: Or elſe the true Subſtance of Wine? Let any reaſonable Man judge.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all Men, to ſay that Chriſt's Body is alive in the Sacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the Truth in Time to come. Methinks it is evil to keep Chriſt's Body alive in the Pix; or elſe muſt ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pix. And ye ſay Truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Chriſt's Blood that maketh a Man drunken; for it is the Nature of Wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

And a greater Truth ye confeſs than ye did think, when ye ſaid; If a Man be drunken, it is by the Qualities and Quantities, without the Subſtance of Blood; for indeed Blood hath no ſuch Qualities with it: By which it is evident that there is no natural Blood.

If a Man be drunken with Wine conſecrated, it muſt be a Miracle, as I think you will have it, that the ſaid Accidents ſhould be without their natural Subſtance, and work all the Operations of both Subſtance and Accidents; and ſo it followeth that a Man may be drunken by Miracle. The Body that ye receive, ye ſay, is alive, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead; and the Fleſh that ye receive is lively, becauſe it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This Diviſion is of your new Inventions, to divide the Body and the Fleſh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one Sacrament: Ye make of it a Thing ſo fantaſtical, that ye imagine a Body without Fleſh, and Fleſh without a Body; as ye do Qualities and Quantities without Subſtance, and a living Body without Qualities and Quantities.

Fantaſtical Abſurdities in the Pope's Doctrine to be noted.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly Intent in the Miniſter to conſecrate, after the Conſecration thereof, there is preſent the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and no other Subſtance, but Accidents without Subſtance to a true Believer.

Bland. Ye grant three Abſurdities, * That in a Tun of Wine conſecrated is nothing but Accidents: And to increaſe it withal, ye have brought in two Inconveniences; firſt, that it is not the Word of God that doth conſecrate, but the Intent of the Prieſt muſt help it; and if that fail, ye ſeem to gant no Conſecration, though the Prieſt ſpeak the Word; and yet your Doctors ſay, that the Wickedneſs of the Prieſt diminiſheth not the Sacrament.

* Three Inconveniences granted by the Papiſts.

1. That a Tun of Wine being conſecrated, nothing remaineth but Accidents: Which is falſe by the Operation thereof.

2. Where he ſaith, that the Word of God doth not conſecrate without the Intent of the Prieſt, which is againſt their own Doctrine, ſaying, That the Wickedneſs of the Prieſt diminiſheth not the Sacrament.

3. Where he ſaith, that to the Unbeliever it is not the Sacrament as the Papiſts ſay, that the Wicked receive the Body.

And to an Unbeliever ye ſeem to ſay, that it is not the ſame, as it is to the true Believer; and then muſt the Believer have ſomething to do in the Conſecration. *Incidit in Scyllam* * *qui vult vitare Charibdim.*

* *Scylla*, a Rock over-againſt the Gulph *Charybdis*, ſo that the Paſſage there is dangerous for Ships; whence the Proverb, To avoid *Scylla* he falls into *Charybdis*; or in *Engliſh*, He leaps out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.

Milles. The Subſtance of Chriſt's Body doth not fill the Mouſe's Belly. For although he doth receive the outward Forms of Bread and Wine, yet he doth not receive the Subſtance inwardly, but without Violation. And a Mouſe doth not eat the Body of Chriſt, to ſpeak properly; for it doth not feed him ſpiritually or corporally, as it doth Man, becauſe he doth not receive it to any Inducement of Immortality to the Fleſh.

Bland. Ye make not your Doctrine plain to be underſtood: We muſt know how a Mouſe can receive the Subſtance inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſay he doth not receive the Subſtance † inwardly, but without Violation: *Ergo*, With Violation he receiveth the Subſtance inwardly. Ye ſay that the Mouſe cannot violate Chriſt's Body; but he violateth the Subſtance that he eateth. And this your proper Speech doth import

Argument. A *contrario ſenſu.*

† The Mouſe receiveth not the Body inwardly, but without Violation.

Ergo, With Violation he receiveth the Body inwardly.

Argument.

The Mouſe violateth not the Body of Chriſt.

The Mouſe violateth the Subſtance which he eateth.
Ergo, The Mouſe eateth no Subſtance of Chriſt's Body.

import as much, as that the Mouſe ſhould eat the Sacrament to as great Effect, and the ſame Thing as doth the unworthy Receiver. For if that be the Cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the Body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feed upon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any Inducement of Immortality, as ye ſay; then it followeth, that the Unbeliever and the * Mouſe receive both one Thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the † Mouſe will live with conſecrated Bread, and then ye muſt grant this Abſurdity, that a Subſtance is nouriſhed and fed only with Accidents.

* The Mouſe and the Unbeliever receive the Body of Chriſt both alike, by the Papiſts Doctrine.

† Argument.
No Mouſe can live with Accidents only without Subſtance.
A Mouſe may live with conſecrated Hoſts.
Ergo, Conſecrated Hoſts have not only Accidents, but the Subſtance of Bread.

Milles. Mens Bodies be fed with Chriſt's Body, as with immortal Meat, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed, to eternal Life; but Mens Bodies be corporally nouriſhed with Qualities and Forms of Bread and Wine: And we deny that by the ſacramental Eating any groſs Humour turned into Blood is made miraculouſly in the Body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a Man may live, and naturally be nouriſhed in his natural Body with the ſacramental Bread and Wine conſecrated; ye cannot avoid that: But then ye turn to the ſpiritual nouriſhing of Man's Body, by Chriſt's Body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the Abſurdity, that either a Man's natural Body ſhould be fed naturally with Accidents, or elſe to have them changed into groſs Humours. But ye ſay, Mens Bodies be corporally nouriſhed with Qualities and Forms of Bread and Wine; and then muſt ye needs grant, that Qualities and Quantities muſt be made Subſtance in Man. For *ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta*, or elſe is all that is the Nutriment in Man Accidents and no Subſtance.

Another Abſurdity, that Mens Bodies be nouriſhed naturally with Accidents and Qualities.

Milles. If the Forms of Bread and Wine be burned, or Worms ingendered, it is no Derogation to the Body of Chriſt, becauſe the Preſence of his Body ceaſeth to be there, and no Subſtance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a Subſtance may be made of Accidents, as Aſhes or Worms: But I think you will have it by your Miracles, and this I count a greater Abſurdity than the other, that Chriſt's Body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no Subſtance to come again; for no Word in all the whole Bible ſeems to ſerve you for the ceaſing of his Preſence, tho' we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your Heart, if it be his Will and Pleaſure, to ſee the Truth. And if I thought not my Death to be at Hand, I would anſwer you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my Doings.

Another Abſurdity, that Subſtance is made of Accidents, when Aſhes or Worms be made of the Forms of Bread and Wine.

I ſubmit myſelf to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Word, deſiring you in the Bowels of Chriſt to do the ſame.

Your Orator in the Lord,

John Bland.

The laſt Appearance and Examination of Mr. Bland.

HItherto you have heard the troubleſome Handling of this faithful Servant of God, *John Bland*, toſt to and fro, from Priſon to Priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſt he was brought before the Biſhop of *Dover*, the Commiſſary, and the Archdeacon, at *Canterbury* the 13th Day of *June*. The Name of this Biſhop was *Richard Thornton*. The Commiſſary was *Robert Collins*, whom the Cardinal by his Letters Patents had ſubſtituted his Agent, before his coming over ro *England*. The Archdeacon was *Nicholas Harpsfield*. Under theſe a great many innocent Lambs of Chriſt were cruelly treated and barbarouſly ſlain at *Canterbury*, amongſt whom this aforeſaid Mr. *Bland* was one of the Firſt; who, as it is ſaid, being brought before the ſaid Biſhop, and Colleagues, which were *John Frankeſh*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Thomas Thacker*, *Humfrey Middleton*, and *William Cocker*, were examined of Articles. To whom it was objected by the Commiſſary, Whether he believed that Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, or no, &c. To this he anſwer'd and ſaid, that he believed, that Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he in all other good Bodies; ſo that he judged not Chriſt to be really in the Sacrament. Anno 1555.

Whereupon the Day being on *Monday*, he was bid to appear again upon *Wedneſday* next, and from thence he was deferred again to *Monday* following, being the twentieth of *June*, in the ſame Chapterhouſe, then to hear further what ſhould be done, in Caſe he would not relent to their Mind. Which Day and Place he appearing as before, was required to ſpeak his Mind plainly and fully to the aforeſaid Articles, being again repeated to him. Which Articles, commonly and in courſe they uſually objected to their Examinates which were brought before them, which Articles as here now followeth, need not hereafter be repeated, eſpecially for the County of *Kent*.

The laſt Appearance of Mr. *Bland* before the Biſhop of *Dover* and others.

Articles miniſtred by Richard *Biſhop of* Dover, *to Mr.* Bland, *and likewiſe to the reſt following after him.*

FIRST, That thou art of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and ſo ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop there.

2. *Item*, That thou art a chriſtian Man, and doſt profeſs the Laws of God, and Faith of Chriſt's catholick Church, and the Determination of the ſame.

3. *Item*, That all Perſons who teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or ſay within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, otherwiſe than our holy Mother the Church doth, are excommunicate Perſons, and Hereticks, and as excommunicate and Hereticks ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4. *Item*, That thou, coutrary to the catholick Faith and Determination of our Mother holy Church, within the Dioceſs of *Canertbury*, haſt openly ſpoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, believed, and yet doſt hold, affirm, and believe, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in Subſtance, but only a Token, Sign, and Remembrance thereof, and that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt is only in Heaven, and no where elſe.

5. *Item*, That thou, contrary to the catholick Faith, and Determination of our Holy Mother Church, haſt within this Dioceſs of *Canterbury*

Anno 1555. *Canterbury* openly ſpoken, ſaid, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doſt hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is againſt God's Word, that the Sacrament of Chriſt's Church ſhould be miniſtred in an unknown Tongue; and that no Man with a ſafe Conſcience, or without Peril of Sin receiveth any Sacrament adminiſtred in any Tongue that he underſtandeth not.

6. *Item*, That thou, contrary to the catholick Faith of our Mother holy Church, haſt, and yet doſt hold Opinion, and ſay, that it is againſt God's Word, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be adminiſtred in one Kind; and that no Man may with a ſafe Conſcience ſo receive it.

7. *Item*, That the Premiſes be true, and that there is a common Fame upon them within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*.

The Anſwers of Mr. Bland *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

1. TO theſe Articles Mr. *Bland*, anſwering again in Order as they were objected to him, ſaith to the Firſt, granting the ſame, that he was a Prieſt, and of the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.

2. To the Second alſo he anſwereth affirmatively.

3. *Item*, to the Third he anſwereth, that the Article is true, meaning the catholick Church to be Chriſt's Church.

4. *Item*, in the Fourth Article, as touching the firſt Part of the Article, he doth confeſs, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the ſame. And as touchiug the ſecond Part of the Article, he doth confeſs, that he doth now alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.

5. *Item*, to the fifth Article he granteth.

6. To the Sixth he preached, held, and doth hold, as is contained in the Article.

7. *Item*, to the laſt Article he granted the ſame, &c.

This done, and his Anſwers and Confeſſion taken, Reſpite was given him yet a few Days to deliberate with himſelf. And on the 25th Day of the ſaid Month of *June* he appeared again in the Chapter-houſe, and there openly and boldly withſtood the Authority of the Pope; whereupon he was condemned and committed to the ſecular Power.

Mr. *Bland* condemned.

Mr. Bland's *Prayer before his Death.*

THE Lord Jeſus, for whoſe Love I do willingly leave this Life, and deſire rather the bitter Death of his Croſs, with the Loſs of all earthly Things, than to abide the Blaſpheny of thy Holy Name, or elſe to obey Man in breaking of the Commandments: Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly Wealth to worſhip falſe Gods, and honour thy Enemy, I choſe rather the Torments of this Body, and Loſs of this my Life, and have counted all Things but vile Duſt and Dung that I might win thee: Which Death is more dear unto me than thouſands of Gold and Silver. Such Love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my Breaſt, that I Hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded deſireth the Soil. Send thy holy Comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak Piece of Earth, which is void of all Strength of itſelf. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but Duſt, and not able to do any Thing that is Good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed Goodneſs haſt bidden me to this Banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongſt thine Elect; give me Strength againſt this Element, that as it it is to my Sight moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my Mind it may be at thy Commandment, as an obedient Servant, ſweet and pleaſant; and through the Strength of thy Holy Spirit I may paſs through the Strength of this Fire into thy Boſom, according to thy Promiſe, and for this Mortality to receive Immortality, and for this Corruptible to put on Incorruptible. Accept this Burnt-offering and Sacrifice, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice itſelf, but for thy dear Son's ſake my Saviour; for whoſe Teſtimony I offer this freewill Offering with all my Heart and with all my Soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins as I forgive the whole World. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy Wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghoſt, through whoſe merciful Inſpiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlaſting Life. Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; Lord Jeſus receive my Soul. So be it.

The Hiſtory of John Frankeſh, Humphry Middleton, *and* Nicholas Sheterden.

HAVING now paſſed over the Examinations of Mr. *Bland*, let us further proceed to the reſt of his Fellow-priſoners, being joined the ſame Time with him in the like Cauſe and like Affliction. The Names of whom were, *John Frankeſh*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Humphry Middleton*, *Thacker* and *Cocker*, of whom *Thacker* only gave back. The reſt conſtantly ſtanding to the Truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of *Canterbury*, the 25th Day of *June* the Year above expreſſed. Whoſe Examinations I need not dwell long upon, foraſmuch as the Articles miniſtred againſt them were all one, ſo in their Anſwers they little or nothing diſagreed, as you ſhall hear hereafter. In the mean Time becauſe *Nicholas Sheterden* in his Examinations had a little more Talk with the Archdeacon and the Commiſſary. I will firſt begin with him.

The firſt Examination of Nicholas Sheterden *with Mr. Archdeacon* Harpsfield, *and Mr.* Collins *the Commiſſary, for which they ſent him to Priſon.*

FIRST the Archdeacon and Commiſſary affirmed, that the very Words of Chriſt, when he ſaid, This is my Body, did change the Subſtance, without any other Interpretation or ſpiritual Meaning of the Words.

Sheterden. Then belike when Chriſt ſaid, *This Cup is my Blood*, the Subſtance of the Cup was changed into his Blood, without any other Meaning, and ſo the Cup was changed, and not the Wine.

The Papiſts can deny a figurative Speech in the Cup, and yet will not grant the ſame in the Bread.

Harpsfield. Not ſo; for when Chriſt ſaid, *This Cup is my Blood*, he meant not the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Sheterden. If Chriſt ſpake one Thing, and meant another, then the bare Words did not change the Subſtance; but there muſt be a Meaning

Meaning ſought as well of the Bread, as of the Cup.

Harpſ. There muſt be a Meaning ſought of the Cup otherwiſe than the Words ſtand. But of the Bread it muſt be underſtood only as it ſtandeth, without any other Meaning.

Sheterden. Then do ye make one half of Chriſt's Inſtitution a Figure, or borrow'd Speech, and the other half a plain Speech, and ſo ye divide Chriſt's Supper.

Harpſ. Chriſt meant the Wine, and not the Cup, though he ſaid, This Cup is my Blood.

Sheterden. Then ſhew me whether the Words which the Prieſt ſpeaks over the Cup, do change the Subſtance, or whether the Mind of the Prieſt doth it?

Harpſ. The Mind of the Prieſt doth it, and not the Words.

Sheterden. If the Mind of the Prieſt doth it, and not the Words, if the Prieſt then do mind his Harlot, or any other vain Thing, that Thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the People do worſhip the Prieſt's Harlot inſtead of Chriſt's Blood: And again, none of the People can tell when it is Chriſt's Blood, or when it is not, ſeeing the Matter ſtandeth in the Mind of the Prieſt. For no Man can tell what the Prieſt meaneth but himſelf; and ſo are they ever in Danger of committing Idolatry.

If the Mind and not the Words of the Prieſt doth it: How then is it that *Duns* and his Fellows ſay, that the Words be the Form and formal Cauſe only that maketh the Sacrament?

Then was the Archdeacon ſomewhat moved, and ſate him down, and ſaid to the Commiſſary, I pray you Mr. Commiſſary to ſpeak to him for a while; for they are unreaſonable and perverſe Anſwers as ever I heard of. Then the Commiſſary ſtood up and ſaid:

Your Argument is much againſt yourſelf, for ye grant that the Bread is a Figure of Chriſt's Body; but the Cup can be no Figure of his Blood, nor yet his very Blood; and therefore Chriſt did not mean the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Sheterden. My Argument is not againſt me at all; for I do not ſpeak it to prove that the Cup is his Blood, nor the Figure of his Blood, but to prove that the bare Words being ſpoken by the Prieſt, do not change the Subſtance no more of the Bread, than they do change the Cup into Blood.

Commiſ. It could not be ſpoken of the Cup, when he ſaid, This Cup is my Blood; but he meant the Wine in the Cup.

Sheterden. Then it remaineth for you to anſwer my Queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the Mind of the Prieſt when he ſpeaketh over the Cup, doth change it into Blood, or the bare Words?

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the Words and the Mind of the Prieſt together; yea, the Intent and the Words together doth it.

Sheterden. If the Words and Intents together do change the Subſtance, yet muſt the Cup be his Blood, and not the Wine, foraſmuch as the Words are, *This Cup is my Blood*, and the Intent ye ſay, was the Wine; or elſe the Words take none Effect, but the Intent only.

After, the Commiſſary in his Chamber, ſaid, it was the Intent of the Prieſt before he went to Maſs, without the Words; for the Prieſt did intend to do as holy Church had ordained, then the Intent made the Sacrament to take Effect.

The Intent of the Prieſt maketh not the Sacrament.

Sheterden. If the Sacraments take Effect of the Intent of the Prieſt, and not of God's Word, then many Pariſhes having a Prieſt that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and alſo worſhipping that Thing to be God, which is but Bread, becauſe for lack of the Prieſt's Intent, the Words do take none Effect in it; ſo that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worſhip Chriſt or Bread, becauſe it is doubtful what the Prieſts do intend. Anno 1555.

Then the Commiſſary would prove to me, that Chriſt's Manhood was in two Places at one Time, by theſe Words of Chriſt in the third Chapter of *John*, where he ſaith, *No Man aſcendeth up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven.* By this he would prove, that Chriſt was then in Heaven, and on Earth alſo, naturally and bodily. Chriſt's Body, whether it may be in two Places at once.

Sheterden. This and other Places muſt needs be underſtood for the Unity of the Perſon, in that Chriſt was God and Man, and yet the Matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or elſe ye muſt fall into great Error.

Commiſ. That is not ſo: For it was ſpoken of the Manhood of Chriſt, foraſmuch as he ſaith, *The Son of Man which is in Heaven.*

Sheterden. If ye will needs underſtand it to be ſpoken of Chriſt's Manhood, then muſt ye fall into the Error of the *Anabaptiſts*, who deny that Chriſt took Fleſh of the Virgin *Mary*; for if there be no body aſcended up, but that which came down, where is then his Incarnation? For then he brought his Body down with him.

Commiſ. Lo, how you ſeek an Error in me, and yet ſee not how ye err yourſelf. For it cannot be ſpoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is paſſible, for God cannot come down becauſe he is not paſſible.

Sheterden. If that were a good Argument, that God could not come down, becauſe he is not paſſible; then it might be ſaid by the like Argument, that God could not ſit, and then Heaven is not his Seat, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no Right Hand for Chriſt to ſit at.

Then the Commiſſary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no Right Hand indeed.

Sheterden. Oh what an Injury to Chriſt's Religion will this be, that becauſe we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all; and becauſe we cannot tell what Manner of Hand he hath, to ſay that he hath no Hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmoſt Parts of the Sea. O Miſery! at length it will come to paſs, that God cannot ſit, and then how can Heaven be his Seat? And if Heaven be not his Seat, then there is no Heaven; and then at length I doubt ye will ſay there is no God, or elſe no other God but ſuch as the Heathen Gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

If God cannot come down, then Chriſt were not God: For Chriſt came from Heaven.

Commiſ. Why, doth not the Scripture ſay, that God is a Spirit? and what Hand can a Spirit have?

Sheterden. Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worſhipped in Spirit and Truth; and as he is a Spirit, ſo hath he a ſpiritual Power, ſo he hath a ſpiritual Seat, a ſpiritual Hand, and a ſpiritual Sword, which we ſhall feel, if we go on at this Rate. Becauſe we know not what God hath, therefore if we ſay he hath none, then it may as well be ſaid, there is no Chriſt.

Then the Commiſſary ſaid, he would talk no more with me, and ſo departed; and alſo the Commiſſary was compelled to grant, that

Anno 1555. Chriſt's Teſtament was broken, and his Inſtitution was changed from that he left it: But he ſaid they had Power ſo to do.

My firſt anſwering after their Law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I know ye will deſire to hear from me ſome Certainty of my Eſtate, I was called before the Suffragan, and ſeven or eight of the chief Prieſts, and examined of certain Articles, and then I required to ſee their Commiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me, and ſaid there it is, and the King and Queen's Letters alſo. Then I deſired to have it read: And ſo in reading I perceived, that on ſome notable Suſpicion he might examine upon two Articles; Whether Chriſt's real Preſence were in the Sacrament, and whether the Church of *England* be Chriſt's catholick Church.

Sheterden three Quarters of a Year in Priſon before the Law took Place.

To that I anſwered, that I had been a Priſoner three Quarters of a Year, and, as I thought, wrongfully: Reaſon would therefore that I ſhould anſwer to thoſe Things for which I was impriſoned.

The Suffragan ſaid, his Commiſſion was, that I muſt anſwer directly, yea, or no.

This Commiſſion, ſaid I, was not general to examine whom he will, but juſt Suſpicion.

He ſaid, I was ſuſpected, and preſented to him.

Then I required him to ſhew the Accuſation.

He ſaid he was not bound to ſhew it; but he commanded me in the King and Queen's Name to anſwer directly.

Sheterden. I, as a Subject, do require Juſtice of you: For what I have done I ask no Favour.

Suffragan. You were ſuſpected.

Sheterden. Prove your Suſpicion, or ſhew what Cauſe you have to ſuſpect.

Suffragan. Thou wert caſt into Priſon for that Cauſe.

Sheterden. That was a pretty Suſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered Impriſonment contrary to God's Law and the Realm, that therefore I muſt now for amends be examined of Suſpicion without Cauſe, to hide all the Wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into Priſon, there was no Law that hindered me from ſpeaking as I did: Therefore in that Point I could be no more ſuſpected than you, who preached the ſame yourſelf not long before.

The Biſhop of *Dover* a Proteſtant in King *Edward's* Time.

Suffragan. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Sheterden. Well, yet in the King and Queen's Name I muſt anſwer directly: And therefore I require as a Subject, that ye do not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but prove me ſuſpected, more than you yourſelf.

Then Mr. *Mills* told them that I had written to my Mother, and that he had ſeen the Letter, wherein I perſuaded my Mother to my Opinions.

Sheterden. In that I did but my Duty to certify her, that I was not in Priſon for any Evil. And likewiſe that was before the Law, and therefore no more Suſpicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like.

Milles. Well, ye are required here to anſwer directly.

Sheterden. Firſt then I require of you to prove this Suſpicion; and thus we toſſed it to and fro. At laſt the Biſhop ſaid he himſelf did ſuſpect me. I asked whereby?

Suffragan. Well, I myſelf did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Sheterden. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerve you ſo to do without cauſe of Suſpicion.

Suffragan. Well, yet I did ſuſpect you.

Sheterden. It is not meet for you to be my Accuſer and my Judge alſo, for that is too much for one Man. And thus many Words were multiply'd, and they were much grieved.

Milles. If you were a chriſtian Man, you would not be aſhamed of your Faith being required.

Sheterden. I am not aſhamed indeed, I thank God, and if any Man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but foraſmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it beſt not to anſwer you.

Milles. If you will not, then will we certify the King's Counſel.

Sheterden. I am therewith content that you ſhould certify that I had ſuffered three Quarters of a Year wrongfully in Priſon, and therefore I deſire to be juſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch Impriſonment; and then I will not refuſe to anſwer your Articles, though they were a Buſhel of them. But to ſay that I would anſwer, whereby you ſhould heal all your Wrong done to me againſt the Law of God and the Realm, I will not.

Upon this it appeareth the Letters were written the Biſhop of *Winchester*, by whom he was afterwards ſent for and examined.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no Wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But, *ſaid he*, the Commiſſary was one of them. He anſwered, No, and ſaid it was the Archdeacon. He ſaid, You ſat with him, and he asked your Counſel in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacon and you be divided one from another. Well, ſaid they, will ye now deny what ye ſaid then, and promiſe here to ſubmit yourſelf henceforth, and ye ſhall be delivered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit himſelf.

Sheterden. I am not ſo much beholden to you as to grant you any ſuch Promiſe: And you ſhall plainly ſee that I will not promiſe to go a-croſs the Street for you: But if at any time I have offended your Law, let me have the Puniſhment: I ask no Favour.

Then they ſaid, it was Obſtinacy in him that he would not anſwer, and a Token that his Faith was nought, ſeeing he was aſhamed to utter it.

Nay, ſaid *Sheterden*, you ſhall well know I am not aſhamed of my Faith: But becauſe you do ſo greedily ſeek Blood, I will anſwer only to that you have againſt me.

Suffragan. Nay, you ſhall anſwer to the Articles, or elſe be condemned upon Suſpicion.

Sheterden. I am content with that, yet all Men ſhall know, that as ye ſuſpect and can prove no Cauſe, ſo ſhall ye condemn me without a Matter, and then ſhall all Men know ye ſeek my Blood, and no Juſtice.

Suffragan. No, we ſeek not thy Blood, but thy Converſion.

Sheterden. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhall you prove my Perverſion firſt, before you condemn me on your Suſpicion without Proof of the ſame: And by that I ſhall know whether you ſeek Blood or no. Many other Words were between them.

At laſt ſtept up one *Lovels* a Lawyer, who would prove his Impriſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old Statutes of *Edward* the Fourth, and *Henry*, &c. but at laſt he

was compelled to forſake thoſe Statutes from *Michaelmas* to *Chriſtmas*, and then he ſaid it was no Wrong.

To this Mr. *Sheterden* ſaid, if he could prove that Men might wrongfully impriſon before a Law, and in the mean while make Laws, and then under that hide the firſt Wrong, then he ſaid true, or elſe not.

Thus he kept the Band-Dogs at Staves end, not as thinking to eſcape them, but that I would ſee, *ſaid he*, the Foxes leap above the Ground for my Blood if they can reach it (ſo it be the Will of God) yet we ſhall ſee them gape and leap for it. From *Weſtgate* in haſte.

By yours, *Nicholas Sheterden.*

His Examination before the Biſhop of Wincheſter *then Lord Chancellor.*

I Was called into a Chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Suffragan, and others, Prieſts I think for the moſt Part. He ſtanding near to the Table, called me to him, and becauſe I ſaw the Cardinal was not there, I bowed myſelf and ſtood near.

Then ſaid he, I have ſent for you, becauſe I hear you are indicted of Hereſy; and being called before the Commiſſioners, ye will not anſwer nor ſubmit yourſelf.

I ſaid, if it pleaſe you, I did not refuſe to anſwer; but I did plainly anſwer, that I had been in Priſon a long Time, and Reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged of that, and not to be examined of Articles to hide my wrong Impriſonment, neither did I know any Indictment againſt me. If there were any, it could not be juſt, for I have not been Abroad ſince the Law was made.

Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Well, yet if ſuch a Suſpicion be of you, if you be a Chriſtian, ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo clear yourſelf.

Sheterden. I thought it ſufficient to anſwer to mine Offences, *&c.* truſting that they would lay no ſuch Burden upon me, whereby the Wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Wincheſter. If thou wilt declare thyſelf to the Church to be a Chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then have a Writ of wrong Impriſonment, *&c.*

Sheterden. I have no Mind to ſue now, but require right Juſtice: But to make a Promiſe, I will not: And if I offend the Law, then puniſh me accordingly. For it might be that my Conſcience was not perſuaded, nor would be, in Priſon; ſeeing theſe Things which I have learned, were by God's Law openly taught and received by the Authority of the Realm. And he ſaid, it was never received, that I might ſpeak againſt the Sacrament; I ſaid, that againſt ſome Opinion of the Sacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no Law, and that was not able to conſider, that all that while God preſerved that, ſo that no Law could paſs againſt it.

Sheterden. I ſaid their Law did not only perſwade me, but this moſt; when they preached unto us, they took Pains to ſet out the Word of God in our Tongue, ſo that we may read and judge whether they ſay true or no, but now they take the Light from us, and would have us believe it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great Perſwaſion. Anno 1555.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your Guide in underſtanding, but the Doctors and the whole Church, now whom wouldeſt thou believe? either the few or the many? The Papiſts ſtand upon the Number.

Sheterden. I did not believe for the few or for the many, but only for that he bringeth the Word, and ſhewed it to me to be ſo according to the Proceſs thereof. The Faithful ſtand upon the Word.

Winch. Well, then if an *Arian* come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he ſhew this Text, *My Father is greater than I.*

Sheterden. No, my Lord, he muſt bring me alſo to the contrary Place, and prove them both true, where he ſaith, *My Father and I am one.*

Winch. Yea, that is by Charity, as we are one with him.

Sheterden. That Gloſs will not ſtand with the reſt of the Scripture, where he ſaid, *I am the very ſame that I ſay to you*; He ſaid the Truth, and the Truth was God, with more ſuch like. And here he made many Words, but very gently, of the Sacrament. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid, quoth he, it was his Body; yea, that is to ſay, a Figure of his Body; and how Men did not conſider that the Word was God, and God the Word, and ſo provoked me with ſuch Temptation; but I let him alone, and ſaid nothing. So, after many Words, he came to the Church's Faith, and comely Order of Ceremonies, and Images. And then I joined to him again with the Commandments. *Wincheſter* defendeth Images.

Winch. That was done that no falſe Thing ſhould be made, as the Heathen would worſhip a Cat, becauſe ſhe killed Mice.

Sheterden. It is plain that the Law forbad not only ſuch, but even to make an Image of God to any Manner of Likeneſs. No image of God to be made.

Winch. Where find ye that?

Sheterden. Forſooth, in the Law where God gave them the Commandments: For he ſaid, *Ye ſaw no Shape, but heard a Voice only:* And added a Reaſon why? *leſt they ſhould after make Images and marr themſelves:* So that God would not ſhew his Shape, becauſe they ſhould have no Image of him who was the true God, *&c.*

Winch. You have made a goodly Interpretation.

Sheterden. No, it is the Text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I ſhould preſently be confounded with my own Words; ſo that if there were any Grace in me, I ſhould no longer truſt to my own Judgment; and when I looked, it was *Latin.*

Winch. Why, can ye read no *Latin?*

Sheterden. No. Then was the *Engliſh* Bible brought. He bade me find it; and ſo I read it aloud: And then he ſaid; Lo here thou mayſt ſee; this is no more to forbid the Image of God, than of any other Beaſt, Fowl or Fiſh (the Place was *Deut.* 4.) I ſaid it did plainly forbid to make any of theſe as an Image of God, becauſe no Man might know what Shape he was of. Therefore might no Man ſay of any Image, this is an Image of God. * But the Commandment ſaith: *Deut.* 4. Thou ſhalt make no Image of God either Man or Woman, *&c.*

Winch. Well, yet by your Leave, ſo much as was ſeen we may, that is, of Chriſt, of the Holy Ghoſt; and the Father appeared to *Daniel* like an old * Man, *&c.* The Holy Ghoſt like a Dove in ſome Qualities but not in Shape.

Sheterden. That is no Proof that we may make Images contrary to the Commandment; for though the Holy Ghoſt appeared like a Dove, yet was he not like in Shape, but in certain

Anno 1555. certain Qualities; and therefore when I ſaw the Dove which is God's Creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be ſimple and loving, *&c.* and with that he was ſomewhat moved, and ſaid, I had learned my Leſſon, and asked who taught me, with many Words; and he ſaid he would prove how good and profitable Images were to teach the unlearned, *&c.*

Sheterden. At laſt I ſaid, my Lord, although I were able to make never ſo good a Gloſs upon the Commandments, yet Obedience is better than all our good Intents, and much ado we had: At laſt he ſaid, He ſaw what I was, and that he had ſent for me for Charity ſake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and ſaid, my wrong Impriſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt clear myſelf.

Sheterden. I ſaid that was eaſy for me to do, for I had not offended.

Winch. He ſaid I could not eſcape ſo, there I was deceived.

Sher. Well then I am under the Law, *&c.*

The Archdeacon was then called in, and he ſaid, that I behaved myſelf before him with ſuch Arrogancy and Stoutneſs, as never was heard; whereas he was minded with ſuch Mercy towards me, *&c.* and many other Lies he laid to me, that I was ſent Home till another Time, and I would not be contented, but went out of the Church with ſuch an Outcry as was notable.

Sherterden. I declare that herein he falſly reported me, and brought in the Laws then in the Realm, and the Queen's Proclamation, that none of her Subjects ſhould be compelled till the Law were to compel, and that I rehearſed the ſame in the Court for me, and I did uſe him then, ſaid I, as I uſe your Grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſaid, that I did not uſe myſelf very well now.

Sheterden. I ſaid I had offered myſelf to be bailed, and to confer with them when and where they would.

Winch. He ſaid I ſhould not confer, but be obedient. I ſaid, let me go, and I will not deſire to confer neither: And when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your Brother,

Nicholas Sheterden.

The laſt Examination with the Condemnation of John Bland, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden *and* Humphry Middleton.

AND thus much touching the particular and ſeveral Examinations of Mr. *Sheterden* and Mr. *Bland*. Now to touch ſomeing alſo of the other Martyrs, who were examined the ſame Time, and ſuffered together with them, to wit, *Humphry Middleton* of *Aſhford*, and *John Frankeſh* Vicar of *Rolvynden* in the Dioceſs of *Kent* abovementioned, here firſt ſhould be declared the Articles, which publickly in their laſt Examinations were jointly and ſeverally miniſtred unto them by the aforeſaid *Thornton* Biſhop of *Dover*; but foraſmuch as theſe Articles being ordinary and of Courſe, are already expreſſed in the Story of Mr. *Bland*, it is not therefore needful to make any new Rehearſal thereof.

The ſeven Articles being propounded to the Perſons above named, to wit, *John Frankeſh*, *John Bland*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Humphry Middleton*, and one *Thacker*; *John Frankeſh* firſt anſwered ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further Reſpite to be given him of fourteen Days to deliberate with himſelf, which was granted. Mr. *Bland* anſwered flatly and roundly, as ye heard before. *Nicholas Sheterden* and *Humphry Middleton* anſwered to the firſt and ſecond Articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the catholick Church after a Sort they granted. To the fourth, fifth and ſixth, concerning the real Preſence, and the Sacrament to be adminiſtred in the *Latin* Tongue, and in one Kind they utterly refuſed to anſwer. *Sheterden* ſaid, he would not anſwer thereto before the Cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained Priſoner, before the Laws of Parliament received, *&c.* *Middleton* added moreover and confeſſed, that he believed in his own God, ſaying, My living God, and no dead God, *&c.* *Thacker* only relented, and was content to take Penance. Thus the aforeſaid Four upon theſe Anſwers were condemned by the Biſhop of *Dover* the 25th Day of *June* 1555.

The Martyrdom of *J. Bland*, *J. Frankeſh*, *N. Sheterden*, and *H. Middleton*, at *Canterbury*.

And being delievered to the ſecular Power, they were all four burnt together at *Canterbury* the 12th of *July*, at two ſeveral Stakes, but in one Fire, where they in the Sight of God and his Angels, and before Men, like true Soldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, gave a conſtant Teſtimony to the Truth of his holy Goſpel.

The next Day after the Condemnation of theſe aforeſaid, which was the 26th Day of *June*, *W. Coker*, *W. Hooper* of *Crambrooke*, *Henry Laurence*, *Richard Wright* of *Aſhford*, *W. Stere* of *Aſhford*, were likewiſe condemned for the ſame Articles. But becauſe the Execution of theſe Martyrs pertaineth not to this Mouth, more ſhall be ſaid of them when we come to the Month of *Auguſt*.

Nicholas Hall *and* Chriſtopher Waid, *Martyrs.*

THE ſame Month of *July*, *Nicholas Hall* Bricklayer, and *Chriſtopher Waid* of *Dartford*, ſuffered Death, who were condemned by *Maurice* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* about the laſt Day of *June*. The ſix Articles adminiſtred to them were of the ſame ordinary Courſe and Effect with the other Articles before ſpecified, the brief Sum whereof were theſe.

Articles objected againſt *Nich. Hall* and *Chriſtopher Waid.*

1. Firſt, That they were chriſtian Men and profeſſed the catholick Determinations of our mother holy Church.
2. That they which maintain or hold otherwiſe than our holy Mother the catholick Church doth, are Hereticks.
3. That they hold and maintain, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, is not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt. And that the ſaid very Body of Chriſt is verily in Heaven only, and not in the Sacrament.
4. *Item*, That they have and do hold and maintain, that the Maſs, as it is now uſed in the

the catholick Church, is naught and abominable.

5. *Item*, That they have been and be amongſt the People of that Juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected upon the Premiſſes, and thereupon indicted, *&c.*

Their Anſwers.

To theſe Articles they anſwered as follows: Firſt, Granting themſelves chriſtian Men, and acknowledging the Determination of the holy Church, that is of the Congregation or Body of Chriſt; ſave that *Hall* denied to call the catholick and apoſtolick Church his Mother, becauſe he found not this Word Mother, in the Scripture.

To the Second they granted. To the third Article as touching the very Body and Blood of Chriſt to be under the Forms of Bread and Wine in Subſtance they would not grant, only affirming the very Body of him to be in Heaven, and the Sacrament to be a Token or Remembrance of Chriſt's Death; *Nicholas Hall* adding moreover, and ſaying, That whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but only a Token or Remembrance of Chriſt's Death, now he ſaid, that there is neither Token nor Remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and clean turned from Chriſt's Inſtitution, *&c.* And concerning the Maſs in the fourth Article, to be abominable, *Chriſtopher Waid*, with the other, anſwered, that as they had confeſſed before, ſo they would not now go from what they had ſaid. To the fifth Article, for the People's Suſpicion they made no great Account nor ſticking to grant to the ſame.

The Condemnation of *Nicholas Hall* and *Chriſtopher Waid.*

And thus much concerning the Articles and Anſwers of theſe good Men. Which being received, immediately Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid *Maurice* the Biſhop againſt them, the Copy of which Sentence as it runneth much after the common Courſe in condemning all the other Servants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplify'd before in the Story of Mr. *Rogers*, needeth not here to be repeated. *Nicholas Hall* was burnt at *Rocheſter* about the 19th Day of *July*.

Ex regiſtro.

Furthermore, with the aforeſaid *Hall* and *Waid*, in the ſame Month of *July*, three others were condemned by *Maurice* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, whoſe Names were *Joan Beach* Widow, *John Harpol* of *Rocheſter*, and *Margery Polley*. Of which *Margery Polley*, touching her Examination and Condemnation here followeth in Story.

The Cond mnation of Margery Polley, *Widow and Martyr.*

Ex regiſtro. Margery Polley Widow and Martyr.

Margery Polley Widow, ſometime Wife of *Richard Polley* of *Pepingbury*, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid *Maurice* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, about the Beginning of the Month of *June*. Which Biſhop according to the pontifical Solemnity of that Church, riſing up out of the Chair of his Majeſty, in the high ſwelling Stile after his ordinary Manner to daſh the ſilly poor Woman, beginning in theſe Words.

We Maurice, *by the Sufferance of God, Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *proceeding of our mere Office in a Cauſe of Hereſy, againſt thee* Margery Polley, *of the Pariſh of* Pepingbery, *of our Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of* Rocheſter, *do lay and object againſt thee all and ſingular theſe Articles enſuing. To which, and to every Parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain Anſwer; by virtue of thine Oath thereupon to be given*, &c. Anno 1555.

Thus the Oath firſt being adminiſtred, and the Articles commenced againſt her, which Articles were the ſame that were miniſtred to *Nicholas Hall* and *Waid* before, ſhe ſo framed her Anſwers again, eſpecially anſwering to the third and fourth Articles, that ſhe neither allowed the Deity of their Sacrament, nor the Abſurdity of their Maſs. For which Sentence was read againſt her about the Beginning of *June*, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her Death followed not upon the ſame we will therefore defer the Tractation thereof to the due Place and Time, firſt ſetting down in order of Hiſtory the Execution of *Chriſtopher Waid* above mentioned. The Condemnation of *Margary Polley.*

The Martyrdom of Chriſtopher Waid.

Chriſtopher Waid of *Dartford* in the County of *Kent*, Linnen-weaver, was condemned by *Maurice* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and appointed to be burnt at *Dartford* aforeſaid. At the Day appointed for his Execution, which was in the Month of *July*, there was carried out of Town betimes in the Morning in a Cart, a Stake, and therewith many Bundles of Reeds, to a Place a Quarter of a Mile out of the Town, called the *Brimth*, into a Gravel-pit thereby, the common Place of the Execution of Felons. Thither alſo was brought a Load of Broom-faggots, with other Faggots and tall Wood. Unto which Place the People of the Country reſorted in great Numbers, and there waited his coming; inſomuch as divers Fruiterers came thither with Horſe loads of Cherries, and ſold them. About ten of the Clock the Sheriff came riding with a great many other Gentlemen and Retinue, appointed to aſſiſt him therein, and with them *Chriſtopher Waid*, *Margery Polley* of *Tunbridge* riding pinioned by him, both ſinging of a Pſalm; which *Margery*, as ſoon as ſhe eſpied afar off the Multitude gathered about the Place where he ſhould ſuffer, waiting his coming, ſhe ſaid unto him very loud and cheerfully, You may rejoyce, *Waid*, to ſee ſuch a Company gathered to celebrate your Marriage this Day.

And ſo paſſing by the Place, which joined to the High-way, they were ſtraightway carried down to the Town, where ſhe was kept till the Sheriff returned from *Waid*'s Execution. Mr. *Waid* being made ready, and ſtripped out of his Cloaths in an Inn, a fair long white Shirt was brought unto him from his Wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforeſaid Place. When he was come to the Stake, he took it in his Arms, and kiſſed it, ſetting his Back unto it, and ſtanding in a Pitch-barrel which was taken from the Beacon, being hard by; then a Smith brought a Hoop of Iron, and with two Staples made him faſt to the Stake under his Arms.

As ſoon as he was thus ſettled, with his Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, he ſpake with a cheerful and loud Voice the laſt Verſe of the 86th Pſalm; *Shew ſome good Token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may ſee it, and be aſhamed*

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aſhamed: becauſe thou, Lord, haſt helped me, and comforted me. Near to the Stake was a little Hill, upon the Top whereof were ſet up four Stays, quadrangle-wiſe, with a covering round about like a Pulpit: into which Place as *Waid* was thus praying at the Stake, entered a Friar with a Book in his Hand; whom when *Waid* eſpied, he cried earneſtly unto the People, to take Heed of the Doctrine of the Whore of *Babylon*, exhorting them to embrace the Doctrine of the Goſpel preached in King *Edward*'s Days. While he was thus ſpeaking to the People, the Sheriff interrupted him, ſaying, Be quiet, *Waid*, and die patiently. I am quiet, ſaid he, I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the Friar ſtood ſtill looking over the Coverlet, as tho' he would have uttered ſomewhat: But *Waid* mightily admoniſhed the People to beware of that Doctrine; which when the Friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no Audience of the People, he withdrew out of the Place immediately, without ſpeaking any Word, and went away down to the Town. Then the Reeds being ſet about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his Arms, always with his Hands making a Hole againſt his Face, that his Voice might be heard, which his Tormenters perceiving, they caſt Faggots at the ſame Hole; but notwithſtanding he ſtill, as he could, put them off, his Face being hurt with the end of a Faggot caſt thereat. Then Fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord *Jeſus* receive my Soul; without any Token or Sign of Impatience in the Fire, till at length after the Fire was thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no Man to ſpeak, ſtill holding up his Hands together over his Head towards Heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roaſted, as though they had been ſtay'd up with a Prop ſtanding under them.

This Sign did God ſhew upon him, whereby his very Enemies might perceive, that God had according to his Prayer, ſhewed ſuch a Token upon him, even to their Shame and Confuſion. And thus was the Order of this godly Martyr's Execution, this was his End. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the Spirit of Dumbneſs the Friar, that Locuſt which was riſen up to have ſpoken againſt him; and alſo no leſs wonderfully ſuſtained thoſe Hands which he lifted up to him for Comfort in his Torment.

Spectatores præſentes Richardus Fletcher Pater, nunc Miniſter Eccleſiæ Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher Filius, Miniſter Eccleſiæ Kienſis.

The Apprehenſion, Examination, Condemnation, and Burning of Dirick Carver, *and* John Launder, *who ſuffered Martyrdom for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel.*

THE 22d Day of *July*, *Dirick Carver*, late of the Pariſh of *Brighthamſted* in the County of *Suſſex*, was burnt at *Lewes* in the ſaid County: And the Day following *John Launder*, late of *Godſtone* in the County of *Surry*, was burnt at *Steining*. Theſe two Men were, with others, about the latter End of the Month of *October*, in the Year 1554, apprehended by *Edward Gage* Gentleman, as they were at Prayers in the Dwelling-houſe of the ſaid *Dirick*, and by him were ſent up to the Queen's Counſel, who, after Examination, ſent them as Priſoners to *Newgate*, there to attend the Leiſure of *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*. From whence (upon the Biſhop's Receipt of a Letter from the Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*, now Lord Treaſurer) they were brought by the Keeper of the Priſon on the 8th of *June* next after into the Biſhop's Chamber at his Houſe in *London*; and there (being examined upon divers Points of Religion) they made their ſeveral Confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning them with their own Hands: Which being read, the Biſhop objected unto them certain other Articles, cauſing them to ſwear truly and directly to anſwer thereunto; which Articles they confeſſed to be true, referring themſelves chiefly to their former Confeſſions.

Carver and *Launder* appear before Bp. *Bonner*.

This done, after long Perſwaſions and fair Exhortations, they were demanded whether they would ſtand to their Anſwers. To whom *Launder* ſaid, I will never go from theſe Anſwers as long as I live. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s the tenth Day of the ſame Month. Which Articles and Confeſſion, with the forementioned Letter, do here enſue.

A Letter from the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, concerning the Examination of the ſaid Priſoners.

AFTER my right hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your Livery of Black againſt this Time; no more I ſhall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the Sermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it; for my Lord of Chicheſter *cannot attend it. To whom I have given like Knowledge by my Letter now ſent; and your Lordſhip muſt command the Sextons of your Church to be in a Readineſs for ringing in the Time of Service. And if ye be not furniſhed with black Apparel for the Altar, and for the Prieſt, Deacon, and Sub-Deacon, I muſt have Knowledge thereof that it may be taken of the Queen's Stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertiſed.*

Theſe Funerals were for the King's Grand-Mother the old Queen of *Spain*.

And ye have ſent Bradford *to* Newgate, *as a Man convicted of Hereſy before you; but as I perceive ye have not ſent me a Significavit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may proceed with him, and that ſhall I do, as ſoon as I am anſwered by you.*

A Significavit to be ſent to the lord Treaſurer for burning of *Bradford*.

There be divers like Priſoners that came from Suſſex, *that be not yet examined before you, lying now in* Newgate, *who muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to* London, *and ſo I pray they may be, and I certify'd of your Proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your Lordſhip heartily for my Conies, truſting to recompenſe your Lordſhip again ſhortly with twice as many. From my Houſe this ſeventh Day of* June, 1555.

He meaneth *Dirick Carver* and *John Launder*.

Your loving Friend,

WINCHESTER.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, *before* Bonner *Bishop of* London.

DIRICK CARVER, Beer-Brewer, of *Bright-hamsted*, in the County of *Sussex*, where he hath dwelt about eight or nine Years, born in the Village of *Dilson* by *Stockhom* in the Land of *Luke*, about forty Years of Age, and now Prisoner in *Newgate*, where he hath remained and continued at the Council's Commandment, since *Alhallows* Day last past, being examined concerning his Faith and Belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, saith that he hath and doth believe, that the very Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ is not in the said Sacrament, and that there is no other Substance remaining in the said Sacrament after the Words spoken by the Priest, but only the Substance of Bread and Wine.

The material Substance of the Sacrament denied to be the Body of Christ really.

Item, Being examined concerning the Mass in *Latin* now used in the Church of *England*, he believeth that there is no Sacrifice in the said Mass, and that there is in it no Salvation for a Christian Man, except it should be said in the Mother Tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, he saith and believeth that they be not profitable to a Christian Man.

The Use and Sacrifice of the *Latin* Mass denied.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular Confession, he answereth, that he hath believed, and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good Priest for good Counsel; but the Absolution of the Priest, laying his Hand upon any Man's Head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian Man's Salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, since the Coronation of the Queen that now is.

Item, Concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, set forth and believed in the Church of *England*, he answereth and believeth, that the Faith and Doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said Church of *England*, is not agreeable to God's Word. And furthermore he saith, that Bishop *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Rogers*, and others of their Opinion, who were lately burnt, were good Christian Men, and preached the true Doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and saith that they shed their Blood in the same Doctrine, which was by the Power of God, as he saith and believeth.

The Faith of the Church of *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Time reproved.

And further being examined, he saith, That since the Queen's Coronation, he hath had the Bible and Psalter in *English* read in his House at *Brighthamsted* divers Times, and likewise since his coming to *Newgate*: But the Keeper hearing thereof, took them away, and also said, that about a Twelve-month ago, he had the *English* Procession said in his House, with other *English* Prayers. And further said, That *Thomas Iveson*, *John Launder*, and *William Vesie*, being Prisoners with him in *Newgate*, were taken with this Examinate in his House at *Brighthamsted*, as they were hearing of the Gospel then read in *English*, a little before *Alhallows* Day last, and brought into the Court: And being examined thereupon by the Council, were committed by them to Prison in *Newgate*.

Iveson, *Launder*, and *Vesie*, imprisoned for hearing the Gospel.

The Confession of John Launder, *before* Bonner *Bishop of* London.

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JOHN LAUNDER of the Parish of *Godstone*, in the County of *Surrey*, Husbandman, aged 25 Years, born at *Godstone* aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, That about two Days before last *Alhallowntide* this Examinate and one *Dirick Carver*, *Thomas Iveson*, *William Vesie*, with divers other Persons, to the Number of twelve, (being all together in their Prayers, saying the Service in *English*, set forth in the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth, in the House of the said *Dirick Carver*, situated at *Brighthamsted* in *Sussex*) were apprehended by one Mr. *Edward Gage*, and by him sent up to *London* to the King and Queen's Council, and by them (upon his Examination) committed to *Newgate*, where he with his said Fellows hath ever since remained.

The Cause of the Apprehension of *John Launder*.

And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the Occasion of his coming to the said *Brighthamsted*, was upon some Business there to be done for his Father: And so being there, and hearing that the said *Dirick* was a Man that did much favour the Gospel, this Examinate did resort to his House and Company, whom before that Time he did never see or know, and by reason of that his Resort he was apprehended as before: And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in Earth one whole and universal catholick Church, whereof the Members be dispersed through the World, and doth believe also, that the same Church doth set forth and teach only two Sacraments, namely, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And whosoever doth teach or use any more Sacraments, or yet any Ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholick Church, but doth abhor them from the Bottom of his Heart: And doth further say and believe, that all the Service, Sacrifices and Ceremonies, now used in this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other Parts of the World, which hath been used after the same Manner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's Institution, and the Determination of Christ's catholick Church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a Member.

The real Presence of Christ's Body under the Forms of Bread and Wine denied.

Also he doth confess and believe, that in the Sacrament now called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, the very natural Body and Blood of Christ in Substance; but his Belief and Faith therein is as followeth; to wit, That when he doth receive the material Bread and Wine, he doth receive the same in a Remembrance of Christ's Death and Passion, and so receiving it he doth eat and drink Christ's Body and Blood by Faith, and none other Ways as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the Mass now used in the Realm of *England*, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's Word, and his catholick Church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Creed, the *Sanctus Pater Noster*, *Agnus*, and other Parts of the Mass be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other Things that be naught and superfluous in the Mass, the same

good

The Martyrdome of Dirick Carver.

The Martyrdome of Margeret Polley.

The Martyrdome of John Denley.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iveson.

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good Things do become naught alſo, as he believeth.

Auricular Confeſſion not neceſſary.

Alſo he doth believe and confeſs, that auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to any other Creature, but every Perſon ought to acknowledge and confeſs his Sins only to God; and alſo that no Man hath any Authority to abſolve any one from his Sins; and alſo believeth, that the right and true Way (according to the Scripture) after a Man hath fallen from Grace to Sin, to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his Offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular Confeſſion of them to the Prieſt, or to take Abſolution for them at the Prieſt's Hands. All which his ſaid Opinions he hath believed theſe ſeven or eight Years paſt, and in that Time hath divers Times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſaith, &c.

Upon *Monday* being the tenth Day of *June*, theſe two Perſons, with others were brought by the Keeper unto the Biſhop's Conſiſtory, (as it was before commanded) at one of the Clock in the Afternoon, where the Biſhop firſt beginning with the ſaid *Dirick Carver*, cauſed his Confeſſion to be openly read unto him, asking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid *Dirick* anſwered, that he would: For your Doctrine, ſaid he, is Poiſon and Sorcery. If Chriſt were here, you would put him to a worſe Death than he was put to before.

The Words of *Dirick Carver* to Biſhop *Bonner*.

You ſay that you can make a God; ye can make a Pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Church be Beggary and Poiſon. And further I ſay, that auricular Confeſſion is contrary to God's Word, and very Poiſon: With divers other ſuch like Words.

The Biſhop ſeeing his Conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed Flatteries, nor yet his cruel Threatnings could once move this good Man to incline to their Idolatry, pronounced his uſual and general Bleſſing, as well towards *Dirick Carver*, as alſo on the ſaid *John Launder*, although ſeverally; who remained as conſtant as the other: And therefore were both delivered to the Sheriffs, who were there preſent, but afterwards were conveyed to the Places above named, and there moſt joyfully gave their Bodies to be burned in the Fire, and their Souls into the Hands of Almighty God, by *Jeſus Chriſt*, who hath aſſured them to a better Hope of Life.

Dirick Carver and *John Launder* ſent down into the Country to be burnt.

Dirick Carver was a Man whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporal Riches, as with his ſpiritual Treaſures; which yet were no Clog or Hindrance unto his true profeſſing of Chriſt, of which there was ſuch Havock made by the greedy Raveners of that Time, that his poor Wife and Children had little thereof. During his Impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in Years (and, as it were, paſt the Time of Learning) yet he ſo diligently ſpent his Time, that being at his firſt Apprehenſion utterly ignorant of any Letter of the Book, he could before his Death perfectly read any printed *Engliſh*.

Dirick Carver burnt at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*.

Moreover, at his coming into the Town of *Lewes* to be burnt, the People called to him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*. He thanked them, and pray'd to God that of his Mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the like Faith. And when he came to the Sign of the Star, the People flocked about him, where the Sheriff ſaid, that he had found him a faithful Man in all his Anſwers. And as he came to the Stake, he kneeled down and made his Prayers, and the Sheriff made haſte.

Then his Book was thrown into the Barrel, and when he had ſtripped himſelf, he went into the Barrel himſelf. And as ſoon as ever he came in, he took up the Book and threw it among the People, and then the Sheriff commanded in the Name of the King and Queen, on pain of Death, to throw in the Book again. And immediately the holy Martyr began to ſpeak with a joyful Voice, ſaying:

His Exhortation to the People.

Dear Brethren and Siſters, I call you all to witneſs, that I am come to ſeal Chriſt's Goſpel with my Blood, becauſe I know that it is true: It is well known to you all, that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, *and in all Places of* England, *and now it is not. And becauſe I will not deny God's Goſpel, and be obedient to Man's Laws, I am condemned to die. Dear Brethren and Siſters, as many of you as do believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, unto everlaſting Life, ſee you do the Works appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do believe in the Pope of* Rome *and his Laws, which he ſets forth in theſe Days, you do believe to your utter Condemnation, and, except the infinite Mercy of God prevent it, you ſhall burn in the eternal Flames of Hell.*

Where find you that in the Creed, to believe on the Pope.

Immediately the Sheriff ſpake unto him, and ſaid, If thou doſt not believe on the Pope thou art damned Body and Soul. And further the Sheriff ſaid unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or elſe to ſtrike me down, to the Example of his People; but this pious Man ſaid, The Lord forgive you your Sayings.

And then he ſpake again to all the People there preſent with a loud Voice, ſaying, Dear Brethren, and all you whom I have offended in Words or in Deed, I ask you for the Lord's Sake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you who have offended me in Thought, Word, or Deed. And he ſaid further in his Prayer, O Lord my God thou haſt written, *He that will not forſake Wife, Children, Houſe and all that ever he hath, and take up thy Croſs and follow thee, is not worthy of thee.* But thou Lord knoweſt that I have forſaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have Mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my Spirit; and my Soul doth rejoice in thee. Theſe were the laſt Words of that faithful Servant of Chriſt, before the Fire was put to him. And when the Fire came to him, he cried, O Lord have Mercy upon me, and ſprung up in the Fire, calling upon the Name of Jeſus, and ſo he ended his Life.

Dirick's Prayer at his Death.

Thomas Iveſon, *Martyr.*

Thomas Iveſon ap-prehended with *Dirick* and others, and ſuffered at *Chicheſter*.

THomas *Iveſon* of *Godſtone* in the County of *Surrey*, Carpenter, was burnt about the ſame Month at *Chicheſter*; whoſe Apprehenſion, Examination, and Condemnation (for as much as it was at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Form with *Dirick Carver* and *John Launder*) I do here omit, referring the Reader to their Hiſtory and Proceſs before mentioned, except only this, that the ſaid *Iveſon* being earneſtly perſuaded to recant, ſaid in this wiſe, *I would not recant and forſake my Opinion and Belief for all*

the Goods in London: *I do appeal to God's Mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor ſubmit myſelf to the ſame: And that I have ſaid, I will ſay again. And if there came an Angel from Heaven to teach me any other Doctriue than that which I am now in, I would not believe him.* Which Anſwer thus made, he was condemned as an Heretick, and with the ſame Perſons was committed to the ſecular Power, as they term it, and at the Place above-mentioned was burned, perſevering ſtill in his conſtant Faith unto the End.

Tho. Tyeſon condemned.

John Aleworth, *who died in Priſon.*

IN the latter End of this Month of *July*, *John Aleworth* died in Priſon at the Town of *Reading*, being there in Bonds for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel. Whom, although the catholick Prelates (according to their uſual Solemnity) excluded out of their catholick Burial, yet we ſee no Cauſe why to exclude him out of the Number of Chriſt's Holy Martyrs, and Heirs of his Holy Kingdom.

James Abbes, *Martyr.*

AMong many that endeavoured in theſe troubleſome Days to keep a good Conſcience, there was one *James Abbes*, a young Man, who was forced to have his Part with his Brethren in wandering, and going from Place to Place, to avoid the Peril of apprehending. But at length he was caught by the Hands of wicked Men, and brought before Dr. *Hopton* Biſhop of *Norwich*: Who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewith both with Threats and fair Speeches, at laſt the ſaid *James Abbes* did yield to their Perſuaſions, although his Conſcience conſented not thereto.

James Abbes relented.

Now when he was diſmiſſed, and ſhould go from the Biſhop, the Biſhop calling him again, gave him a Piece of Money, either 1xd. or xxd. whether I know not; which when the ſaid *James* had received, and was gone from the Biſhop, his Conſcience began to throb, and inwardly to accuſe his Fact; In which Combat with himſelf (being pitiouſly vexed) he went immediately to the Biſhop again, and there threw him his ſaid Money which he had received at his Hand, and ſaid, he repented that he ever gave his Conſent to their wicked Perſwaſions, and in taking of his Money.

Money given to *James Abbes* by the Biſhop.

James Abbes throweth to the Biſhop his Money again.

Now this being done, the Biſhop with his Chaplains laboured afreſh to win him again, but in vain; for he would not yield for their Perſuaſions (although he had played *Peter* before through Infirmity) but ſtood manfully in his Maſter's Quarrel to the End, and abode the Force of the Fire in the conſuming of his Body to Aſhes, which Tyranny of burning was done in *Bury*, the Second of *Auguſt* 1555.

James Abbes made ſtrong by his Infirmity.

The Apprehenſion, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley *Gentleman,* John Newman, *and* Patrick Packingham.

IN the midſt of this tempeſtuous Rage of malignant Adverſaries, perſecuting and deſtroying the poor Flock of Chriſt, many there were, which though they were not ſpiritual Men, yet thought to help forward for their Parts, and as one would ſay, to heap up more Coals to this furious Flame of Perſecution, whether of a blind Zeal, or a paraſitical Flatery, I know not. Amongſt which one was *Edmund Tyrel*, Eſq; and at that Time a Juſtice of Peace within the County of *Eſſex*, an Aſſiſtant to the cruel Murderers of God's Saints: Who as he came from the Burning of ſome pious Martyrs, met with *John Denley* Gentleman, and *John Newman*, (both of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*) travelling upon the Way, and going to viſit ſome of their Friends in the ſaid County of *Eſſex*. And upon the Sight of them, as he yet braggeth, apprehended them upon Suſpicion, and ſearched them; and finding the Confeſſions of their Faith about them in writing, ſent them up unto the Queen's Commiſſioners, directing alſo unto one of the ſame Commiſſioners theſe his favourable Letters in their Behalf. The Copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrel's *Letter to one of the Queen's Commiſſioners.*

SIR, *with moſt hearty Commendations unto you, theſe ſhall be to advertize you, that I have received a Letter from Sir* Nicholas Hare *and you, and others of their Majeſties Commiſſioners, by a Servant of the King and Queen's, named* John Failes, *for certain Buſineſs about* S. Oſythes, *which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a Letter from the Council, to aſſiſt the Sheriff for the Execution of the Hereticks, the one at* Raleigh, *and the other at* Rochford, *which was done on* Tueſday *laſt.*

Mr. Tyrell's Letter to a Commiſſioner, whom I gueſs to be Sir *Richard* Southwel.

And as I came homeward, I met with two Men: Even as I ſaw them, I ſuſpected them, and I did examine and ſearch them, and found about them certain Letters which I have ſent you, and alſo a certain Writing in Paper, what their Faith was. And they confeſſed to me, that they had forſaken and fled out of their Country for Religion ſake; and ſince they have been in many Countries, by their own Confeſſion, which I have ſent you: For which I thought it good, (as they came from London, *and that there may be more found of them than at preſent I can inform you) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queen's Commiſſioners there might try them ſo that their Lewdneſs may thoroughly be known; for I think theſe have cauſed many to trouble their Conſciences. So this hath been ſome hindrance to me, wherefore I could not go about thoſe Matters expreſſed in your Letters: but to Morrow at Noon I intend by God's Grace to accompliſh your Letters, with as much Diligence as I can. May the Holy Trinity ever have you in his*

Anno 1555. *Keeping. I beſeech you (Maſter) to be ſo good as to diſcharge theſe poor Men that bring theſe Priſoners up as ſoon as may be. And thus moſt heartily farewel. From* Raimeſdon *Park the 12th of* June 1555.

By your aſſured at Commmand,

EDMUND TYREL.

Foraſmuch as in this Letter mention is made of a certain Writing found about them, containing an Account of their Faith, the Contents whereof here enſueth.

Certain Notes collected out of the Scriptures by John Denley, *Gentleman, with a Confeſſion of his Faith, concerning the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, found in his Pocket at the Time of his Apprehenſion.*

Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his Name.

Mr. *Denly's* Notes concerning the Matter of the Sacrament.

THE Difference of Doctrine between the Faithful and the Papiſts concerning the Sacrament is, that the Papiſts ſay, that Chriſt is corporally under, or in the Forms of Bread and Wine; but the Faithful ſay, that Chriſt is not there, neither corporally nor ſpiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratively he is in the Bread and Wine, and ſpiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in Heaven, from whence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

My Belief in the Sacrament of the bleſſed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Mr. *Denley's* Belief of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

AS concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, my Belief is this, that the Bread and Wine is appointed unto a Sacrament; and that after Thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth repreſent unto me the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; not that the Bread is the Body, or the Wine the Blood, but that I in Faith do ſee that bleſſed Body of our Saviour broken on the Croſs, and his precious Blood plenteouſly ſhed for the Redemption of my Sins. Alſo in Faith I hear him call us unto him, ſaying, *Come unto me all ye that Labour and are Laden, and I will refreſh you,* Eſay 55. *alſo* Matth. 11, *&c.* In Faith I come unto him, and I am refreſhed, ſo that I believe that all that do come to the Table of the Lord in this Faith, Fear and Love, being ſorry for their Offences, intending earneſtly to lead a godly Converſation in this Vale of Miſery, do receive the Fruit of the Death of Chriſt, which Fruit is our Salvation.

The Fruit of Chriſt's Death, what it is, and how it is received in the Sacrament.

How Chriſt is received ſpiritually in the Sacrament.

I do underſtand (ſpiritually) that as the outward Man doth eat the material Bread which comforteth the Body, ſo doth the inward Man (through Faith) eat the Body of Chriſt, believing that as the Bread is broken, ſo was Chriſt's Body broken on the Croſs for our Sins; which comforteth our Souls unto Life everlaſting, and ſignifying thereby, that even as that Bread was divided among them, ſo ſhould his Body and Fruit of his Paſſion, be diſtributed unto as many as believed in his Words. But the Bread broken and eaten in the Supper, admoniſheth, and putteth us in Remembrance of his Death, and ſo exciteth us to Thankſgiving, to laud and praiſe God for the Benefits of our Redemption.

The groſs Error of the Papiſts in the real Being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

And thus we there have Chriſt preſent; in the inward Eye and Sight of our Faith we eat his Body and drink his Blood; that is, we believe ſurely that his Body was crucified for our Sins, and his Blood ſhed for our Salvation.

Chriſt's Body and Blood is not contained in the ſacramental Bread and Wine, as the Papiſts have ſaid, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye read in theſe Scriptures following: Firſt read in *Matth.* 9. *Luke* 5. *Matth.* 24, and 26. *Mark* 16. *Luke* 24. *John* 13. *Luke* 23. in the End, *John* 14, 15, 16, 17. *Acts* 1. 3. 7. 9. *Rom.* 8. *Pſal.* 8. 1 *Cor.* 10, 11. *Exod.* 12. *Coloſſ.* 1. *Epheſ.* 1. 4. *Phil.* 2. 1. 1 *Theſſ.* 1. 4. *Heb.* 1. 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. 1 *Pet.* 3. *Pſal.* 11. 47. 103. 10.

Chriſt's material Body is not in all Places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtify hereafter.

Chriſt's Body not in all Places at once.

First, read St. *Matthew* the Laſt, *Mark* the Laſt, *Luke* the Laſt, *John* 11. 20. 21. Theſe Places of the Scriptures do plainly declare, that his Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, cannot be in more Places than one, and that is in Heaven, on the right Hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all Places, as the Papiſts have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Therefore whoſoever they be that do worſhip the Creatures of Bread and Wine, do commit Idolatry, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the Glory from God, and give it to his Creatures, which is contrary to the Mind of God, as theſe Scriptures hereafter do teſtify: Firſt in *Exod.* 20. 22, 23, 24. *Lev.* 19. *Deut.* 4. 6. 32. *Pſal.* 80. *Iſa.* 45. *Mal.* 2. *Mat.* 4. *Luke* 4. *Acts* 14. *Rev.* 14. *Pſal.* 98. 1 *Cor.* 1. *Epheſ.* 4. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1 *John* 5. *Rev.* 19. 22.

JOHN DENLEY.

Mr. *Denly* and his fellow Priſoners ſent to Biſhop *Bonner.*

Now to return to the Commiſſioners again: They receiving theſe Priſoners before mentioned, after they ſaw they could little prevail with their own Perſuaſions, ſent them to Biſhop *Bonner* to be handled after his fatherly and charitable Diſcretion. Which how diſcreet and favourable it was, as well the Hiſtory of others, as alſo the Sequel of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the 28th of *June* then next following he cauſed the ſaid *Denley* and *Newman*, with one *Patrick Packingham*, to be brought into his Chamber within his Palace, there examining them upon their Confeſſions (which *Tyrell* had found about them) objecting alſo unto them certain others, and therefore I thought his Anſwers ſufficient to lay down, as containing the Subſtance of all the reſt, except that *Packingham* had one Article of no great Force objected to him, which the others had not.

And examined by him.

The Words of Mr. *Denley* to Biſhop *Bonner.*

This done, the Biſhop began with his Accuſtomed Perſwaſions; to whom Mr. *Denley* reply'd, God ſave me from your Counſel, and keep me in the Mind I am now in, for what you count Hereſy I take to be the Truth: And thereupon they were commanded to ap-

pear in the Biſhop's Conſiſtory the fifth Day of *July* then next coming, in the Afternoon, where theſe Articles were objected againſt them.

FIRST, that the ſaid *Denley* now is of the Dioceſs of *London*, and the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*.

This is not true.

Secondly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholick Church of Chriſt here in Earth.

Thirdly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath not believed nor doth believe, that this Church of *England* is any Part or Member of the ſaid catholick Church.

Fourthly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed and doth believe, that the Maſs now uſed in this Realm of *England* is naught, and full of Idolatry and Evil, and plain againſt God's Word, and therefore he, the ſaid *Denley* hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that auricular Confeſſion uſed now in this Realm of *England*, is not good, but contrary to God's Word.

Sixthly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that Abſolution given by the Prieſt hearing Confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by God's Word, but contrary to the ſame.

Seventhly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that chriſtening of Children, as it is now uſed in the Church of *England*, is not good, nor allowable by God's Word, but againſt it: Likewiſe confirming of Children, giving of Orders, ſaying of Mattins and Even-ſong, anointing of ſick Perſons, making of holy Bread and holy Water, with the reſt of the Church.

Eighthly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that there are but two Sacraments in Chriſt's catholick Church, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

Ninthly, That the ſaid *Denley* hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that foraſmuch as Chriſt is aſcended up into Heaven, therefore the very Body of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar.

This Article was only objected againſt *Patrick Packingham*.

Tenthly, That thou *Patrick Packingham*, now being of the Age of twenty one at leaſt, being within the Houſe of the Biſhop of *London* at *Paul*'s, and by him brought to the great Chappel to hear Maſs there, the ſaid 23d Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1555. didſt unreverently ſtand in the ſaid Chapel, having thy Cap on thy Head all the Time of Maſs; and didſt alſo refuſe to receive holy Water, and holy Bread at the Hands of the Prieſt, there contemning and deſpiſing both the Maſs, and the ſaid holy Water and holy Bread.

Anſwers to the foregoing Articles.

TO the firſt Article I anſwer, It is very true. To the ſecond Article I anſwer, That it is not true: For I believe the holy catholick Church which is built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the Head; which holy Church is the Congregation of faithful People diſperſed thro' the whole World, which Church doth truly preach God's Holy Word; and doth alſo adminiſter the two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, according to his bleſſed Word.

To the third Article I anſwer, That I do believe that this Church of *England*, uſing the Faith and Religion which is now uſed, is no Part or Member of the aforeſaid catholick Church, but is the Church of Antichriſt, the Biſhop of *Rome* being the Head thereof: For it is plain, that they have altered the Teſtament of God, and ſet up a Teſtament of their own deviſing, full of Blaſphemy and Lies: For Chriſt's Teſtament is, that he would have all Things done to the edifying of the People, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, *Matth.* 6. and alſo it appeareth by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 14. for he ſaith, that *He that propheſieth ſpeaketh unto Men, for their edifying, for their Exhortation, and for their Comfort; he that ſpeaketh with the Tongue, profiteth himſelf; he that propheſieth, edifieth the Congregation.* Anno 1555.

Alſo he ſaith, *Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak Words that have Signification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air; that is as much as to ſay, in vain.* Alſo he ſaith, *thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edify'd. I thank my God, I ſpeak with Tongues more than you all: Yet I had rather in the Congregation to ſpeak five Words with Underſtanding, to the Information of others, than ten thouſand Words with the Tongue.* Alſo he ſaith, *let all Things be done to Edification.* 1 Cor. 14. The Pope's Service in a Tongue which edifieth not the People.

Alſo it is written in the 46th Pſalm, *For God is King of all the Earth: O ſing Praiſes unto him with Underſtanding*, &c. So it doth appear, that this Church of *England*, now uſed, is not built upon Chriſt, if St. *Paul*'s Words be true, and alſo the Pſalms; therefore this Church is not built upon the Prophets, Apoſtles, nor Chriſt, as I have before declared.

To the fourth Article I anſwer, and I do believe (as I ſaid before) That the Maſs now uſed in this Realm of *England*, is naught, and abominable Idolatry and Blaſphemy againſt God's holy Word; for Chriſt in his holy Supper inſtituted the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, to be eaten together in Remembrance of his Death till he come, and not to have them worſhipped, and make an Idol of them: For God will not be worſhipped in his Creatures, but we ought to give him Praiſe for his Creatures, which he hath created for us. For he ſaith in the ſecond Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven Image, nor the Likeneſs of any Thing that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them.* So it appeareth by this Commandment, that we ought not to worſhip the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, for it is plain Idolatry; for he ſaith, No Similitude, therefore, Thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them. I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the Hands, knocking of the Breaſt, putting off the Cap, and making Courteſy, with other like Superſtition? You would make Men to be ſo blind as to think that this is no Worſhipping. The Maſs abominable and idolatrous.

Peradventure you will object and ſay, You do not worſhip the Bread and Wine, but Chriſt's Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, contained under the Forms of Bread and Wine. But that is a very Lie; for Chriſt's Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is in Heaven, if St. *Paul*'s Words be true, as undoubtedly they are: For he ſaith in the 10th of the *Hebrews*, *But this Man, after he had offered one Sacrifice for Sins, is ſet down for ever on* Objections of the Papiſts removed.

Anno 1555.

the Right Hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his Foes be made his Footstool.

Also in the 9th Chapter he saith, *For Christ is not entered into holy Places made with Hands, which are Similitudes of true Things, but he is entered into very Heaven, to appear now in the Sight of God for us,* &c. Also *Phil.* 3. *But our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord* Jesus Christ, *&c.* 1 Thes. 1. *For they themselves shew of you, what Manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from Images to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from Heaven, whom he raised from Death, even* Jesus *which delivered us from the Wrath to come,* &c. Also *John* 16. *I went out from the Father, and came into the World. Again, I leave the World and go to the Father,* &c. John 17. *Now I am not in the World, and they are in the World and I come to thee.* All these Places of Scripture, with many more, plainly prove to them that have Ears to hear, that Christ's Body, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, is in Heaven, and not in the Sacramental Bread and Wine; and therefore it is Idolatry to worship them, *&c.*

Scripture proving Christ not to be bodily in the Sacrament.

To the fifth Article I answer, That I do believe, as I said before, that auricular Confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my Sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for Remission thereof, for our Saviour saith in the 11th Chapter of *Matthew. Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease you,* &c. *The prodigal Son,* Luke 15. saith, *I will arise and go to my Father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son,* &c. Psalm. 31. *I said I will acknowledge mine Offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest the Iniquity of my Sin,* &c. Job 13. *But I will reprove mine own Ways in his Sight: He shall make me whole, and there may no Hypocrite come before him.* Syrach 34. saith, *Who can be cleansed of the unclean?* And there was but one of the ten Lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him Thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my Neighbour, I must reconcile myself to him; and if I be a notorious Sinner, after the first and second Admonition, it ought to be declared to the Congregation, and the Minister of the Congregation hath Power by the Word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an Heathen Person, not for a Day, or for forty Days, but until such Time as I do openly in the Congregation acknowledge my Fault, then the Minister hath Power by the Word to preach to me or them the Remission of our Sins in the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, as it is written in the 13th of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and *Mat.* 18. I know no more of any other Confession.

Against auricular Confession.

Remission of Sins to be sought only at the Hands of Christ.

To this sixth Article, I the said *John Denly* have answered in the fifth.

To the seventh Article I answer, that as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, which is the Christening of Children, it is altered and changed; for St. *John* used nothing but the Preaching of the Word and the Water, as it doth appear when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also who came to *John* to be baptized, as it appeareth, *Matth.* 3. *Mark* 1. *Luke* 3. And *Acts* 8. the Chamberlain said; See here is Water, what hindereth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that *Philip* had preached unto him; for he said, Here is Water. We do not read that he asked for any Cream, Oil, or Spittle, or conjured Water, or conjured Wax, nor Croysom or Salt, for it seemeth that *Philip* had preached no such Things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for Water: And the Water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Also *Acts* 10. *Then answered* Peter, *Can any Man forbid Water that these should not be baptized,* &c. Acts 16. *And* Paul *and* Silas *preached unto him the Word of the Lord, and to all that were in his House: And he took them the same Hour of the Night, and washed their Wounds, and so was he baptized, and all they of his Houshold straitway,* where ye see nothing but preaching the Word and the Water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the Ceremonies of your Church.

To the eighth Article I answer shortly, that there be no more Sacraments than two; Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, except ye will make the Rainbow a Sacrament: For there is no Sacrament but what hath a Promise annexed to it.

The Rainbow as good a Sacrament as some of the popish Sacraments.

To the ninth Article I answer you, That ye have my Mind written already: For it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my Mind in the fourth Article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily Presence; for Christ's Body is in Heaven, and will not be contained in so small a Piece of Bread. And as the Words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other Places of Scripture which Christ spake himself, and also the Apostles after him. And thus I make an End.

By me, *John Denley.*

The first Day of the Month of *July*, the said three Prisoners were brought into the Consistory in St. *Paul*'s Church, where he proceeded against them after the usual Form and Manner of Law, reading first their Confessions, Articles, and Answers, and then tempting them sometimes with fair Promises, at other Times with Threatnings, which indeed were generally his chief Arguments and Reasons. In the End, seeing their unmoveable Constancy, upon the fifth of *July* he condemned them as Hereticks, and deliver'd them to the Sheriffs of *London*, as to his common Executioners, who kept them till they were commanded by Writ to send them to their several Places of Suffering; and accordingly Mr. *Denley* was sent to *Uxbridge*, where he was burnt on the 8th Day of *August*: And being set in the Fire, with the burning Flames about him, he sung a Psalm.

Then cruel Dr. *Story* being there present, commanded one of the Tormentors to throw a Faggot at him, wherewith being so hurt that his Face bled, he left singing, and clapt both his Hands upon his Face. Truly, quoth Dr. *Story* to him that hurled the Faggot, thou hast marr'd a good old Song.

The Barbarity of Dr. *Story* toward Mr. *Denley.*

Yet notwithstanding all this, he put his Hands abroad in the Flames, and sung again, resigning his Spirit into the Hands of God through his Son *Jesus Christ.*

After the Martyrdom of Mr. *Denley* at *Uxbridge*, which was the 8th of *August*, soon after *Patrick Packingham* also suffered at the same Town about the 28th of the said Month. This *Packingham* was charged by *Bonner* (as ye heard before in the tenth Article) for his Behaviour in the Bishop's Chapel, who at the Mass time there standing, would not put off his

The Martyrdom of *Patrick Packingham* at *Uxbridge.*

his Cap, which was taken for a heinous Offence. *Packingham* being much perſuaded by *Bonner* to recant, proteſted in theſe Words to the Biſhop, That the Church which he believed was no catholick Church, but was the Church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, *&c.*

The Martyrdom of *John Newman* at *Saffron Walden, Auguſt* 31. 1555.

Furthermore as concerning the other, which was *John Newman* Pewterer, dwelling at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, he was burnt the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, at *Saffron-walden* in the County of *Eſſex*.

Richard Hook martyred at *Chicheſter*.

Likewiſe *Richard Hook* about the ſame Time, and for the ſame Matter gave his Life at *Chicheſter*.

The Examinations, Anſwers, and Condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, William Stere, *before the Biſhop of* Dover, *and Dr.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon of* Canterbury.

MEntion was made a little before in the Story of Mr. *Bland* and *Nicholas Sheterden*, of certain other *Kentiſh*-men, who being the ſame Time with them called forth and examined by *Thornton* Biſhop of *Dover*, Dr. *Harpsfield*, *Richard Faucet*, and *Robert Collins*: Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the Condemnation and Execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter End of the Month of *Auguſt*; coming therefore now to the Time of ſuffering, we will briefly touch ſome Part of their Examinations and Anſwers as we find them in the Regiſters. The Names of theſe were *William Coker*, *W. Hopper*, *Henry Laurence*, *Richard Colliar*, *Richard Wright*, *William Stere*. What the Articles objected to Mr. *Bland* and them were, ye heard before. To which Articles they ſeverally anſwered for themſelves in effect as followeth.

W. Coker condemned.

Firſt, *William Coker* ſaid, he would anſwer no otherwiſe than he had already anſwered; and being offered to have longer Reſpite of ſix Days after, he refuſed to take it, and ſo upon the ſame, Sentence of Condemnation was read againſt him, the 11th of *July*.

W. Hopper condemned.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to grant to the Faith and Determination of the *Roman* Church, but calling himſelf better to mind, conſtantly ſtuck to the Truth, and was condemned the next Week after, the 16th of *July*.

The Words of *H. Laurence*.

Henry Laurence examined the ſaid 16th of *July*, and partly deferred to the 2d of *Auguſt*, anſwered to the Articles objected againſt him; firſt denying auricular Confeſſion, and that he neither had, nor would receive the Sacrament, becauſe, *ſaith he*, the Order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the Order of the Sacrament.

Moreover, the ſaid *Laurence* was charged for not putting off his Cap, when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament, and did Reverence to the ſame. The ſaid *Laurence* anſwered in theſe Words, What? ye ſhall not need to put off your Cap: For it is not ſo holy that you need to put off your Cap thereunto. Anno 1555.

Further, being oppoſed concerning the Verity of the Sacrament given to Chriſt's Diſciples, he affirmed, that even as Chriſt gave his very Body to his Diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame; ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a Door, *&c.* adding moreover, that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtill, that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and no Remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt, being required to ſubſcribe his Anſwers, he wrote theſe Words under the Bill of their Examinations, *Ye are all of Antichriſt, and him ye fol*— and here his Hand was hindred from writing any further: Belike he would have written out (follow), *&c.* And ſo upon the ſame, Sentence was given againſt him the Second of *Auguſt*.

Richard Colliar condemned.

Richard Colliar of *Aſhford*, abovementioned, having the 16th of *Auguſt* to appear, examined of the Sacrament of the Popiſh Altar, anſwered and ſaid, that he did not believe, that after the Conſecration there is the real and ſubſtantial Body of Chriſt, but only Bread and Wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, *&c.* Upon this Sentence was read againſt him, and he condemned the 16th of *Auguſt*. After his Condemnation he ſang a Pſalm. Wherefore the Prieſts and their Officers railed at him, ſaying he was out of his Wits.

Richard Wright condemned.

Richard Wright the ſame Place and Day above-mentioned, appearing, and required by the Judge what he believed of the real Preſence in the Sacrament, anſwered again, that as touching the Sacrament of the Altar and the Maſs, he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was uſed in the Church. Againſt whom the Sentence was alſo read the Day and Place aforeſaid.

Will. Stere, Martyr.

William Stere of the aforeſaid Pariſh of *Aſhford*, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appear the ſaid 16th Day of *Auguſt*, where he in the ſaid Chapter-houſe of *Canterbury*, being required to make anſwer to the Poſitions laid unto him by the Judge, made anſwer again, That he ſhould command his Dog, and not him: And further declared, that *Dick* of *Dover* had no Authority to ſit againſt him in Judgment; and asked where his Authority was? Who then ſhewed him certain Bulls and Writings from *Rome*, as he ſaid. *William Stere* denying that to be of ſufficient Force, the ſaid *Dick* alſo ſaid he had Authority from the Queen. Then the Martyr alledging that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (who was then in Priſon) was his Dioceſan, urged him to ſhew his Authority from the Archbiſhop, or elſe he deny'd his Authority to be ſufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, he found it not, he ſaid, in the Scripture, and therefore he would not anſwer thereunto.

Dick of *Dover* was the common Term for *Richard* Biſhop of *Dover*.

He meaneth Dr. *Cranmer*, impriſoned at *Oxford*.

And moreover, the Judge ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, with Reverence, and putting off his Cap, *William Stere* told him, that he needed not to reverence that Matter ſo highly. And thus (ſaying to the Judge, that he was a bloody Man, *&c.*) the Sentence

was

The Burning of Wm. Coker, Wm. Hopper, H. Laurence, R. Collier, R. Wright & Wm. Stere, at Canterbury.

Robert Smith, George Tankerfield & their Fellow Prisoners, conferring together in Newgate

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Anno 1555. was pronounced againſt him; and after the Sentence was read, he ſaid, that the Saerament of the Altar was the moſt blaſphemous Idol that ever was, *&c.*

Will. Stere condemned.

And thus theſe ſix heavenly Martyrs and Witneſſes to the Truth, being condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Coollins*, and Mr. *Faucet*, were burnt altogether in the ſame Town of *Canterbury*, at three Stakes in one Fire, about the latter End of *Auguſt*.

The Copy of their Sentence condemnatory, you may find before in the Story of Mr. *John Rogers*; for the Papiſts in their Condemnations follow one manner of Sentence againſt all they have condemned through their unmerciful Tyranny.

The Perſecution of ten Martyrs together, ſent by ſome of the Council to Bonner *to be examined.*

AFTER the Burning of theſe Six abovenamed, next followeth the Perſecution of ten others, the Names of whom are as follow.

Ten Martyrs ſent up together to Biſhop *Bonner*.

Elizabeth Warne,	*William Hale*,
George Tankerfield,	*Thomas Leyes*,
Robert Smith,	*George King*,
Stephen Harwood,	*John Wade*,
Thomas Fuſt,	*Joan Laſhford.*

The Priſons of *London* beginning now to be repleniſhed with God's Saints, and ſtill more and more coming in, the Council and Commiſſioners, thinking to make ready diſpatch with the poor Priſoners, cauſed theſe Ten to be ſent with their Letter directed to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, by him to be examined, and rid out of the Way. The Copy of which Letter, with their Names ſubſcribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to Dr. Bonner *Biſhop of* London.

AFTER our hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here John Wade, William Hale, George King. Thomas Leyes, *of* Thorp *in* Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt, *Hoſier*, Robert Smith, *Painter*, Stephen Harwood, *Brewer*; George Tankerfield, *Cook*, Elizabeth Warn, Joan Laſhford *of* London, *Sacramentaries*; *all which we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, and to order according to the eccleſiaſtical Laws: Praying your Lordſhip to appoint ſome of your Officers to receive them at this Bearers Hands. And thus moſt heartily fare your Lordſhip well. From* London *this* 2*d of* July.

Your Lordſhip's loving Friends,

The Names of the Commiſſioners.

NICH. HARE, RICH. REDE,
WILL. ROPER, WILL. COOKE.

The Hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne, *Widow, burnt at* Stratford Bow.

NOW ſeverally to proſecute the Stories of theſe ten Martyrs aforenamed: Firſt we will begin with the Hiſtory of *Elizabeth Warne*, Widow, who in the Month of *Auguſt* was burnt at *Stratford Bow*, near *London*; ſhe was the late Wife of *John Warne* Upholſter and Martyr, who alſo was burnt the latter End of the *May* before. *Elizabeth Warne* Martyr.

This *Elizabeth Warne* had been apprehended amongſt others, the firſt Day of *January*, in a Houſe in *Bow* Church-yard in *London*, as they were gathered together in Prayer, and at that preſent was carried to the Compter, where ſhe remained till the 11th Day of *June*: At which Time ſhe was brought to *Newgate*, and was confined there till the ſecond Day of *July*. Then ſhe was ſent by the King and Queen's Commiſſioners unto *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, who the ſixth Day of the ſaid Month cauſed her with divers others (as *Robert Smith*, *George Tankerfield*, &c.) to be brought before him into his Palace, and there examined her upon ſundry Articles, ſuch as were commonly adminiſtred unto the poor Saints and Martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample Proceſſes before mentioned. *Elizabeth Warne* brought to Examination.

The chief Objection that he uſed towards her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touching the real and corporal Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, as the chief Ground and the moſt profitable Foundation for their catholick Dignity. Many other Matters he objected againſt them, as for not coming to the Church, for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs, for deſpiſing their Ceremonies and new found Sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling Toys, not worthy to be mentioned.

In the End, when ſhe had been divers Times brought before him and other his Adherents, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhe ſaid, Do what ye will; for if Chriſt were in an Error, then am I in an Error. Upon which Anſwer, ſhe was condemned as an Heretick, the 12th Day of the ſame Month of *July*, and ſo delivered to the ſecular Power, as they term it, to be by them put to Death, which was done in the ſame Month. The Words of *Elizabeth Warne* at her Examination.

The chief Procurer of her Death was Dr. *Story*, being (as it is thought) ſomewhat related to her, or elſe to her late Husband. Who, at the firſt Apprehenſion of his ſaid Kinſwoman, endeavoured by all Means to get her Pardon, and accordingly apply'd to Dr. *Martin*, then one of the King and Queen's Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (himſelf being as yet not made Commiſſioner) and by this his Suit obtained her Deliverence for that Preſent, as Dr. *Martin* himſelf (the Author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what Occaſion God only knoweth, except upon ſome burning Charity, the ſaid Dr. *Story* obtaining to be one of the Commiſſioners, cauſed not only the ſaid *John Warne*, but alſo his Wife, and afterwards his Daughter to be again apprehended, never leaving them till he had brought them all to Aſhes. Such was Dr. *Story* perſecuteth his Kinsfolks.

the Rage of that devout Catholick, and white Child of the Mother Church, that neither Kindred nor any other Consideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his Request) with others, who in respect of him were but Strangers unto them.

George Tankerfield, *Martyr.*

George Tankerfield of *London*, Cook, born in the City of *York*, about the Age of 27 or 28 Years, was in the Days of King *Edward* a Papist, till the Time Queen *Mary* came in, and then perceiving the great Cruelty which the Papists used, was brought into a Misdoubt of their Doings, and began (as he said) in his Heart to abhor them. And as concerning the Mass, whereof he had but a doubtful Opinion before, and much striving with himself in that Case; at length he fell to Prayer, desiring God in Mercy to open to him the Truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might utterly hate it in his Heart, and abhor it: Which the Lord mercifully heard, and, according to his Prayer, daily working more and more in him to detest and abhor the same: And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord enlightened his Mind with the Knowledge of the Truth, working a lively Faith in him to believe the same; and utterly to detest all Popery, and so he came no more to their Doings: And not only that, but also this lively Faith (as he said) kindled such a Flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by the Confession thereof, reproving his own former Doings to his Friends, exhorting them likewise to repent and turn to the Truth with him; thus they began to smell him out, and at length he was sent for as followeth.

How Mr. *Tankerfield* was first called to the Knowledge of the Gospel.

It pleased God to strike him with Sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and on a certain Day to take the Air Abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple Fields to see the Shooters. In the mean Time Mr. *Beard* came to his House and enquired for him, pretending to his Wife, that he came only to have him dress a Banquet at the Lord *Paget*'s. His Wife, because of his Apparel (which was very brave) took him to be some honest Gentleman, and with all Speed prepared herself to fetch her Husband, having a good Hope he should now earn some Money: And lest this Gentleman should be tired with tarrying, she fetch'd him a Cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair Napkin before him, and set Bread thereon, and came to her Husband; who when he heard it, said, A Banquet, Woman: Indeed it is such a Banquet as will not be very pleasant to the Flesh, but God's Will be done. And when he came Home he saw who it was, and called him by his Name, which when his Wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a Tall Woman would play *Peter*'s Part, and instead of a Sword took a Spit, and had run him through, had not the Constable which Mr. *Beard* had sent for by his Man, came in and rescued him: Yet she sent a Brickbat after him, and hit him on the Back. And so *Tankerfield* was delivered to the Constable, and brought to *Newgate* about the last Day of *February*, 1555. by the said *Beard*, Yeoman of the Guard, and *Simon Pond* Pewterer, Constable of St. *Dunstans* in the West, sent in by *Roger Chomley* Knight, and Dr. *Martin*.

Tankerfield carried to *Newgate*.

Anno 1555.

Tankerfield being thus brought to Prison by his Adversaries, at length with the others before named was brought to his Examination before Bishop *Bonner*. Who, after his accustomed Manner, ordered his Articles and Positions unto him, the Copy and Tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read above expressed.

Examined by Bishop *Bonner*.

To these Articles he answered again, constantly declaring his Mind concerning auricular Confession, and also the Sacrament of the popish Altar, and likewise the Mass, *&c.* First, that he was not confessed to any Priest five Years past, nor to any other but only to God: And further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any Priest, for that he found it not in Christ's Book, and took it only to be a Counsel.

And concerning the Sacrament, commonly called here in *England* of the Altar, he confessed, that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is the real Body and Blood of Christ, because that the Body is ascended into Heaven, and there doth sit at the right Hand of God the Father.

And moreover he said, that the Mass now used in the Church of *England* was naught, and full of Idolatry and Abomination, and against the Word of God; affirming also, that there are but two Sacraments in the Church of Christ, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, *&c.* And to these Assertions he said he would stand; and so he did to the End.

And when at last the Bishop began to read the Sentence, first exhorting him with many Words to revoke his professed Opinion (which they called damnable and heretical) he notwithstanding resisted all their Persuasions, answering the Bishop again in this Manner: I will not, *said he*, forsake mine Opinions, except you, my Lord, can refel them by Scriptures; and I care not for your Divinity; for you condemn all Men, and prove nothing against them. And after many fair Words of Exhortation, which *Bonner* then used, to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, That the Church whereof the Pope is supreme Head, is no Part of Christ's catholick Church; and adding thereunto, and pointing to the Bishop, spake to the People saying, Good People beware of him, and such as he is, for these be the People that deceive you, *&c.*

The Words of *Tankerfield* to Bishop *Bonner*.

These and many other Words he spake; whereupon the Bishop, reading the Sentence of Condemnation, gave him to the secular Power.

Tankerfield condemned.

And so this good Man being carried to St. *Albans*, there ended his Life with much Patience and Constancy, the 26th Day of *August*, for the Defence of the Truth, which at length will have the Victory.

The History and Examination of Robert Smith, *Martyr.*

ROBERT SMITH was brought to *Newgate* the fifth of *November*, by *John Matthew*, Yeoman of the Guard of the Queen's side, by the

the Command of the Council. *Robert Smith* firſt gave himſelf to Service in the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knt. being then Provoſt of *Eaton*; from thence he was preferred to *Windſor*, having there in the College a Clerkſhip of ten Pounds a Year. Of Stature he was tall and ſlender, active about many Things, but chiefly delighting in the Art of Painting, which many Times rather for his Mind's Sake, than for any Gain, he did practiſe and exerciſe. In Religion he was fervent, after he had once taſted the Truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the Preaching of Mr. *Turner* of *Windſor*, and others. Whereupon, at the Coming in of Queen *Mary*, he was deprived of his Clerkſhip by her Viſitors; and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to Examination before *Bonner*, as here followeth, written and teſtified with his own Hand.

The firſt Examination of Robert Smith *before Biſhop* Bonner.

ABOUT nine of the Clock in the Morning I was among the reſt of my Brethren brought to the Biſhop's Houſe; and firſt of all I was brought before him into his Chamber, to whom the Biſhop ſaid as followeth, after he had asked my Name.

Bonner. How long is it ſince ye were confeſſed to any Prieſt?

Smith. Never ſince I had Years of Diſcretion. For I never ſaw it needful, neither commanded by God to come and ſhew my Faults to any of that ſinful Number whom ye call Prieſts.

Bonner. Thou ſheweſt thyſelf even at thy firſt Speech to be a rank Heretick, who being wearing of Painting, art entered into Divinity, and ſo fallen, through thy departing from thy Vocation, into Hereſy.

Smith. Although I have underſtanding in the ſaid Occupation, yet (I praiſe God) I have had little Need all my Life hitherto to live by the ſame, but have lived without the ſame in mine own Houſe as honeſtly in my Vocation as ye have lived in yours, and yet uſed the ſame better than ever you uſed the Pulpit.

Bonner. How long is it ſince ye received the Sacrament of the Altar, and what is your Opinion in the ſame?

Smith. I never received the ſame ſince I had Years of Diſcretion, nor never will, by God's Grace; neither do eſteem the ſame in any Point, becauſe it hath not God's Ordinance, neither in Name, nor in other Uſage, but rather is ſet up and erected to mock God withal.

Bonner. Do ye not believe that it is the very Body of *Chriſt* that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, naturally, ſubſtantially, and really, after the Words of Conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before it was none of God's Ordinances, as ye uſe it; then much leſs to be God, or any part of his Subſtance, but only Bread and Wine erected to the Uſe aforeſaid; yet nevertheleſs, if ye can prove it to be the Body that ye ſpake of by the Word, I will believe it; if not, I will as I do, account it a deteſtable Idol, not God; but contrary to God and his Truth.

Bonner's Argument to prove the Sacrament.

Then after many raging Words and vain Objections *Bonner* ſaid, There was no Remedy but I muſt be burned.

Smith. Ye ſhall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better Men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your Matter good. For your Sore is too well ſeen to be healed ſo privily with Blood. For even the very Children have all your Deeds in Deriſion; ſo that although ye patch up one Place with Authority, yet ſhall it break out in forty to your Shame. Anno 1555.

Bonner. Then after much ado, and many railing Sentences, he ſaid, throwing away the Paper of mine Examination; Well, even now, by my Troth, even in good Earneſt, if thou wilt go to Confeſſion, I will tear this Paper in Pieces.

Smith. To which I anſwered; It would be too much to his Shame to ſhew it to Men of Diſcretion.

After which Anſwer, I was carried down to the Garden with my Jaylor, and there remained till my Brother *Harwood* was examined; and then being again brought up before the ſaid *Bonner*, he demanded if I agreed with *Harwood* in his Confeſſion upon theſe Articles following.

Bonner. What ſay you to the catholick Church? Do ye not confeſs there is one in Earth.

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholick Church, or faithful Congregation, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, is built upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the head Corner-ſtone: which Church in all her Words and Works maintaineth the Word, and bringeth the ſame for her Authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by Grace made a Member.

Bonner. Ye ſhall underſtand, that I am bound when my Brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the Congregation; now if your Church be the ſame, where may a Man find it, to bring his Brother before the ſame.

Smith. It is written in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, that when the Tyranny of the Biſhops was ſo great againſt the Church in *Jewry*, they were fain to aſſemble in Houſes and ſecret Places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheleſs the Church of God: And ſeeing they had their Matters redreſſed, being ſhut up in a Corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

Here he would not anſwer me to the Church of *Jewry*, but flieth to the Church of *Corinth*.

Bonner. Yea, their Church was known full well. For St. *Paul* writ to the *Corinthians*, to have the Man puniſhed and excommunicated, that had committed Evil with his Father's Wife: Whereby we may well perceive it was a known Church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perſecute it as you do: But as ye ſay the Church of God at *Corinth* was manifeſt both to God and St. *Paul*; even ſo is this Church of God in *England*, whom ye perſecute, both known to God, and alſo even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their Truth nor Converſation; yea, and your ſinful Number have profeſſed their Verity, and maintained the ſame a long Seaſon.

Bonner. Well, thou ſayeſt that the Church of God was only at *Corinth*, when St. *Paul* writ unto them, and ſo will I put in writing, ſhall I?

How *Bonner* layeth Snares to catch the Innocent.

Smith. I do greatly marvel, my Lord, that ye are not aſhamed to lay Snares for your Brethren on this Manner. This is now the third Snare you have laid for me. Firſt, to make me confeſs that the Church of *England* is not the Church of Chriſt. Secondly, to ſay it is not

not known. Thirdly, to ſay the Church of God is not Univerſal, but Particular. And this is not the Office of a Biſhop. For if an Innocent had come in your Way, you would have done your beſt, I ſee, to have entangled him.

Well Friend, ſaid Dr. *Harpsfield*, you are no Innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the Grace of God I am that I am; and this Grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Well, ſaid *Bonner*, laughing, tell me how ſayſt thou of the Church?

Smith. I told you whereon the true Church is built, and I affirm in *England* to be the Congregation of God, and alſo in *omnem terram*; as it is written, *Their Sound is gone forth into all Lands*, and that this is the afflicted and perſecuted Church, which ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlay and kill. And in *Corinth* was not all the Congregation of God, but a Number of thoſe holy and elect People of God. For neither *Paul* nor *Peter* were preſent at *Corinth* when they wrote, and yet were they of the Church of God, as many thouſands more which alſo communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Bonner. What call ye Catholick, and what call ye Church?

Smith. Catholick is Univerſal, and Church is a Congregation knit together in Unity.

Then after much like Talk, it was laid to my Charge, that my Fellow and I ſpake one Thing. For which I praiſed God, and was ſent again to a Garden. Where, after a while as I and my Brother *Harwood* had been together, came one of my Lord's Chaplains, that much deſired to commune with me, demanding firſt if I were a Priſoner.

Talk between *Robert Smith* and the Biſhop's Chaplain.

Smith. I am in this Fleſh a Priſoner, and ſubject to my Maſter and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free Man through Chriſt Jeſus.

Doctor. I do much deſire to talk with you lovingly, becauſe ye are a Man that I much lament, with many other ſweet Words.

To which I anſwered, *Sub melle latet venenum.* And after much ado about his God, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needs enter into the Belly, and ſo fall into the Draught. To which he anſwered.

Abſurdity granted by the Papiſts, that the Body of Chriſt goeth into the Belly, and ſo into the Draught.

Doctor. What Derogation was it to Chriſt, when the *Jews* ſpit in his Face?

Smith. If the *Jews*, being his Enemies, did ſpit in his Face, and we being his Friends throw him into the Draught, which of us have deſerved the greateſt Damnation? Then by your Argument, he that doth Injury to Chriſt, ſhall have a moſt plenteous Salvation.

Note this Catholick Doctrine, which reſembleth the Body of Chriſt, to the incomprehenſible Soul of Man.

Then the Doctor ſtarted away, and would have his Humanity incomprehenſible, making a Compariſon between the Soul of Man and the Body of Chriſt, bringing in to ſerve his Turn, which way Chriſt came in among his Diſciples, the Doors being ſhut?

The Queſtion is not what Chriſt is able to do in the Sacrament, but what he doth therein.

Smith. Although it be ſaid that when he came the Doors were ſhut, yet have I as much to prove, that the Doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the Door. For that Almighty GOD who brought the Diſciples out of Priſon, which yet when Search was made, were found ſhut, was able to let Chriſt in at the Door, although it were ſhut: And yet it maketh not for your Purpoſe; for they ſaw him, heard him, and felt him, and that ye cannot ſay ye do, neither is he in more Places than one at the ſame Time.

At which Anſwer when he had made many Scoffings, he went from me, and we were carry'd into my Lord's Hall, where we were baited by my Lord's Band of Servants, almoſt all the Day, until our Keeper ſeeing their Diſorder, ſhut us all up in a handſome Chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue to condemn Mr. *Denley* and *John Newman*. Anno 1555.

Then they brought my Lord Mayor up into the Chamber where my Lord intended to ſup, to hear the Matter; and I was the Firſt that was called; where my Lord Mayor being ſet with the Biſhop and one of the Sheriffs, Wine was walking on every Side, whilſt I ſtood before them like a Mute; which made me remember how *Pilate* and *Herod* were made Friends, but no Man was ſorry for *Joſeph*'s Hurt. But after my Lord had well drank, my Articles were ſent for and read, and he demanded whether I did ſay as was written? *Robert Smith* brought again before the Biſhop and the Lord Mayor.

Smith. That I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and what I have ſaid I do mean utterly.

Bonner. Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordſhip hath heard in ſome Meaſure, what a ſtout Heretick this is, and that his Articles have deſerved Death: Yet nevertheleſs for as much as they report me to ſeek Blood, and call me Bloody *Bonner*, whereas, God knoweth I never ſought any Man's Blood in all my Life, I have kept him from the Conſiſtory this Day, whither I might have brought him juſtly: And yet here before your Lordſhip I deſire him to turn, and I will with Speed diſpatch him out of Trouble; and this I profeſs before your Lordſhip and all this Audience. The Biſhop rightly called Bloody *Bonner*.

Smith. Why, my Lord, do you put on this fair Viſor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye ſeek not my Blood, to cloak your Murders through my Stoutneſs, as ye call it? Have ye not had my Brother *Tomkins* before you, whoſe Hand when you had burnt moſt cruelly, ye burnt alſo his Body, and not only him, but a great many of the Members of Chriſt, Men that feared God, and lived virtuouſly, and alſo the Queen's Majeſty's moſt true Subjects, as their Goods and Bodies have made manifeſt? and ſeeing in theſe Saints ye have ſhewed ſo little Mercy, ſhall it ſeem to my Lord and this Audience, that you ſhew me more Favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean as ye ſay, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to anſwer you?

Bonner. Well, what ſaiſt thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? is it not the very Body of Chriſt Fleſh, Blood, and Bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

Smith. I have anſwered, that it is none of God's Order nor a Sacrament, but Man's own vain Invention, and ſhew'd him the Lord's Inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the Audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, to lay in my Diſh; I proved before the Audience that it was a dead God, declaring the Diſtinction appointed between the two Creatures of Bread and Wine, and that a Body without Blood hath no Life. At which *Harpsfield* found himſelf much offended, and took the Tale out of my Lord's Mouth, ſaying,

Harpſ. I will prove by the Scriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: For it is given in two Parts, becauſe there is two Things ſhewed, that is to ſay, his Body and his Paſſion, as ſaith St. *Paul:* And therefore the Bread is his Body, and the Wine the Repreſentation of his Death and Blood-ſhedding.

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Smith. Ye falſify the Word, and rack it to ſerve your Purpoſe. For the Wine was not only the ſhewing of his Paſſion, but the Bread alſo. For our Saviour ſaith, *So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.* And St. *Paul* ſaith, *So oft as ye eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lord's Death till he come.* And here is as much Reverence given to the one as to the other. Wherefore if the Bread be his Body, the Cup muſt be his Blood, and as well ye make his Body in the Cup, as his Blood in the Bread.

Then my Lord roſe up, and went to the Table, where the Lord Mayor deſired me to ſave my Soul. To whom I anſwered, I hope it was ſaved through Chriſt Jeſus, deſiring him to have Pity on his Soul, and remember whoſe Sword he carried.

At which I was carried into the Garden, and there abode till the reſt of my Friends were examined, and then were we ſent away to *Newgate* with many foul farewels, my Lord Biſhop giving the Keeper a Charge to lay me in Limbo.

Smith ſent to *Newgate* by Biſhop *Bonner.*

Another Examination of Robert Smith *before Biſhop* Bonner.

UPON *Saturday*, at Eight of the Clock, I was brought to his Chamber again, and there examined by him, as followeth.

Bonner. Thou *Robert Smith*, &c. ſayeſt that there is no catholick Church here on Earth.

Bonner beginneth with an untruth.

Smith. Ye have heard me both ſpeak the contrary, and ye have written as a Witneſs of the ſame.

Bonner. Yea, but I muſt ask thee this Queſtion: How ſayſt thou?

Smith. Muſt ye of Neceſſity begin with a Lie? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to end with the ſame. But there ſhall no Liars enter into the Kingdom of God. Nevertheleſs, if ye will be anſwered, ask mine Articles that were written Yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I have confeſſed a Church of God, as well in Earth as in Heaven, and yet all one Church, and one Man's Members, even Chriſt Jeſus.

Bonner. Well, what ſayſt thou to auricular Confeſſion? Is it not neceſſary to be uſed in Chriſt's Church? and wilt thou not be confeſſed by the Prieſt?

Auricular Confeſſion is but a pick-purſe Matter.

Smith. It is not needful to be uſed in Chriſt's Church, as I anſwered Yeſterday. But if it be needful for your Church, it is to pick Men's Pockets; and ſuch pick-pocket Matters is all the whole Rabble of your Ceremonies: For all that ye maintain is but Money-matters.

Bonner. Why, how art thou able to prove that Confeſſion is a pick-poket Matter? Art thou not aſhamed to ſay ſo?

The Inconveniencies of auricular Confeſſion.

Smith. I ſpeak by Experience: for I have both heard and ſeen the Fruits of the ſame. For firſt it hath been, we ſee, a Betrayer of King's Secrets, and the Secrets of other Mens Conſciences; who being delivered, and glad to be diſchaged from their Sins, have given great Sums of Money to Prieſts to abſolve them, and ſing Maſſes for their Souls health.

And for Example, I began to bring in a Pageant, that by Report was played at St. *Thomas of Acres*, and where I was ſometime a Child waiting on a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, which being bound in Conſcience, through the Perſuaſion of the Prieſt, gave away a great Quantity of his Goods, and forgave unto one Mr. *Greſham* a large Sum of Money, and to another as much. The Prieſt for his Part had a good Share, and the Houſe had an Annuity to keep him: Which Thing when his Brother heard, he came to *London*, and after Declaration made to the Council, how by the Subtilty of the Prieſt he had robbed his Wife and Children, recovered a great Part again, to the Value of two or three hundred Pounds of Mr. *Greſham* and his other Friend; but what he gave to the Houſe could not be recovered. This Story I began to tell; but when my Lord ſaw it ſavoured not to his Purpoſe, he began to revile me, and ſaid; By the Maſs, if the Queen's Majeſty were of my Mind, thou ſhould'ſt not come to talk before any Man, but ſhouldeſt be put into a Sack, with a Dog in the ſame, and be thrown into a River

Smith. I know you ſpeak by Practice, as much as by Speculation: For both you and your Predeceſſors have ſought all poſſible Means to kill Chriſt ſecretly; record of Mr. *Hunne*, whom your Predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the Noſe with hot burning Needles, and then to be hanged, and gave it out that the ſaid *Hunne* hanged himſelf: And alſo a good Brother of yours, a Biſhop of your Profeſſion, having in his Priſon an innocent Man, whom becauſe he could not overcome by Scripture, he cauſed him to be privately ſnarled, and his Fleſh to be torn and plucked away with a Pair of Pincers, and bringing him before the People, ſaid, the Rats had eaten him. Thus according to your Oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the Office, do not without Oaths open your Mouth, no more do you without Murder maintain your Traditions.

Example of terrible Cruelty ſhewed upon a poor Innocent.

Bonner. Ah, ye are a Generation of Liars; there is not one true Word that cometh out of your Mouths.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, I have ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt is dead for my Sins, and riſen for my Juſtification, and this no Lye.

Then *Bonner* made his Man to put in my Tale of the Gentleman of *Norfolk*, and would have me recite it again: Which when I would not do, he made his Man put in ſuch Sums as he imagined. At the End of this Sir *John Mordant* came in, and ſate down to hear my Examination. Then ſaid my Lord, how ſayſt thou, *Smith*, to the ſeven Sacraments? Believeſt thou that not they be God's Order, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of, *&c.*

Smith. I believe that in God's Church are but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Regeneration, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: And as for the Sacrament of the Altar, and all your Sacraments, they may well ſerve your Church, but God's Church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to anſwer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Bonner. Why, is God's Order changed in Baptiſm? in what Point do we diſſent from the Word of God?

Smith. Firſt, in hallowing your Water; in conjuring of the ſame; in baptizing Children with anointing and ſpitting in their Mouths, mingled with Salt, and with many other lewd Ceremonies, of which not one Point is able to be proved in God's Order.

Bonner. By the Maſs, this is the moſt unſhameſac'd Heretick that ever I heard ſpeak.

Smith. Well ſworn, my Lord, ye keep a good Watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye catch me at my Words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my troth, my Lord, ſaid Sir *John Mordant*, I never heard the like in all my Life. But I pray you, my Lord, mark well his Anſwer for Baptiſm. He diſalloweth therein holy Ointment, Salt, and ſuch other laudable Ceremonies, which no chriſtian Man will deny.

Smith. That is a ſhameful Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, ſo to uſe any mingle mangle in baptizing young Infants.

Bonner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

Smith. Ye ſhall never be ſaved by that Belief. But I pray you, my Lord, ſhew me, are we ſaved by Water, or by Chriſt?

Bonner. By both.

This was ſpoken more to confound the Opinion of Water, than to hinder Children to have Water.

Smith. Then the Water died for our Sins; and ſo muſt ye ſay, that the Water hath Life, and it being our Servant and created for us, is our Saviour: This, my Lord, is a good Doctrine, is it not?

Bonner. Why how underſtandeſt thou the Scriptures? *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.*

And again, *Suffer* (ſaith our Saviour) *theſe Children to come unto me:* And if thou wilt not ſuffer them to be baptized after the laudable Order, thou hindereſt them to come unto Chriſt.

Smith. Where ye alledge St. *John*, *Except a Man be born*, &c. and will thereby prove the Water to ſave, and ſo the Deed or Work to ſave or put away Sins, I will ſend you to St. *Paul*, which asketh of the *Galatians*, *Whether they received the Spirit by the Deeds of the Law, or by the Preaching of Faith?* and there concludeth, that the Holy Ghoſt accompanieth the Preaching of Faith, and with the Word of Faith entereth into the Heart. So now if Baptiſm preach to me the waſhing in Chriſt's Blood, ſo doth the Holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is unto me as a Preacher and not a Saviour. And where ye ſay, I hinder the Children to come unto Chriſt, it is manifeſt by our Saviour's Words that ye hinder them to come, that will not ſuffer them to come unto him without the Neceſſity of Water. For he ſaith, Suffer them come unto me, and not unto Water, and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the Merits and Words of Chriſt. For our Saviour ſaith, *Except ye turn and become as Children, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* And ſo brought I out many other Examples, to make manifeſt that Chriſt hath cleanſed original Sin, bringing in Examples out of the Scriptures for the ſame.

Bonner. Then thou makeſt the Water of none effect, then put away Water.

The Element of Water in Baptiſm, bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt.

Smith. It is not (ſaith St. *Peter*) *the waſhing away of the Filth of the Fleſh, but in that a good Conſcience conſenteth unto God.* And to prove that Water only bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt, it is written in the 8th of the *Acts*, that *Simon* received Water, but would have received the Holy Ghoſt for Money. Alſo that the Holy Ghoſt hath come before Baptiſm; it is written that *John* had the Holy Ghoſt in his Mother's Womb. *Cornelius*, *Paul*, and the Queen *Candaces* Servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghoſt before Baptiſm. Yea, and although your Generation have ſet at naught the Word of God, and like Swine turned his Words upſide down, yet muſt his Church keep the ſame in that Order which he left them, which his Church dare not break; and to judge Children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

The Holy Ghoſt received by ſome before Baptiſm.

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Mordant. By our Lady, Sir, but I believe that if my Child die without Water, he is damned.

Bonner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all catholick Men, good Mr. *Mordant.*

Smith. Well, my Lord, ſuch Catholick, ſuch Salvation.

Bonner. Well Sir, what ſay you to the Sacrament of Orders?

Smith. Ye may call it the Sacrament of miſorders: For all Orders are appointed of God. But as for your ſhaving, anointing, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch Things appointed in God's Book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your Orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had Grace and Intelligence, ye would not ſo diſfigure yourſelf as ye do.

Bonner. Say'ſt thou ſo? now by my Troth I will go ſhave myſelf to anger thee withal: And ſo ſent for his Barber, who immediately came: And before my Face at the Door of the next Chamber he ſhaved himſelf, deſiring me before he went, to anſwer to theſe Articles.

Bonner. What ſay you to holy Bread and holy Water, to the Sacrament of anointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch Ceremonies of the Church?

Smith. I ſay they be Baubles for Fools to play withal, and not for the Children of God to exerciſe themſelves in; and therefore they may go among the refuſe. Then Mr. *Mordant* went away, and my Lord went to be ſhaved, leaving there certain Doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do, by whom I was baited for half an hour: Of whom I alſo asked this Queſtion, Where were you all in the Days of King *Edward*, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeak now?

Talk between *Robert Smith* and the Doctors.

Doctor. We were in *England.*

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the Faces of Men, but now ye have put on Lions Faces again, as ſaith St. *John*, *Ye ſhew yourſelves as full of Malice as ye may be.* For ye have for every Time a Vizor; yea, and if another King *Edward* ſhould ariſe, ye would then ſay, Down with the Pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his Angels.

Then was I reviled, and ſent away, and brought in again before theſe Men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I diſallowed Confeſſion?

Smith. Look in mine Articles, and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doct. Your Articles confeſs that you allow not auricular Confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not, becauſe the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

Doct. Why it is written, thou ſhalt not hide thy Sins and Offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confeſs them to Almighty God.

Doct. Why ye cannot ſay that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you muſt underſtand the Words are ſpoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye have made a good Anſwer, then the Prieſt muſt confeſs himſelf to me, as well as I to him; I know his Faults and Secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if you confeſs

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Doct. What did they that came to *John* to be baptized?

Againſt auricular Confeſſion. *Smith.* They came and confeſſed their Sins to Almighty God.

Doct. And not unto *John?*

Smith. If it were unto *John*, as ye are not able to prove, yet it was to God before *John* and the whole Congregation.

Doct. Why, *John* was alone in the Wilderneſs.

Smith. Why, and yet the Scriptures ſay he had many Diſciples, and that many *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* came to his Baptiſm. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed themſelves to *John*, as ye ſay, it was to all the Congregation, as St. *Paul* doth to *Timothy*, and to all that read his Epiſtle, in opening to all the Hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe he had been a Tyrant. But as for Ear-confeſſion, ye never heard it allowed by the Word. For the Prophet *David* made his Confeſſion unto God, and ſaith, *I will confeſs my Sins unto the Lord*, *Daniel* maketh his Confeſſion unto the Lord; *Judith*, *Toby*, *Jeremy*, *Manaſſeh*, with all the Forefathers did even ſo. For the Lord hath ſaid, *Call upon me in the Time of Trouble, and I will deliver thee.* Knock, ask, ſeek, with ſuch like; and this is the Word of God; now bring ſomewhat of the Word to help yourſelf withal. Then they raged, and called me Dog, and ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are Dogs, that becauſe holy Things are offered, will ſlay your Friends. For I may ſay with St. *Paul*, *I have fought with Beaſts in the Likeneſs of Men.* For here I have been baited theſe two Days, of my Lord and his great Bulls of Baſan, and in his Hall beneath have I been baited of the reſt of his Band. With this came my Lord from ſhaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are even as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhaven.

Bonner. How ſtandeth it, Mr. Doctors, have ye done any good?

Doct. No by my Troth, my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, *How can an evil Tree bring forth good Fruit?*

Bonner. Nay, naughty Fellow, I ſet theſe Gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, ſuch Chriſts; and as truly as they have that Name from Chriſt, ſo truly do they teach Chriſt.

Bonner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you.

Bonner. Well thou ſhalt be burnt at a Stake in *Smithfield* if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And ye ſhall burn in Hell, if ye repent not: But my Lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weary, I will ſtrain courteſy with you: I perceive you will not with your Doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's Grace. For I have hardened my Face againſt you as hard as Braſs. Then after many railing Sentences I was ſent away.

The marvellous Boldneſs of *Robert Smith.*

And thus have I left the Truth of mine Anſwers in writing, gentle Reader, being compell'd by my Friends to do it: That ye may ſee how the Lord hath according to his Promiſe given me a Mouth and Wiſdom to anſwer in his Cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my Cauſe not heard.

The laſt Examination of Mr. Smith, *before Biſhop* Bonner, *with his Condemnation.*

THE twelfth of *July* I was with my Brethren brought into the Conſiſtory, and mine Articles read before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, with all the Aſſiſtants; to which I anſwered, as followeth.

Bonner. By my Faith, my Lord Mayor, I have ſhewed him as much Favour as any Man living might do: But I perceive all is loſt, both in him and all his Company.

At this Word which he coupled with an Oath, Mr. *Smith* came in, and ſaid to the Biſhop, My Lord, it is written, *Ye muſt not ſwear.*

Bonner. Ah Mr. Controller, are ye come? Lo, my Lord Mayor, this is Mr. Speaker, pointing to my Brother *Tankerfield*; and this is Mr. Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my Articles, he perſevered till he came at my Tale of the Gentleman of *Norfolk*, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the ſame before. To which he anſwered, no. To whom I ſaid:

Smith. My Lord Mayor, will it pleaſe you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and I told it; and then ſhall you hear the Truth. For this Tale that my Lord hath told is untrue.

Sir *John Mordant* came in after this Story was told.

Bonner. How ſay you, good Mr. *Mordant*, ſpake he not this here as it is written? Were ye not by?

Mordant. Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Smith. How heard you me ſay it, and were not preſent when I ſpake it? Should ſuch a Man make a Lie? It is manifeſtly proved that the Prophet ſaith: *Even as the King ſaith, ſo ſaith the Judge, that he may do him a Pleaſure again.* And then my Jailor was brought out for proof thereof, who there openly profeſſed, that neither Mr. *Mordant*, nor the Doctors before-mentioned were preſent when I ſpake it.

At which Mr. *Mordant* with bluſhing Cheeks ſaid, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the ſame; which alſo was not true. Then my Lord proceeded with the reſt of my Articles, demanding of me, If I ſaid not as written. To which I anſwered, No. And turning to my Lord Mayor, I ſaid, I require you, my Lord Mayor, in God's Behalf, unto whom pertaineth your Sword and Juſtice, that I may here before your Preſence anſwer to theſe Objections that are laid againſt me, and have the Probation of the ſame; and if any Thing that I have ſaid, or will ſay, be proved (as my Lord ſaith) Hereſy, I ſhall not only with all my Heart forſake the ſame, and cleave to the Truth, but alſo recant whereſoever ye ſhall aſſign me, and all this Audience ſhall be witneſs to the ſame.

The Words of *R. Smith* to the Lord Mayor.

Lord Mayor. Why, *Smith*, thou canſt not deny but this thou ſaidſt.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, becauſe he hath both added

to,

to, and diminiſhed from the ſame: But what I have ſpoken, I will never deny.

Lord Mayor. Why thou ſpakeſt againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Smith. I denied it to be any Sacrament, and I do ſtand here to make Probation of the ſame; and if my Lord or any of his Doctors be able to prove either the Name or Uſage of the ſame, I will recant mine Error. Then ſpake my Brother *Tankerfield*, and defended the Probation of Things which they called Hereſy. To which the Biſhop anſwered.

By my Troth, Mr. Speaker, ye ſhall preach at a Stake.

Smith. Well ſworn, my Lord, ye keep a good Watch.

Bonner no Saint.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no Saint.

Smith. No, my Lord, nor yet good Biſhop. For a Biſhop, ſaith St. *Paul*, ſhould be faultleſs, and a dedicated Veſſel unto God; and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in Judgment, and be a Blaſphemer, condemning Innocents.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye are faultleſs.

Smith. My Lord Mayor, I require you in God's Name, that I may have Juſtice. We be here to Day a great many Innocents wrongfully accuſed of Hereſy. And I require you, if you will not ſeem to be partial, let me have no more Favour at your Hands, than the Apoſtle had at the Hands of *Feſtus* and *Agrippa*, who being Heathens and Infidels, gave him Leave not only to ſpeak for himſelf, but alſo heard the Probation of his Cauſe. This require I at your Hands, who being a chriſtian Judge, I hope will not deny me that Right, which the Heathen have ſuffered: If ye do, then ſhall all this Audience, yea, and the Heathen ſpeak Shame of your Fact. For a City (ſaith our Saviour) that is built on a Hill cannot be hid: If they therefore have the Truth, let it come to Light. For all that well do, come to the Light, and they that do Evil hate the Light.

Here my Brother *Tankerfield* pulled a Teſtament out of his Boſom, requiring Judgment by the ſame, but it could not be heard.

Then my Lord Mayor hanging down his Head, ſaid nothing, but the Biſhop told me, I ſhould preach at a Stake, and the Sheriff cried, with the Biſhop, away with me.

This Sheriff was Mr. *Woodroſe.*

Thus came I in before them four times, deſiring Juſtice, but could have none: And at length my Friends required the ſame with one Voice, and could not have it, we had Sentence, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it ſeparately. But before the Biſhop gave me Sentence, he told me in Deriſion of my Brother *Tankerfield*, a Tale between a Gentleman and his Cook. To which I anſwered, My Lord, ye fill the Peoples Ears with Fantaſies and fooliſh Tales, and make a laughing Matter at Blood; but if ye were a true Biſhop, ye ſhould leave theſe railing Sentences, and ſpeak the Words of God.

Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your Companion the Cook, that my Lord Chancellor ſhould here inſtruct him, but he hath here with great Diſdain refuſed it. How ſay'ſt thou, wilt thou have him inſtruct thee, and lead thee in the right Way?

Smith. My Lord, if your Chancellor will do me any Good, and take any Pains, as ye ſay, let him take mine Articles in his Hands, that ye have objected againſt me, and either prove one of them Hereſy, or any Thing that you do to be good: And if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my Heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praiſe God, of his Sermon: For I come to anſwer for my Life, and not to hear a Sermon. Anno 1555.

Then began the Sentence, *In Dei nomine.* To which I anſwered, that he began in a wrong Name, requiring of him where he learned in Scripture to give Sentence of Death againſt any Man for his Conſcience ſake. To which he made no Anſwer, but went forward to the End, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned to the Mayor, and ſaid, Is it not enough for you my Lord Mayor, and you that are the Sheriffs, that ye have left the ſtraight Way of the Lord, but ye muſt condemn Chriſt cauſeleſs? The Biſhop's Sentence beginneth with a wrong Name.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now ye cannot ſay, but I have offered you fair, to have Inſtruction. And now, I pray thee, call me Bloody Biſhop, and ſay, I ſeek thy Blood.

Smith. Well, my Lord, if neither I nor any of this Congregation do report the Truth of your Fact, yet ſhall theſe Stones cry it out, rather than it ſhall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodroſe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good Friends, ye have ſeen and heard the great Wrong that we have received this Day, and ye are all Witneſſes that we have deſired the Probation of our Cauſe by God's Book, and it hath not been granted: But we are condemned, and our Cauſe not heard. Nevertheleſs, my Lord Mayor, for as much as ye have here exerciſed God's Sword cauſeleſs, and will not hear the right of the Poor, I commit my Cauſe to Almighty God, who will judge all Men according to right, before whom we ſhall both ſtand without Authority; and there will I ſtand in the Right, and have true Judgment, to your great Confuſion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his Will. And then was I with the reſt of my Brethren carried away to *Newgate.*

Thus, gentle Reader, as near as I can, I have ſet forth the Truth of my Examination, and the Verity of mine unjuſt Condemnation for the Truth, praying to God that it may not be laid to the Charge of thee, O *England*, requiring your hearty Prayers to God for his Grace and Spirit of Boldneſs, with Hope even ſhortly to ſet to my Seal at *Uxbridge* the 8th Day of *Auguſt*, by God's Grace: Pray that it may be to his Honour, my Salvation, and your Conſolation, I pray you,

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

On the 8th of *Auguſt*, the ſaid *Robert Smith* was brought to the Stake at *Uxbridge*; where he deſired the Spectators to think well of his Cauſe, and not to doubt but that his Body dying in that Quarrel, ſhould riſe again to Life. And, *ſaid he*, I doubt not but God will ſhew you ſome Token thereof. At length he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with Fire, cluſtered together as a Lump like a black Cole, all Men thinking him for dead, ſuddenly roſe upright before the People, lifting up the Stumps of his Arms, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a rejoicing Heart unto them; and ſo bending down again, and hanging over the Fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortal Life.

Anno 1555.

A Sententious Letter written by Robert Smith, *to* Anne Smith *his Wife.*

SEEK firſt to love God, dear Wife, with your whole Heart, and then ſhall it be eaſy to love your Neighbour.

Be friendly to all Creatures, and eſpecially to your own Soul.

Be good to thy Enemy.

Be always an Enemy to the Devil and the World, but eſpecially to your own Fleſh.

In hearing of good Things join the Ears of your Head and Heart together.

Seek Unity and Quietneſs with all Men, but eſpecially with your Conſcience; for he will not eaſily be intreated.

Love all People, but eſpecially your Enemies.

Hate the Sins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be as ready to further your Enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the Child of God.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath cleanſed, leſt his Blood be laid to your Charge.

A double Hedge to the Tongue.

Remember that God hath hedged in your Tongue with the Teeth and Lips, that it might ſpeak under Correction.

Be ready at all Times to look to your Brother's Eye, but eſpecially in your own Eye: For he that warneth others of what he himſelf is guilty, doth give his Neighbour the clear Wine, and keepeth the Dregs to himſelf.

Covet not to be rich.

Beware of Riches and worldly Honour; for without Underſtanding, Prayer, and Faſting, it is a Snare, and alſo Poverty, all which are like to conſuming Fire, of which if a Man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will conſume him. For it is hard for a Man to carry Fire in his Boſom, and not be burnt.

Shew Mercy to the Saints for Chriſt ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the Saints ſake. Among all other Priſoners viſit your own Soul: For it is incloſed in a perillous Priſon.

If you will love God, hate Evil, and ye ſhall obtain the Reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. *Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beſeech you have me in your Prayer while I am living, and I am aſſured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my Children and yours in the Fear of God, and then ſhall I not fail but receive you together in the everlaſting Kingdom of God, which I go unto.*

Your Husband,

ROBERT SMITH.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forſake not Chriſt for any Pain.

Robert Smith *to all the faithful Servants of Chriſt, exhorting them to be ſtrong under Perſecution.*

CONtent thyſelf with Patience,
With Chriſt to bear the Croſs of Pain,
Which can and will thee recompenſe,
A thouſand fold with Joys again.
Let nothing cauſe thy Heart to quail,
Launch out thy Boat, hale up thy Sail,
Put from the Shore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attain
Unto the Port that ſhall remain
For evermore.

The Martyrdom of Stephen Harwood, *and* Thomas Fuſt.

ABOUT this Time alſo died theſe two Martyrs of God, *Stephen Harwood* at *Stratford*, and *Thomas Fuſt* at *Ware*. Who, as they were both burnt much about the ſame Time (though not at the ſame Place) with the aforeſaid *Robert Smith* and *George Tankerfield*, ſo were they likewiſe examined and openly condemned together with them; and as the Proceedings againſt them all were alike, I thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame; only there is one Thing more to be added concerning *Thomas Fuſt*, who at his laſt Appearance on the 12th of *July*, being moved by the Biſhop to revoke his Opinion, anſwered thus; No, my Lord, for no Truth cometh out of your Mouth, but all Lies: Ye condemn Men, and will not hear the Truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greaſing in God's Book? I ſpeak nothing but the Truth, and I am certain that it is the Truth that I ſpeak. This Anſwer of *Thomas Fuſt* only I find noted by the Regiſter; and how unfaithful theſe Regiſters have been (I mean in omitting thoſe Things that were moſt worthy of note, in Order to render the Martyrs ridiculous to the People) is very evident in many Places of this Hiſtory. But to be ſhort, when they had made their Anſwers, both he and *Stephen Harwood* were for their faithful Perſeverance condemned together by the Biſhop in his accuſtomed Pity, to be burnt as Hereticks, and ſo (as you have heard before) they finiſh'd their Martyrdom, the one at *Stratford*, and the other at *Ware*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, and Year aboveſaid.

The Anſwer of *Thomas Fuſt* to Biſhop *Bonner*.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of *Stephen Harwood*, and *Thomas Fuſt*.

The Martyrdom of William Hale, *at* Barnet.

OF the ſame Company with thoſe ten before recorded, who were ſent to Biſhop *Bonner* by Sir *Nicholas Hare*, and other Commiſſioners, in the Company of *George Tankerfield* and *Robert Smith*, was alſo *William Hale* of *Thorp* in the County of *Eſſex*, who likewiſe being examined with the reſt, the 12th of *July*, received with them alſo the Sentence of Condemnation; giving this Exhortation withal to the Lookers on: *Ah, good People*, ſaid he, *beware of this Idolater, and this Antichriſt* (pointing to the Biſhop of *London*) and ſo he was delivered to the Sheriffs to be burnt as an Heretick, who ſent him to *Barnet*, where about the latter End of *Auguſt* he moſt conſtantly ſeal'd up his Faith with the conſuming of his Body by cruel Fire, yielding his Soul to the Lord Jeſus his only and moſt ſure Redeemer.

Hale's Words to the People, *Ex Regiſt.*

George King, Thomas Leyes, *and* John Wade, *who fell sick in Prison, and dying were bury'd in the Fields.*

YE heard before of ten ſundry Perſons ſent out of *Newgate* by Mr. *Hare* and other Commiſſioners, to be examined by *Bonner* Biſhop of *London:* Of whom ſix already have been executed in ſeveral Places, as hath been ſhewed; whoſe Names were *Elizabeth Warn, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt,* and *William Hale.* The other three, namely, *George King, Thomas Leyes,* and *John Wade* falling ſick in *Lollard's Tower,* were ſo weak that they were removed into ſundry Houſes within the City of *London,* and there died, and were thrown into the Fields, and there bury'd in the Night by ſome of the faithful Brethren, when none in the Day-time durſt do it, *Propter metum Judæorum.* The laſt that remained of this Company aforeſaid was *Joan Layſh,* or *Laſhford,* the Daughter-in-law of *John Warn* and *Elizabeth Warn,* Martyrs: But becauſe ſhe was reprieved to another Time, her Story and Martyrdom we will defer till the Month of *January* the next Year following.

William Andrew.

THE like catholick Charity was alſo ſhewed upon *William Andrew* of *Horſley,* in the County of *Eſſex,* Carponter, who was brought to *Newgate* the firſt Day of *April,* 1555, by *John Motham* Conſtable of *Malden* in *Eſſex.* The firſt and principal Promoter of him was the Lord *Rich,* who ſent him firſt to Priſon. Alſo Sir *Richard Southwell* Knight, was another great Enemy to him, as appeareth by a Letter written by him to *Bonner,* which here followeth.

The Lord *Rich* ſends *William Andrew* to Priſon.

A Letter from Sir Richard Southwell *to* Bonner *Biſhop of* London.

MAY it pleaſe your Lordſhip to underſtand, that the Lord Rich *did about ſeven or eight Weeks paſt, ſend up unto the Council one* William Andrew *of* Thorp, *within the County of* Eſſex, *an arrogant Heretick. Their Pleaſure was to command me to commit him to* Newgate, *where he remaineth; and as I am informed, hath infected a Number in that Priſon with his Hereſy. Your Lordſhip ſhall do very well if it pleaſe you to convent him before you, and to take Order with him as his Caſe doth require. I know the Council meant to have writ herein unto your Lordſhip, but by Occaſion of other Buſineſs, the Thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good Pleaſure, I did adviſe the Keeper of* Newgate *to wait on you with theſe few Lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your virtuous Conſideration, I remain your Lordſhips to command, this* 12*th Day of* June, 1555.

RICH. SOUTHWELL.

This *William Andrew* being twice examined before Biſhop *Bonner,* there manfully ſtood in the Defence of his Religion. At length, by the ſevere Uſage he met with in *Newgate* Priſon, he there loſt his Life, which otherwiſe would have been taken away by Fire: And ſo after the popiſh Manner he was caſt out into a Field, and by Night was privily buried by the Hands of good Men and faithful Brethren. Anno 1555. *William Andrew dieth in Newgate, and buried in the Fields.*

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, *Miniſter of* Barfold *in* Suffolk.

MR. *Foſter* a Juſtice, dwelling at *Cobdock* near *Ipſwich* in the County of *Suffolk,* being in continual Hatred againſt the Truth, and the Profeſſors of the ſame, did not only not ceaſe Day nor Night to ſtudy how to bring thoſe into Thraldom and Captivity, that were honeſt and piouſly inclin'd to Religion; but alſo whatſoever they were that once came into his Claws, could not eaſily eſcape without Clog of Conſcience or Loſs of Life, ſo greedy was he of Blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one *Samuel,* in King *Edward's* Days a very godly and faithful Preacher of God's Word, who for his valiant and conſtant Behaviour in his Sermons, ſeemeth worthy of high Admiration. He was Miniſter at *Barfold* in *Suffolk,* where he induſtriouſly and ſucceſsfully taught the Flock which the Lord had committed to his Charge, ſo long as the Time would ſuffer him to do his Duty. *R. Samuel a pious Preacher in the Days of King Edward.*

At laſt being removed from the Miniſtry, and put from his Benefice, when he could not avoid the raging Violence of the Time, yet would he not give over his Care that he had for his Flock, but would teach them privily and by ſtealth, when he could not openly do ſo. At which Time Order was taken by the Queen, to be publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, that all Prieſts which had been married in King *Edward's* Days, ſhould put away their Wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their Chaſtity and ſingle Life. This Decree Mr. *Samuel* would not ſtand to, becauſe he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable; but determining with himſelf, that God's Laws were not to be broke for Man's Traditions, ſtill kept his Wife at *Ipſwich,* and gave his Diligence in the mean Time to the inſtructing of others which were about him, as Occaſion ſerved. At laſt Mr. *Foſter* having Intelligence hereof, being a great Doer in thoſe Parts, ſpared no Time nor Diligence, but quickly ſent his Spies Abroad, laying cloſe wait for Mr. *Samuel,* that if he came Home to his Wife at any Time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to Priſon. Mr. *Samuel* removed from the Miniſtry. Mr. *Samuel* would not conſent to put away his Wife.

In Concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him eſpied him at Home with his Wife, they brought Word to the Officer, who came to the Houſe, and beſet it with a great Company, and ſo took him in the Night-ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the Day time for fear of Trouble and Tumult, although good Mr. *Samuel* did not withſtand them at all, but meekly yielded himſelf into their Clutches of his own Accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into *Ipſwich* Goal, where he Mr. *Samuel* apprehended in his Houſe by Night. And ſent to *Ipſwich* Goal.

BRITISH
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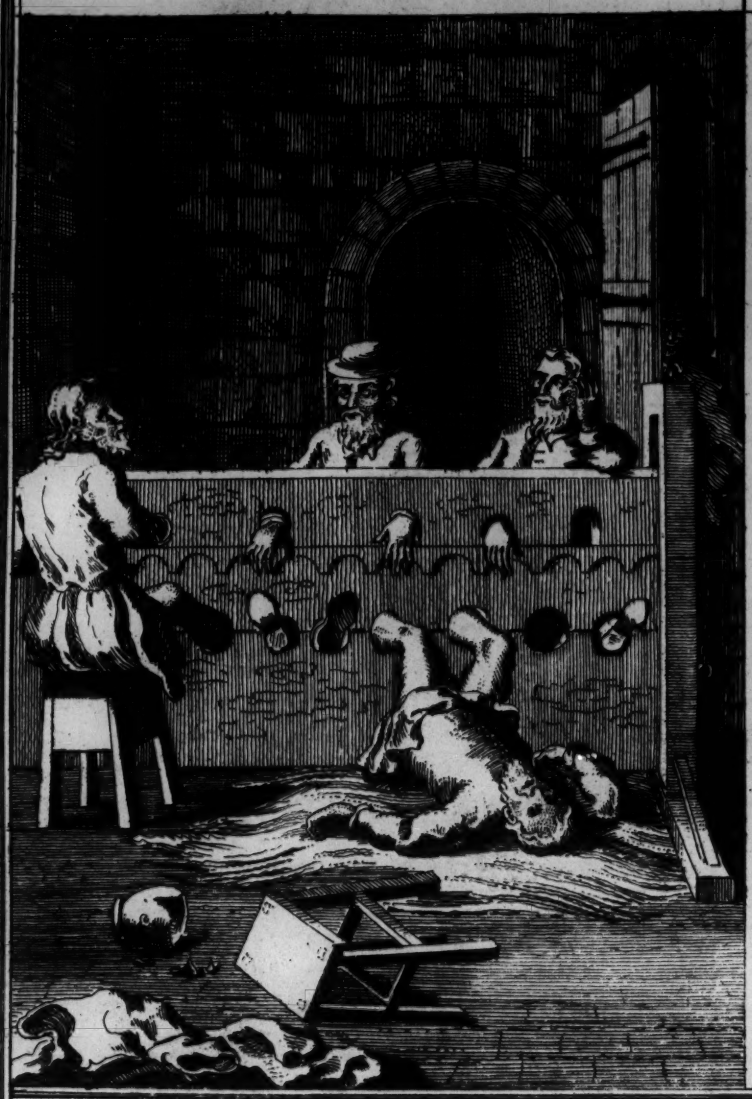
G. King, J. Wade, T. Leyes, *and* W. Andrews *in* Lollards Tower.



The Examination of William Hale *before Bishop* Bonner.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Robert Samuel *Minister of* Barfold *in* Suffolk.

Anno 1555. he patiently ſpent his Time among his pious Brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried to *Norwich*, where Dr. *Hopton* Biſhop of that Dioceſe, or Dr. *Dunnings* his Chancellor, exerciſed great Cruelty againſt him, as indeed they were Men in that time of Perſecution, as had not their Matches for cruel tormenting the Bodies of the Martyrs among all the reſt; and eſpecially through the procuring of *Dunnings*. For although the others were ſharp enough in their Generation, yet could they be ſatisfied with Impriſonment and Death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any beſides theſe, who ſo far exceeded all Bounds of Pity and Compaſſion in tormenting their poor Brethren, as this Biſhop did; in ſuch Sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the Truth, and ſome from their Wits alſo.

Removed to Norwich.

The Biſhop therefore, or elſe his Chancellor, thinking that he might as eaſily prevail with Mr. *Samuel*, as he had done with the others before, kept him in a very cloſe Priſon at his firſt coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great Poſt, in ſuch Sort, that ſtanding only on Tip-toe, he was fain to ſtay up the Poiſe or Weight of his Body thereby. And to make amends for the Cruelty or Pains that he ſuffered, they added a far more grievous Torment, keeping him without Meat and Drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through Hunger and Thirſt; ſaving that he had every Day allowed two or three Mouthfuls of Bread, and three Spoonfuls of Water, to the End rather that he might be reſerved to farther Torment, than that they would preſerve his Life. O worthy Conſtancy of the Martyr! O pityleſs Hearts of Papiſts, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and Nature! O the wonderful Strength of Chriſt in his Members! Whoſe Heart, though it had been made of adamant Stone, would not have relented at the intolerable Vexations, and extream Pains above Nature? How often would he have drunk his own Water; but his Body was ſo dried up with his long Emptineſs, that he was not able to make one Drop.

The cruel Handling of Mr. *Samuel* in Priſon.

Robert Samuel famiſhed in Priſon.

At laſt when he was brought forth to be burnt, which was but a Trifle in Compariſon of thoſe Pains that he had paſſed, there were ſeveral that heard him declare what ſtrange Things had happened unto him during the Time of his Impriſonment: To wit, that after he had been famiſhed or pined with Hunger two or three Days together, he then fell into a Sleep, as it were one half in a Slumber, at which Time one clad all in white ſeemed to ſtand before him, which adminiſtred Comfort unto him by theſe Words: *Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good Heart unto thee. For after this Day ſhalt thou never be either Hungry or Thirſty.* Which came to paſs accordingly, for ſoon after he was burned; and from that Time till he ſuffered, he felt neither Hunger nor Thirſt. And this he declared, to the End as he ſaid, that all Men might behold the wonderful Works of God. Many other Matters concerning the great Comfort he had of Chriſt in his Afflictions he could utter, he ſaid, beſides this, but that Shamefacedneſs and Modeſty would not ſuffer him to utter it.

Strange Viſions that happened to *R. Samuel.*

As this pious Martyr was going to the Stake, a certain Maid came to him, who took him about the Neck and kiſſed him, which being marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next Day after to be had to Priſon and burned, as the very Party herſelf informed me: Howbeit, as God of his Goodneſs would have it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery Hands, keeping herſelf ſecret in the Town a good while after. But as this Maid, called *Roſe Nottingham*, was marvellouſly preſerved by the Providence of God; ſo there was two other honeſt Women that fell into the Rage and Fury of that Time. The one was a Brewer's Wife, the other was a Shoemaker's Wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new Huſband, Chriſt.

Two godly Women, the one a Brewer's Wife, the other a Shoemaker's Wife, apprehended.

With theſe two this Maid aforeſaid was very well acquainted, who on a Time giving Counſel to one of them, that ſhe ſhould convey herſelf away while ſhe had Time and Space, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the Queen's Proceedings; had this Anſwer at her Hands again: I know well, ſaith ſhe, that it is lawful enough to fly away, which Remedy you may uſe if you pleaſe. But my Caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to an Husband, and have beſides young Children at Home; and then I know not how my Husband, being a carnal Man, will take my Departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the Love of Chriſt and his Truth to ſtand to the Extremity of the Matter.

And ſo the next Day after Mr. *Samuel* ſuffered, theſe two pious Wives, the one named *Anne Potten*, the other *Joan Trunchfield*, Wife of *Michael Trunchfield* Shoemaker of *Ipſwich*, were apprehended, and both had to Priſon together. Who, as they were both by Sex and Nature ſomewhat tender, ſo were they at firſt leſs able to endure the Straitneſs of the Priſon, and eſpecially the Brewer's Wife was caſt into marvellous great Agonies and Troubles of Mind thereby. But Chriſt beholding the weak Infirmity of his Servant, did not fail to help her when ſhe was in this Neceſſity. So at length they both ſuffered after *Samuel*, *Feb.* 19. 1556. as ſhall be by God's Grace declared hereafter. This bleſſed *Samuel*, the Servant of Chriſt, ſuffered the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1555.

The Lord Jeſus a ready Help in Time of Weakneſs.

The Report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſaw him burn, that his Body in burning did ſhine as bright and white as new tried Silver in the Eyes of them that ſtood by, as I am informed by ſome that were there, and beheld the Sight.

Mr. Robert Samuel's *Letter of Exhortation to the patient ſuffering of Affliction for the Cauſe of Chriſt.*

A Man knoweth not his Time, but as the Fiſh is taken with the Angle, and as the Birds are caught with the Snare; ſo are Men caught and taken in the perillous Time when it cometh upon them. The Time cometh; the Day draweth near, Ezekiel 7. *Better it were to die (as the Preacher ſaith) than to live and ſee the miſerable Works which are done under the Sun; ſuch ſudden and ſtrange Mutation, ſuch woful, heinous, and lamentable Diviſions ſo faſt approach, and none, or very few thoroughly repent. Alas, for this ſinful Nation, a People of great Iniquity and Seed of Ungraciouſneſs, corrupting their Ways. They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One* Eccleſ. 9. Eccleſ. 4. Iſaiah 4.

of Iſrael *to Anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch Security and Reſt as tho' all Dangers were clean overpaſt? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſt, which ſeeth me, and ſeeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in ſuch Felicity, worldly Pleaſures and Joys, wholly ſeeking the World, providing and craftily ſhifting for the earthly Clod and carnal Appetites, as though Sin were* Matth. 8. *clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggiſh* Gergeſites, *now are we more afraid and aſhamed of Chriſt our Meſſias, fearing the Loſs of our filthy Pigs, I mean our tranſitory Goods, and diſquieting our ſinful and mortal Bodies in this ſhort, uncertain, and miſerable Life, than of a Legion of Devils, ſeducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Chriſt, God's eternal Son, and his Word, the Power to ſave our Souls, unto Vanities, Lies, and Fables, and to this bewitching World.*

O perillous abundance of Goods, too much Saturity of Meats, Wealth and Quietneſs, which deſtroy'd with ſo many Souls, thoſe goodly Cities, Gen. 19. Sodom *and* Gomorrah! Jeroboam, *ſo long as he was but a poor Man, not yet advanced to his Dignity, lived in the Laws of God, and without Reprehenſion; but brought once to Wealth and a proſperous State, he became a wicked and moſt ſhameful Idolater. And what made the covetous* Matth. 19. *young Man ſo loth to follow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake but worldly Wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto theſe falſe Illuſions of the World, Baits of Perdition, Hooks of the Devil, which have ſo ſhamefully deceived and ſeduced full many from the right Path unto the Lord, into the High-ways of Confuſion and perpetual Perdition.*

We might now worthily, dear Chriſtians, lament and bewail our heavy Eſtate, miſerable Condition, and ſorrowful Chance: Yea, I ſay, we might Job 3. Iſa. 10. *well accuſe ourſelves, and with* Job *curſe theſe our turbulent, wicked, and bloody laſt Days of this World, were it not that we both ſee and believe, and find in God's ſacred Book, that God hath reſerved a Remnant in all Ages, I mean the Faithful, as many as have been from the Beginning of the World exerciſed, whetted, and poliſhed with divers Afflictions, Troubles and Toſſings, caſt and daſhed againſt all Perils and Dangers, as the very Droſs and Out-caſts of the Earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and* Baal; *for God verily abhorreth two Men in one: He cannot away with them that are between both, but caſteth them away as a filthy Vomit. Chriſt will not part Spoil with his mortal Enemy the Devil; he will have all, or loſe all: He will not permit the Devil to have the Service of the Body, and he to ſtand contented with the Heart and Mind: But* He will be glorified both in your Bodies and in your Spirits, which are his, *as St.* Paul *ſaith,* 1 Cor. 6. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, *as St.* Peter *ſaith,* With his own immaculate Body hath he clean diſcharged your Bodies from Sin, Death, and Hell, and with his moſt precious Blood paid your Ranſom and full Price once for all and for ever.

God hath always a Remnant, whom he poliſheth with hard Adverſities. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1 *Pet.* 1.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loſs ſuſtain you by this? Why are you, O vain Men, more afraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his Goſpel of Salvation, than of a Legion of cruel Devils, going about with falſe Deluſions utterly to deſtroy you both Souls and Bodies? Think you to be more ſure then under your Captain, Chriſt? Do you promiſe yourſelves to be more quiet in Satan's Service, than in Chriſt's Religion? Eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious Pleaſures, than God and all his heavenly Treaſures? O palpable Darkneſs, horrible Madneſs, and wilful Blindneſs, without Compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer! We ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feel, and that our Conſcience well knoweth. O miſerable and brainleſs Souls, which would for fooliſh Pleaſures and ſlippery Wealth loſe the royal Kingdom and permanent Joys of God, with the everlaſting Glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the World. The Children of the World live in Pleaſure and Wealth; and 2 Cor. 4. John 12. *the Devil, who is their God, and Prince of this World, keepeth their Wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Chriſt, ſeek and enquire for heavenly Things, which by God's Promiſe and Mercy in Chriſt ſhall be peculiar unto us. Let, I ſay, the* Cretians, Epicures, *and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and carnal People, paſs for Things that be pleaſant for the Body, and do appertain to this tranſitory Life:* Yet ſhall they once (*as the kingly Prophet ſaith*) run about the City of God, to and fro howling like Dogs, deſiring one Scrap of the Joys of God's Elect, *but all too late as the rich Glutton did.* Pſalm 58. Luke 16.

Anno 1555.

Let us therefore paſs for thoſe Things that do pertain to the Spirit, and are celeſtial. We muſt be here (*ſaith St.* Paul) not as Inhabiters, and Home-dwellers, but as Strangers; *not as Strangers only, but after the Mind of* Paul, *as painful Soldiers appointed by our Governour, to fight againſt the Governour of Darkneſs of this World, againſt ſpiritual Craftineſs in heavenly Things. The Time is come; we muſt to it; the Judgment muſt begin firſt at the Houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the green and ſappy Tree? And what followed then on the dry Branches?* Jeremy *ſpeaking in the Perſon of God, ſaith;* In the City wherein my Name is invocated, will I begin to puniſh: *But as for you (meaning the Wicked) ſhall you be as Innocents, and not once touched? Nay, the Dregs of God's Wrath, the Bottom of all Sorrows, are reſerved unto them in the End: But God's houſhold ſhall drink the Flower of the Cup of his Mercy. And therefore let us ſay with* Ezechias; Play the Men and ſhrink not: Let us comfort ourſelves, for the Lord is with us our Helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is (*ſaith he*) with you, when you be with him; and when you ſeek him, he will be found of you: *And again, when you forſake him, he will forſake you.* Col. 3. Heb. 13. John 7. Jer. 25.

*Wherefore we ought not to be diſmay'd, or diſcourage ourſelves, but rather to be of good Comfort; not to be ſad but merry; not ſorrowful but joyful, in that God of his Goodneſs will vouchſafe to take us as his beloved Children, to ſubdue our ſinful Luſts, our wretched Fleſh and Blood unto his Glory, the promoting of his holy Word, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly Houſe of this our Habitation (*St. Paul *meaning the Body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall have a Building not made with Hands, but everlaſting in Heaven, with ſuch Joys as Faith taketh not, Hope toucheth not, and Charity apprehendeth not. They paſs all Deſires and Wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt, eſteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more Affliction and Perſecution the Word of God bringeth, the more Felicity and greater Joy abideth in Heaven. But the worldly Peace, idle Eaſe, wealthy Pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſant tranſitory Life and Felicity, which the Ungodly fooliſhly imagine to procure unto themſelves by perſecuting and thruſting away the Goſpel, ſhall turn unto their own Trouble, and at laſt unto horrible Deſtructions and Mutations of Realms and Countries; and after this Life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual Infelicity, and Damnation. For they had rather* 2 Cor. 5.

No true Quietneſs in *Satan's* Service.

Joys laid up in Chriſt to Men's Senſe inеſtimable.

Anno 1555. *with* Nabal, *and his temporal Pleaſures, deſcend to the Devil, than with poor Chriſt, and his bodily Troubles, aſcend unto the Kingdom of God his Father.* But an unwiſe Man *(ſaith the Pſalmiſt)* *Pſal.* 40. comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh underſtand them; *that is, theſe bloody Perſecutors grow up and flouriſh like the Flower and Graſs in the Field. But unto this End do they ſo flouriſh, that they might be cut down and caſt into* *Job* 21. *the Fire for ever. For as* Job *ſaith,* Their Joy laſteth but the twinkling of an Eye, *and Death ſhall lie gnawing upon them as doth the Flock upon the Paſture; yea, the cruel Worm, late Repentance,* *Mark* 9. *(as St.* Mark *ſaith) ſhall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched Conſcience for evermore.*

Let us therefore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather than Men. For although they ſlay our ſinful Bodies (yea, rather our deadly Enemies) for God's Verity; yet they cannot do it, but by God's Sufferance and good Will, to his Praiſe and Honour, and to our eternal Joy and Felicity. For our Blood ſhed for the Goſpel ſhall preach it with more Fruit, and greater Furtherance, than did our Mouths, Lives, and Writings, as did the Blood of Abel, Stephen, *with many others. What though they laugh Chriſt and his Word to ſcorn, who ſit in the Chair of perverſe peſtilent Scorners? To whom, as to the wiſe Gentiles of the World, the Goſpel of Chriſt is but Fooliſhneſs, as it was to the* Jews, *a Slander and a ſtumbling Stone, whereat they now being fallen, have provoked the Wrath and Vengeance of God upon them.*

Theſe are the Days of Vengeance, ſaith Luke, *Luke* 2. *that all Things written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſs than a huge Storm of Evils that ſhall come upon us, becauſe that a long and obſtinate Maliciouſneſs of us hath gone before, crying in the Ears of the Lord God of Hoſts, who ſo many Times and ſo many Ways have been provoked with the unſpeakable Riches of his Goodneſs, his Patience, and Long-ſuffering, to Amendment, and have nevertheleſs contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, provoking and ſtirring the Preſence of God's Majeſty to Anger.*

God long looketh for Repentance, and we wax worſe.

Now therefore ſaith God by the Mouth of his *Iſa.* 3. *Prophet,* I will come unto thee, and I will ſend my Wrath upon thee: *Upon thee, I ſay, O* England, *and puniſh thee according to thy Ways, and reward thee after all thine Abominations. Thou haſt kindled the Fire of God's Wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the Coals. For thou waſt once enlightned, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly Gift, and waſt become Partaker of the Holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good Word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy Mouth, ſaith the Prophet. Alas, O* England, *thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſter's Will, but didſt not do it; Thou muſt therefore,* ſaith he, *ſuffer many Stripes, and many ſharp Strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot Flame of thine own Fire, and on the Coals that thou haſt kindled. This cometh to thee from my Hand, ſaith the Lord, namely, that thou ſhalt ſleep in Sorrow, yea, even ſo thou ſhalt. The plain Truth telleth the Tale, the immutable Juſtice of the everliving God, and the ordinary Courſe of his Plagues from the Beginning confirmeth the ſame. The Joy of our Heart,* *Jer.* 5. *ſaith* Jeremy, *is gone, our Glory is fallen away, our merry Singing is turned into Mourning, the Garland of our Head is fallen: Alas and weal away, that ever we ſinned ſo ſore!*

England worthily rebuked.

Let all the wicked Enemies of Chriſt, and all the Unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all helliſh Furies, and clean without hope of God's accounting Day, who knew not God in Chriſt to be their very Righteouſneſs, their Life, their only Salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They muſt, as St. John *ſaith, needs abide and periſh with their Sins in Death and eternal Damnation. But we be the Children of Saints, as the elder* Toby *did anſwer, and look for another Life, which God ſhall give to all them who change not their Faith, and ſhrink not from him. Rejoice therefore ye Chriſtian afflicted Brethren, for they cannot take our Souls and Bodies out of the Hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the Boſom of our ſweet and loving Father: And if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away like Weather-cocks, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame,* ſaying, My *Matth.* 10. Sheep hear my Voice, I know them, they *John* 10. hearken unto me, and to no Strangers, and I give them everlaſting Life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no Man ſhall pluck them out of my Hands: *No nor yet this flattering World with all its vain Pleaſures, nor any Tyrant with his great Threats and ſtout Brags can once move them out of the Way of eternal Life. What Conſolation and Comfort can we have more pleaſant and effectual than this? God is on our Side and fighteth for us; he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the World can do nothing againſt his Might, neither in taking away or diminiſhing from his Glory, nor putting him from his celeſtial Throne; ſo neither can it hurt any one of his Children without his good Will. For we are Members of his* *Epheſ.* 5. *Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones, and as dear to him as the Apple of his Eye.*

Let us therefore with an earneſt Faith lay faſt hold on the Promiſes in the Goſpel, and let us not be ſeparated from the ſame by any Temptation, Tribulation, or Perſecution. Let us conſider the Verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiſing and giving us his faithful Soldiers Life eternal. It is he only that hath deſerved it for us: It is his only Benefit, and of his only mere Mercy, and unto him only muſt we render Thanks. Let not therefore the vain Fantaſies and Dreams of Men, and fooliſh gaudy Toys of the World, nor the crafty Deluſions of the Devil, drive and ſeparate us from our Hope of the Crown of Righteouſneſs *2 Tim.* 2. *that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt Day. O that happy and joyful Day, I mean to the Faithful, when Chriſt by his Covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his Words to the End, that they may aſcend and ſit in Seats with him, as he aſcended and ſitteth on the Throne with his Father. The ſame Body and Soul that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then with Chriſt be glorified: Now in the Butchers Hands, as Sheep appointed to die; then ſitting at God's Table with Chriſt in his Kingdom, as God's honourable and dear Children; where we ſhall have heavenly Riches for earthly Poverty, Saturity of the pleaſant Preſence of the Glory of God, for Hunger and Thirſt; celeſtial Joys in the Company of Angels, for Sorrows, Troubles, and cold Irons; and Life eternal, for bodily Death. O happy Souls! O pre-* Precious is the Death of God's Saints. *cious Death and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the Eyes of God; to you the Spring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith* Iſaiah) The redeemed ſhall return and come again into *Sion,* praiſing the Lord, and eternal Mercies ſhall be over their Heads: They ſhall obtain Mirth and Solace; Sorrow and Wo ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed. *Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all Things giveth you everlaſting Conſolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be Glory and Praiſe for ever,* Amen.

God's Promiſe is immutable.

Robert Samuel.

William Allen, *Martyr.*

NOW after the Suffering of *Robert Samuel*, about the Beginning of *September*, *William Allen* was burnt in *Walſingham*, a labouring Man, ſometime Servant to *John Houghton* of *Somerton*. He being brought before the Biſhop, and asked the Cauſe why he was impriſoned, anſwered, That he was put in Priſon becauſe he would not follow the Croſs, ſaying, that he would never go on Proceſſion.

Then being willed by the Biſhop to return again to the Catholick Church; he anſwered, That he would turn to the Catholick Church, but not to the *Romiſh* Church: And ſaid, That if he ſaw the King and Queen, and all others follow the Croſs, or kneel down to the Croſs, he would not. For which Sentence of Condemnation was given againſt him the 12th of *Auguſt*, to be burnt at *Walſingham* about the Beginning of *September*, who declared ſuch Conſtancy at his Martyrdom, and had ſuch Credit with the Juſtices, by reaſon of his upright Converſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go untied to his Suffering, and there being faſtened with a Chain, ſtood quietly without ſhrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of *W. Allen.*

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo, *of* Melford *in* Suffolk, *firſt examined by the Biſhop of* Norwich, *and by him condemned*, Auguſt 12, 1555.

ROGER COO being brought before the Biſhop, was firſt asked by him why he was impriſoned.

Talk between *Roger Coo* and Dr. *Hopton* Biſhop of *Norwich.*

Coo. At the Juſtices Commandment.

Biſhop. There was ſome Cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my Accuſer, let him declare.

And his Accuſer ſaid, that he would not receive the Sacrament.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a Law.

But *Coo* anſwered, that there was no Law to tranſgreſs.

The Biſhop then asked, What he ſaid to the Law that then was?

Coo anſwered, That he had been in Priſon a long Time, and knew it not.

No, ſaid his Accuſer, nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the Sacrament.

When *Coo* heard him ſay ſo, he ſaid, I pray you my Lord let him ſit down and examine me himſelf.

But the Biſhop would not hear that, but ſaid, *Coo*, why will ye not receive?

He anſwered him, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had changed God's Ordinances, and given the People Bread and Wine inſtead of the Goſpel, and the Belief of the ſame.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour ſaid, *My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed. He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him*; and the Bread and Wine doth not ſo.

Biſhop. Well *Coo*, thou doſt ſlander our holy Fathers. Did not Chriſt take Bread, give Thanks, and break it, and ſaid, *This is my Body.* Anno 1555.

Yes, ſaid he; and ſo he went further with the Text, ſaying, *Which ſhall be given for you: Do this in Remembrance of me.*

Biſhop. You have ſaid the Truth.

Then *Coo* replied further, and ſaid, Chriſt commanded to do this in Remembrance of him, and not to ſay this in Remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghoſt ſo lead the Apoſtles, but taught them to give Thanks, and to break Bread from Houſe to Houſe, and not to ſay as the Biſhop ſaid.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the Second of the Acts.

Then the Biſhop's Chaplain ſaid it was true.

The Biſhop asked him if he could ſay his Creed.

He anſwered yea, and ſo ſaid part of the Creed; and then after he ſaid he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all ſuch as look to be ſaved, to be obedient unto them.

Biſhop. Is not the Holy Church to be believed alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the Word of God.

The Biſhop ſaid to *Coo*, that he had Charge of his Soul.

Coo. Have ye ſo, my Lord? Then if ye go to the Devil for your Sins; where ſhall I become?

Biſhop. Do you not believe as your Father did? Was not he an honeſt Man?

Coo. It is written, that after Chriſt hath ſuffered, *There ſhall come a People with the Prince that ſhall deſtroy both City and Sanctuary.* Dan. 9. I pray you ſhew me, whether this Deſtruction was in my Father's Time, or now?

The Biſhop not anſwering his Queſtion, asked him whether he would not obey the King's Laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the Word of God I will obey them.

Biſhop. *Whether they agree with the Word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the King were an Infidel. * Well ſpoken, and like the Pope's Clerk.

Coo. If *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego* had ſo done, *Nebuchadnezzar* had not confeſſed the Living God.

Biſhop. Theſe two and twenty Years we have been governed by ſuch Kings.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not ſpeak or bark?

Biſhop. I durſt not for Fear of Death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I recollected, and wrote down my railing (as they called it) that Light ſhould not be taken for Darkneſs, nor Sin for Holineſs, and the Devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever. *Amen.*

The Martyrdom of *Roger Coo* at *Yexford.*

This *Roger Coo*, an aged Father, after his ſundry Troubles and Conflicts with his Adverſaries, at length was committed to the Fire at *Yexford* in the County of *Suffolk*, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged Years, in the Month of *September* 1555.

Thomas

Anno 1555.

Thomas Cob *of* Haverhill, *Butcher, Martyr.*

THOMAS COB of *Haverhill*, Butcher, was condemned on the 12th Day of *Auguſt*, and executed in the Month of *September*. Being brought and examined by *Michael Dunnings* the bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*; firſt, whether he believed that Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially in the Sacrament of the Altar; anſwered, That the Body of Chriſt, born of the Virgin, was in Heaven, and otherwiſe (he ſaid) he would not anſwer, becauſe he had read it in the Scripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did never deſcend ſince; and therefore ſaid, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the Sacrament.

The Martyrdom of *Thomas Cob* at *Thetford*, in *Septemb.* 1555.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the Laws of the Realm of *England*, made for the Unity of Faith, or no: He anſwered, That his Body ſhould be at the King and Queen's Commandment ſo far as the Law of God would ſuffer, *&c.* In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the Town of *Thetford* in *September*, 1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, *and* James Tutty.

NOW to return from *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, where we ſhall treat of five worthy Martyrs, whoſe Blood in the ſame Year and Month of *September* was ſpilt for the true Teſtimony of Chriſt and his Goſpel. The Names of whom are as follow.

George Catmer of *Hith*, *Robert Streater*, of *Hith*, *Anthony Burward* of *Calete*, *George Brodbridge* of *Bromfield*, *James Tutty* of *Brenchley*.

Examinations of theſe five Martyrs.

Who upon the third Day of *Auguſt* were brought before Dr. *Thornton* the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Dover*, and his Accomplices, and there were both jointly and ſeverally examined upon certain Articles, touching the Sacrament of the Altar, auricular Confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

Examination and Anſwers of *Catmer*.

To which the ſaid *Catmer* (being firſt examined) made Anſwer on this wiſe; Chriſt, *ſaid he*, ſitteth in Heaven on the right Hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the Sacrament of the Altar; but he is in the worthy Receiver ſpiritually: And the Sacrament, as you uſe it, is an abominable Idol.

Examination and Anſwers of *Streater*.

Next unto him *Robert Streater* was called forth, who being alſo asked, Whether he did believe the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, that he did not ſo believe; for you do maintain Hereſy and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worſhip a falſe God in the Sacrament, encloſed in a Box. It is you that are the malignant Church; for in your Church there are twenty Things uſed againſt the Law of God.

The like Objection was likewiſe made againſt *Anthony Burward*, who alſo ſaid that their Sacrament was made an Idol.

Burward examined.

After him, it was demanded of *George Brodbridge* what he ſaid to thoſe Articles. Who anſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, becauſe he could not forgive his own Sins. And further ſaid, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the real Body of our Saviour Chriſt, but Bread given in the Remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your Holy Water, and your Maſs, I do (quoth he) utterly defy them.

Brodbridge examined.

At laſt of all, *James Tutty* made and confirmed the foregoing Anſwers.

J. Tutty examined.

And therefore they were all five condemned as Hereticks, and accordingly were all burnt at *Canterbury* in one Fire, about the ſixth Day of *September* then next following.

Although the Rage and Vehemency of this terrible Perſecution in Queen *Mary*'s Days did chiefly light in *London*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Kent*, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithſtanding, few Parts of the Realm were free from this fatal Storm, but in almoſt all Places ſome were put to Death for the ſame righteous Cauſe. And now to begin with the Dioceſs of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, where we ſhall juſt mention two Perſons, namely, *Thomas Hayward*, and *John Goreway*, who were both condemned as Hereticks, and were burnt at *Litchfield* about the Middle of *September*.

The Martyrdom of *Hayward* and *Goreway* at *Litchfield*, *September*, *An.* 1555.

The Hiſtory of Robert Glover, *Gentleman, and Mr.* John Glover *his Brother, in the Dioceſs of* Litchfield.

ROBERT GLOVER, Gentleman, was likewiſe apprehended, and put to death in the Month of *September*, in the Dioceſs of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of whoſe Apprehenſion and Troubles I cannot well treat, without mentioning ſome Things relating to *John Glover* his Bother, becauſe the Commiſſion was chiefly ſent down for *John*, and not for *Robert* (although it pleaſed God that *John* eſcaped, and *Robert* in his ſtead was apprehended) therefore I thought it neceſſary to comprehend them both in one Story. In deſcribing ſome Part of their virtuous Inſtitution and order of Life, I ſhall firſt begin with *John* the eldeſt Brother: Who being a Gentleman, and Heir to his Father in the Town of *Mancetor*, was endow'd with fair Poſſeſſions and worldly Goods, but much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly Grace, and inward Virtues: Which Grace ſo wrought in him, that he with his other Brethren *Robert* and *William*, not only received and embraced the happy Light of Chriſt's Holy Goſpel, but alſo moſt zealouſly profeſſed, and no leſs diligently in their Lives and Converſation followed the ſame.

J. Glover, *R. Glover*, *W. Glover*, three pious Brethren, and zealous Profeſſors of the Goſpel.

John Glover was a Man of a very tender Conſcience, and ſeemed to have a deeper Taſte and Contemplation of heavenly Things, and more mortify'd from worldly Cares than the others were. His ſpiritual Conflicts were very extraordinary, and becauſe the Conſideration of them is both worthy of Memory, and the

Example

Example may work Experience to the Comfort of the Godly, it may not be amiss to rehearse some Part of them. It pleased God so to lay his heavy Hand of inward Afflictions and grievous Passions upon him, that though he suffered not the Pains of the outward Fire, as his Brother and other Martyrs did; yet if we consider what he suffered inwardly, and that for a long Time, he may well be counted a Martyr with his Brother *Robert*, being no less desirous with him of the same Martyrdom; yea, and in Comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double Martyr.

For as the said *Robert* was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extreme Torments of the Fire in a short Time, so this no less blessed Saint of God, what, and how much more grievous Pangs, what sorrowful Torments, what boiling Heats of the Fire of Hell he inwardly felt, no Tongue is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his Talk I perceived, and partly by mine own Eyes saw to be so worn and consumed by the Space of five Years, that he could hardly digest any Meat, enjoy the Quietness of Sleep, or Pleasure of Life; yea, and almost no kind of Senses were left in him. And truly I have often greatly wondered at the miraculous Operation of Christ shewed upon him, who unless he had relieved in Time his poor wretched Servant so far worn, with some opportune Consolation now and then, it could not be possible for him to subsist under such intolerable Agonies. And yet the Occasion thereof was of no great Moment neither. But nothing is more common amongst the holiest and best of Men, by how much the more devout and watchful they are, (having the Fear of God before their Eyes) so much the more they mistrust and suspect themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that they are often so terrified and perplexed with small Matters (in Comparison) as though they were huge Mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom the blackest and most heinous Crimes will nothing touch or move.

The better the Conscience the sooner disquieted.

The first Occasion of *John Glover*'s inward Affliction.

The Occasion of this was, That he being first called by the Light of the Holy Spirit to the Knowledge of the Gospel, and having received a wonderful sweet, and feeling Sense of Christ's heavenly Kingdom, his Mind, after that, falling a little to some Cogitation of his former Affairs belonging to his Vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon Occasion of these Words written in the sixth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; *For it is impossible for those who were once enlightned, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come; if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto Repentance: Seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open Shame.* Upon the Consideration of which Words, he fully perswaded himself that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost: Even so much, that had he been in Hell, he could hardly despair much more of his Salvation. Every good Man may readily judge, by himself, what Terrors, Boilings, and Convulsions turmoiled in the mean Time in his woful Breast: Altho' it be hard for any Man to judge of the Misery thereof, but he who hath by Experience felt the like.

No Grief like to the Grief of Conscience.

Now in comparing the Torments of all Martyrs with his Pains, I pray you what Pains, Punishment, and Flames would he not willingly have suffered, to have had some small Ease and Refreshment? Being under such intolerable Agonies of Mind, that he could have no Enjoyment of his Food, yet was he compelled to eat against his Appetite, on purpose to defer the Time of his Damnation as long as he could, thinking with himself that he must needs be thrown into Hell, as soon as the Breath went out of his Body. However, he thought Christ pity'd his Case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagin'd) help, because of the Verity of the Word, which said, *It is impossible for those whose who were once enlightned*, &c. Anno 1555.

And this I mention not to open his Wounds, and expose his Misfortunes, but to encourage all good Men by his Example to glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his Strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the Asperity of Evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, he doth not only alleviate, that we may bear it, but also turneth it more to our Advantage than we can imagine: Which manifestly appeared in this good Servant of God, and in no Man more. And although (as we have said) he suffered many Years these sharp Temptations and strong Buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, did not only at last rid him out of all Discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such Mortification of Life, as the like probably hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in Heaven already, and dead to this World, both in Word and Meditation led a Life altogether celestial, abhorring in his Mind all prophane Doings. Neither was his Talk any Thing different from the Fruits of his Life, never throwing out an idle, vile, or vain Word. The most Part of his Lands he distributed to the Use of his Brethren, and committed the rest to the Guiding of his Servants, and Officers, whereby he might the more quietly give himself up to his godly Study, as to a continual Sabbath rest. This was about the latter End of King *Henry*'s Reign, and continued in the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth.

Christ a merciful Helper in time of Temptation and hard Distress.

J. Glover by the Grace of Christ restored again to perfect Tranquility.

After this, in the persecuting Days of Queen *Mary*, as soon as the Bishop of *Coventry* heard of his Fame, and of his being so ardent and zealous in the Gospel of Christ, he immediately wrote a Letter to the Mayor and Officers of *Coventry* to apprehend him as soon as possible. But by the good Providence of God, it happened otherwise: For God disposeth all Things after his own secret Pleasure, who seeing his old trusty Servant so many Years with so extreme and many Torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many Sorrows upon one poor silly Wretch: Neither would he commit him to the Flames of Fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp Fires of inward Affliction, and had sustained so many burning Darts and Conflicts of Satan so many Years: God therefore of his Divine Providence, thinking it too much that one Man should be so overcharged with so many Plagues and Torments, did graciously provide, that *Robert* his Brother being both stronger in Body, and also better furnished with Helps of Learning to answer the Adversaries (being a Master of Arts in *Cambridge*) should sustain that Conflict, and even so it came to pass.

For

Anno 1555. The Mayor of *Coventry* ſendeth a private Caution to *J. Glover.*

For as ſoon as the Mayor of *Coventry* had receiv'd the Biſhop's Letters for the apprehending of Mr. *John Glover*, he forthwith ſent private Notice to the ſaid *John* to convey himſelf away: Who with his Brother *William* was not ſo ſoon departed out of his Houſe, but that yet in the Sight of the Sheriff and others, the Searchers came and ruſhed in to take him, according to the Biſhop's Order.

Mr. *Robert Glover* apprehended lying ſick in his Chamber.

But when the Perſon they ſought for could not be found, one of the Officers going into an upper Chamber, found there *Robert* the other Brother lying on his Bed, and ſick of a long Diſeaſe; who was by him immediately brought before the Sheriff. Which Sheriff, notwithſtanding, favouring *Robert* and his Cauſe, would indeed fain have diſmiſſed him, and wrought what Means he could, ſaying, that he was not the Man for whom they were ſent: Yet nevertheleſs being terrified with the ſtout Words of the Officer, contending with him to have him detained till the Biſhop's coming, he was conſtrained to carry him away againſt his Will, and ſo laid him faſt while the Biſhop came. And thus much by way of Preamble, concerning the worthy Remembrance of Mr. *John Glover.*

Now to enter upon the Matter which principally we have in Hand, that is, to conſider the Story and Martyrdom of Mr. *Robert Glover*; as the whole Narration was ſent in a Letter of his own writing to his Wife, concerning the Manner of his being handled; therefore it ſeemeth beſt for the more Credit of the Matter, to exhibit his own Letter, the Contents whereof are as follow.

Mr. Robert Glover's *Letter to his Wife, containing the whole Deſcription of his Troubles.*

To my entirely beloved Wife, *Mary Glover.*

THE Peace of Conſcience which paſſeth all Underſtanding, the ſweet Conſolation, Comfort, Strength and Boldneſs of the Holy Ghoſt be continually increaſed in your Heart, through a fervent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt Faith in our moſt dear and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

I thank you heartily (moſt loving Wife) for your Letters ſent to me in my Impriſonment. I read them with Tears more than once or twice with Tears (I ſay) for Joy and Gladneſs, that God had wrought in you ſo merciful a Work; Firſt, an unfeigned Repentance; Secondly, an humble and hearty Reconciliation; Thirdly, a voluntary Submiſſion and Obedience to the Will of God in all Things. Which when I read in your Letters, and judged them to proceed from the Bottom of your Heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with Tears for you, and theſe his great Mercies poured upon you.

Theſe your Letters, and the Hearing of your moſt godly Proceedings and conſtant Doings from Time to Time, much relieved and comforted me at all Times, and ſhall be a goodly Teſtimony with you at the great Day, againſt many worldly and dainty Dames, who ſet more by their own Pleaſure and Pelf in this World, than by God's Glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlaſting Health of their own Souls or others. My Prayer ſhall be whilſt I am in this World, that God, which of his great Mercy hath begun his good Work in you, will finiſh it to the Glory of his Name; and by the mighty Power and Inſpiration of his Holy Spirit ſo ſtrengthen, eſtabliſh, and confirm you in all his Ways to the End, that we may together ſhew forth his Praiſes in the World to come, to our unſpeakable Conſolation everlaſtingly, *Amen.*

So long as God ſhall lend you Continuance in this miſerable World, above all Things give your ſelf continually to Prayer, lifting up, as St. *Paul* ſaith, clean or pure Hands without Anger, Wrath, or Doubting, forgiving (as he ſaith alſo) if you have any Thing againſt any Man, as Chriſt forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to Remembrance the Multitude and Greatneſs of our Sins, which Chriſt daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we ſhall, as St. *Peter* affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the Offences of our Brethren, be they never ſo many. And becauſe God's Word teacheth us, not only the true Manner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do, or not to do in the whole Diſcourſe and Practice of this Life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as Chriſt ſaith, *The Word of God that he hath ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt Day:* Let your Prayer be to this End eſpecially, That God of his great Mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your Heart, the true Senſe, Knowledge, and Underſtanding of his moſt holy Word, and give you Grace in your Living, to expreſs the Fruits thereof.

1 *Tim.* 2.

1 *Pet.* 4.

John 12.

And foraſmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghoſt calleth it, the Word of Affliction, that is, it is ſeldom without Hatred, Perſecution, Peril, Danger of Loſs of Life and Goods, and whatſoever ſeemeth pleaſant in this World, as Experience teacheth you in this Time: Call upon God continually for his Aſſiſtance always, as Chriſt teacheth, caſting your Accounts what is it like to coſt you, endeavouring yourſelf, through the Help of the Holy Ghoſt, by Continuance of Prayer, to lay your Foundation ſo ſure, that no Storm or Tempeſt ſhall be able to overthrow or caſt it down; remembring always (as Chriſt ſaith) *Lot*'s Wife; that is, to beware of looking back to any Thing that diſpleaſeth God ſo much as Idolatry, that is, falſe worſhipping of God, otherwiſe than his Word commandeth: Look not back (I ſay) nor turn not your Face to their idolatrous and blaſphemous Maſs, manifeſtly againſt the Word, Practice, and Example of Chriſt; as is it moſt manifeſt to all that have any Taſte of the true Underſtanding of God's Word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of *England* at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the Church and Congregation of the Lord, all Things being done in an unknown Tongue, contrary to the expreſs Commandment of the Holy Ghoſt.

1 *Cor.* 1.

Luke 17. Example of *Lot*'s Wife.

They object that they be the Church, and therefore they muſt be believed. My Anſwer was, The Church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other Head but Jeſus the Son of God, whom ye have refuſed, and choſen the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, Enemy to Chriſt, the Devil's Deputy and Lieutenant, the Pope.

Note 1. proving the Popiſh Church to be no true Church.

Chriſt's Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his Word, as he ſaith, *My Sheep hear my Voice. If you abide in me, and my Word in you,*

Note 2. *John* 10.

you, you be my Diſciples. Their Church repelleth God's Word, and forceth all Men to follow their Traditions.

Note 3. *Acts* 7. Chriſt's Church dare not add or dimniſh, alter or change his bleſſed Teſtament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Chriſt inſtituted, and go a Whoring (as the Scripture ſaith) with their own Inventions: To glory and rejoyce in the Works of their own Hands.

Note 4. to know the Church. The Church of Chriſt is, hath been, and ſhall be in all Ages under the Croſs, perſecuted, moleſted, and afflicted, the World ever hating them, becauſe they be not of the World. But theſe perſecute, murder, ſlay and kill ſuch as profeſs the true Doctrine of Chriſt, be they in Learning, Living, Converſation, and other Virtues never ſo excellent.

Note 5. *John* 5. Chriſt and his Church reſerved the Trial of their Doctrine to the Word of God, and gave the People leave to judge thereof by the ſame Word, *Search the Scriptures.* But this Church taketh away the Word from the People, and ſuffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their Doctrine by the Word of God.

Note 6. to know the Church. The true Church of God laboureth by all Means to reſiſt and withſtand the Luſts, Deſires, and Motions of the World, the Fleſh and the Devil: Theſe for the moſt Part give themſelves to all Voluptuouſneſs, and ſecretly commit ſuch Things, (as St. *Paul* ſaith) it is Shame to ſpeak of.

Epheſ. 5. Compare the Proceedings of the Papiſts with the true Members of Chriſt's Church, and you ſhall ſee what they are. By theſe and ſuch like manifeſt Probations, they declare themſelves to be none of the Church of Chriſt, but rather of the Synagogue of Satan. It ſhall be good for you often to confer and compare their Proceedings and Doings with the Practice of thoſe whom the Word of God doth teach to have been true Members of the Church of God, and it ſhall work in you both Knowledge, Erudition and Boldneſs to withſtand with ſuffering their Doings. I likened them therefore to *Nimrod*, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty Hunter, or a ſtout Champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the Word, they would have by the Sword, and be the Church whether Men will or no; and called them with good Conſcience, as Chriſt called their Forefathers, the Children of the Devil; and as their Father the Devil is a Liar and a Murderer, ſo their Kingdom and Church (as they call it) ſtandeth by lying and murdering.

The Church of the valiant Papiſts compared to *Nimrod*, and why?

Have no Fellowſhip with them therefore, my dear Wife, nor with their Doctrine and Traditions, leſt you be Partaker of their Sins, for whom is reſerved a heavy Damnation, without ſpeedy Repentance. Beware of ſuch as ſhall advertiſe you to bear with the World for a Seaſon as they do. There is no dallying with God's Matters: *It is a fearful Thing* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *to fall into the Hands of the living God.* Remember the Prophet *Elias*, *Why halt ye on both Sides.* Remember what *Chriſt* ſaith, *He that putteth his Hands to the Plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me.* And ſeeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good Solder in the Forefront, play not the Coward, neither draw back to the Rearward. St. *John* numbreth among them that ſhall dwell in the fiery Lake, ſuch as be fearful in God's Cauſe, as *Stephen*, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Daniel*, the three Children, the Widow's Sons, and in your Days *Anne Askew*, *Laurence Saunders*, *John Bradford*, with many other faithful Witneſſes of Chriſt. *Be afraid in nothing* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *of the Adverſaries of Chriſt's Doctrine, which is to them the Sign of Perdition, but to you of eternal Salvation.* Chriſt commandeth the ſame, ſaying, *Fear them not.* Let us not follow the Example of him which asked Time firſt to take Leave of his Friends. If we ſo do, we ſhall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our Buſineſs, pleaſe it God never ſo much. We do not read that *James* and *John*, *Andrew* and *Simon*, when they were called, put off the Time till they had known their Fathers or Friends Pleaſure. But the Scripture ſaith, *They forſook all, and by and by followed Chriſt.* Chriſt likened the Kingdom of God to a precious Pearl, which whoſoever findeth, ſelleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whoſoever hath but a little Taſte or Glimmering how precious a Treaſure the Kingdom of Heaven is, will gladly forego both Life and Goods for the obtaining of it. But the moſt Part now-a-days are like *Eſop*'s Cock, which when he had found a precious Stone, wiſhed rather to have found a Barley-corn. So ignorant are they how precious a Jewel the Word of God is, that they chooſe rather the Things of this World, which being compared to it, are leſs in value than a Barley-corn.

Anno 1555. *Phil.* 3. *Matth.* 13.

If I would have given Place to worldly Reaſons, theſe might have moved me: Firſt, the leaving of you and my Children; the Conſideration of the State of my Children, being yet tender of Age, and young, apt and inclinable to Virtue and Learning, and ſo having the more need of my Aſſiſtance, being not altogether deſtitute of Gifts to help them withal; Poſſeſſions above the common Sort of Men; becauſe I was never called to be a Preacher or Miniſter; and (becauſe of my Sickneſs) Fear of Death in Impriſonment before I ſhould come to my Anſwer, and ſo my Death to be unprofitable.

Experience of the Lord's Aſſiſtance in confirming his Servants. But theſe and ſuch like, I thank my heavenly Father (who of his infinite Mercy inſpired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's ſake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: But when I had by the wonderful Permiſſion of God fallen into their Hands, at the firſt Sight of the Sheriff, Nature a little abaſhed; yet before I came to the Priſon, by the Working of God, and through his Goodneſs, Fear departed. I ſaid to the Sheriff at his coming to me, What Matter have you Mr. Sheriff to charge we withal? He anſwered, You ſhall know when you come before the Maſters; and ſo taking we with him, I expected to have been carried before the Maſters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: But contrary to my Expectation, I was committed forthwith to the Goal, not being called to my Anſwer, little Juſtice being ſhewed therein. But the leſs Juſtice a Man findeth at their Hands, the more Conſolation in Conſcience ſhall he find from God; for whoſoever is of the World, the World will love him.

Mr. *Glover* committed to the Goal, before any Cauſe was declared.

Mr. *Glover* weepeth for Joy in Priſon. After I came into Priſon, and had repoſed my ſelf there a while, I wept for Joy and Gladneſs, muſing much of the great Mercies of God, and (as it were) ſaying to myſelf after this Sort: *O Lord, who am I on whom thou ſhouldſt beſtow this thy great Mercy, to be numbered among the Saints that ſuffer for the Goſpel ſake? And ſo beholding and conſidering on the one Side my Imperfection, Unableneſs, ſinful Miſery, and*

Anno 1555. *Unworthineſs, and on the other Side the Greatneſs of God's Mercy, to be called to ſo high Promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with Joy and Gladneſs, concluding thus with myſelf in my Heart; O Lord, thou ſheweſt Power in Weakneſs, Wiſdom in Fooliſhneſs, Mercy in Sinfulneſs; who ſhall hinder thee to chooſe where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealouſly loved the Confeſſion of thy Word, ſo I ever thought myſelf to be moſt unworthy to be Partaker of the Affliction for the ſame.*

Not long after Mr. *W. Brasbridge*, Mr. *C Phineas*, Mr. *N. Hopkins* came unto me, perſuading with me to be diſmiſſed upon Bonds. To whom my Anſwer was (to my Remembrance) after this Sort: Foraſmuch as the Maſters have impriſoned me, having nothing to burthen me withal; if I ſhould enter into Bonds, I ſhould in ſo doing accuſe myſelf; and ſeeing they have no Matter to lay to my Charge, they may as well let me paſs without Bonds as with Bonds.

Mr. *Glover* counſelled to put in Bonds.

He refuſeth to enter into Bonds.

Secondly, If I ſhall enter Bonds, Covenant and Promiſe to appear, I ſhall do nothing but excuſe, colour and cloak their Wickedneſs, and indanger myſelf nevertheleſs, being bound by my Promiſe to appear. They alledged many worldly Perſuaſions to me to avoid the preſent Peril, and alſo how to avoid the Forfeiture if I brake my Promiſe. I ſaid unto them, I had caſt up my Pennyworth by God's Help. They undertook alſo to make the Bond eaſy.

And when they were ſomewhat importunate, I ſaid to Mr. *Hopkins*, That Liberty of Conſcience was a precious Thing; and took, as it were, a Pauſe, lifting up my Heart to God earneſtly for his Aid and Help, that I might do the Thing that might pleaſe him. And ſo when they had let their Suit fall, my Heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Mr. *Dudley* communed with me in like Manner; whom I anſwered in Effect as I did before.

Afterward debating the Matter with myſelf, theſe Conſiderations came into my Head; I have from Time to Time with good Conſcience (God I take to record) moved all ſuch as I had Conference withal to be no Dalliers in God's Matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a Light and Knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a Truth, and not to give Place one Jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw myſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own Neck out of the Collar, I ſhall give great Offence to my weak Brethren in Chriſt, and Advantage to the Enemies to ſlander God's Word. It will be ſaid, He hath encouraged others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly Perils or Dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch Example.

Mr. *Glover* reaſoning with himſelf.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden Duty, both to God and Man, being (as it were) by the great Goodneſs of God marvellouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all Fear, Perils and Dangers, all worldly Reſpects and Conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the Meaſure of my ſmall Gift within the Compaſs of my Vocation and Calling, from the Bottom of my Heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and perſuaded all that profeſs God's Word, manfully to perſiſt in the Defence of the ſame, not with Sword and Violence, but with Suffering and Loſs of Life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh Abomination of the *Romiſh* Antichriſt; ſo the Hour being come, with my Fact and Example to ratify, confirm and proteſt the ſame to the Hearts of all true Believers: And to this End, by the mighty Aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, I reſolved myſelf with much Peace of Conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the *Romiſh* Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather, becauſe I underſtood the Biſhop's coming to be at Hand, and conſider'd that poor Mens Conſciences would be then ſharply aſſaulted. So I remained Priſoner in *Coventry* for the Space of ten or eleven Days, being never called to my Anſwer by the Maſters, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, they having neither Statute, Law, Proclamation, Letter, Warrant, nor Commandment for my Apprehenſion. They would have laid all the Matter upon the Summer; who being examined, denied it before their Faces, as one of my Friends told me, ſaying, that he had no Commandment concerning me, but for my elder Brother. God lay not their extreme Doings againſt me to their Charge at the great Day.

Mr. *Glover* reſolved in himſelf to abide the uttermoſt for the Goſpel's Cauſe.

The Papiſts proceed with Mr. *Glover* againſt the Laws of the Realm.

The ſecond Day after the Biſhop's coming to *Coventry*, Mr. *Warren* came to the *Guild-hall*, and ordered the chief Jaylor to carry me to the Biſhop. I laid to Mr. *Warren*'s Charge the cruel ſeeking of my Death; and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his Hands ſo; he was as guilty of my Blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own Hands.

This Biſhop's Name was Dr. *Banes*.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his Belief. God open his Eyes if it be his Will, and give him Grace to believe this, which he and all of his Inclination ſhall find (I fear) too true for their Parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the Members of Chriſt for their Conſcience ſake, and for the true Teſtimony of Chriſt's Word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murdered, without ſpeedy Repentance ſhall dwell with the Devil and his Angels in the fierce Lake everlaſtingly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right Companion did) to be refreſhed by them whom in this World they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as Slaves, Miſers and Wretches. *Luke* 16.

When I came before the Biſhop in Mr. *Denton*'s Houſe, he began with this Proteſtation; That he was my Biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit myſelf.

Mr. *Glover* brought before *Banes* Biſhip of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe myſelf, what have you to lay to my Charge?

He asked me, whether I was learned? I anſwered, ſmally learned.

Mr. Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid, I was a Maſter of Art.

Mr. *Glover* Maſter of Art in *Cambridge*.

Then my Lord laid to my Charge my not coming to the Church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his Proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been in his Dioceſs for a long Seaſon, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any ſuch Matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding I anſwered him through God's merciful Help, that I neither had, nor would come to their Church as long as the Maſs was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred Lives. I deſired him to ſhew me one Jot or Tittle

Tittle in the Scriptures for the Proof and Defence of the Maſs.

He anſwered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo far as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Biſhop. Who ſhall judge the Word?

Glover. Chriſt was willing that the People ſhould judge his Doctrine by ſearching the Scriptures, and ſo was *Paul*; methinks you ſhould claim no further Privilege nor Prehemi-nence than they had.

The Biſhop refuſeth to be judged by the Primitive Church.

Thus ſpake *Rebert Glover*, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive Church next to the Apoſtles Time, ſhould judge between the Biſhop and him. But the Biſhop refuſed that. Then he ſaid he was his Biſhop, and therefore he muſt believe him.

Glover. If you ſay Black is White, my Lord, muſt I ſay ſo too, and believe the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Mr. Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, becauſe I would not give Place to my Biſhop.

Glover. If you will be believed becauſe you be a Biſhop, why find you Fault with the People that believed Biſhop *Latimer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and Biſhop *Hooper*, and the Reſidue of them that were Biſhops?

Biſhop. Becauſe they were Hereticks.

Glover. And may not you err as well as they? I expected my Lord to uſe ſome learned Arguments to perſwade me, but inſtead of that, he oppreſſed me only with his Authority. He ſaid I diſſented from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King *Edward*'s Time?

I deſired him to ſhew me where their Church was in *Elias*'s Time, and what outward Shew it had in Chriſt's Time.

Biſhop. Elias's Complaint was only of the ten Tribes that fell from *David*'s Houſe, whom he called Hereticks.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two Tribes had at that ſame Time.

My Lord making no Anſwer to that, Mr. *Rogers*, one of the Maſters of the City, cometh in the mean Seaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome Tower, if they had any beſides the common Jail, ſaying, He would at the End of his Viſitation of his Dioceſs, weed out ſuch Wolves. Mr. *Rogers* willed him to content himſelf for that Night, till they had taken further Order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my Lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that Time to the common Jail again from whence I came.

On the *Friday* Morning, being the next Day, I had warning by one of the Priſoners to prepare myſelf to ride with my Fellow-priſoners the ſame Day to *Litchfield*, there to be beſtow'd at the Biſhop's Pleaſure. Which Tidings at firſt ſomething diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould by Means of my great Sickneſs, thro' hard Uſage (which I expected) have died in Priſon before I ſhould come to anſwer: But immediately with God's Word I rebuked this Infidelity in myſelf, and by the ſame corrected mine own Diſtruſt in the following Manner. What make I of God? Is not his Power as great in *Litchfield* as in *Coventry*? Doth not his Promiſe extend as well to *Litchfield* as to *Coventry*? was he not with *Habbakkuk*, *Daniel*, *Miſaach*, and *Jeremy*, in their moſt dangerous Impriſonments? he knoweth what Things we have need of. He hath numbred all the Hairs of our Heads. The Sparrow falleth not to the Ground, without our heavenly Father's Will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſs, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his Truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his Help, neither in Priſon, in Sickneſs, nor in Health, neither in Life nor in Death, neither before Kings, Biſhops, or the Devil himſelf, much leſs one of his Miniſters, ſhall be able to prevail againſt us. With ſuch Meditations I grew chearful of good Conſolation and Comfort: So that hearing one ſay that they could not provide Horſes enow for us, I ſaid, Let them carrry us in a Dung-cart for lack of Horſe, if they pleaſe, I am willing for my Part. Anno 1555.

R. Glover diſcouraged at the firſt hearing of his bemoved to *Litchfield*.

He is comforted by meditating on God's Promiſe.

Notwithſtanding, at the Requeſt of my Friends, I wrote to Mr. Mayor and his Brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make Anſwer here to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid to my Charge: The Contents of which Letter were theſe.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover *to the Mayor of* Coventry *and his Brethren.*

I Beſeech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown, as well to the Keeper of the Jail, as to the Inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a Man ſubject to very great Sickneſs, and have been for the Space of ſeven Years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhall be removed without great Peril and Danger of Life. And becauſe I was here committed to Ward by your Appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch Things as ſhould be laid to my Charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have Cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your Indifferency; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not laid to your Charge at the great Day, where every Man ſhall have juſt Judgment without reſpect of Perſon.

Your Priſoner in the Lord, always mindful of you in my Prayers, *Robert Glover.*

But receiving no Anſwers to my Letters, I conjectured, that when the Biſhop and the Chancellor had ſeen them, they moved them rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in Priſon, than to bring me openly to my Anſwer; as did in ſome Meaſure appear by the Treatment I met with at my firſt coming to Priſon.

R. Glover and his fellow Priſoners removed from *Coventry* to *Litchfield* in the Face of the open Market.

Certain Serjeants and Conſtables of *Coventry* being appointed to have the conveying of us to *Litchfield*, to be delivered there to one *Jephcot* the Chancellor's Man, ſent from *Coventry* with us for the ſame Purpoſe, we were commanded to be on Horſeback about Eleven or Twelve of the Clock on *Friday*, being Market-day, that we might be the more gazed at: And to ſet the Peoples Hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a Letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and diſannulling of all ſuch Books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to *Litchfield* about Four of the Clock at Night, and had Leave to repoſe ourſelves for

Anno 1555. Supper-time. We put in at the Sign of the *Swan*, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After Supper *Jephcot* repaired to us, whom we intreated, that upon Sureties we might reſt ourſelves that Night, being unprovided of any Thing to help ourſelves withal in the Priſon at that preſent. He ſeemed willing at firſt, but afterwards (whether by Perſwaſion, but I rather ſuppoſe out of Policy, till he could gather a Multitude to ſtare and gaze upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe ourſelves withal) he revoked his Promiſe, and ſo by Conſent we were carry'd to Priſon, in the Sight of a great Multitude of People. I deſired *Jephcot* before to execute his Office with Mercy, telling him that they ſhould have Judgment without Mercy, that ſhewed no Mercy. And this Mercy I found at his Hand.

He put me into a Priſon that ſame Night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a Place next the Dungeon, where was ſmall Room, ſtrong Building, and very cold, with little Light, and there he allowed me a Bundle of Straw inſtead of my Bed, without Chair, Form, or any Thing elſe to eaſe my ſelf withal. God of his Mercy gave me great Patience through Prayer that Night, ſo that if it had been his Pleaſure, I could have been contented to have ended my Life: But *Jephcot* and one *Perſey* the Biſhop's Man, who afterwards was my continual Keeper for the moſt Part, came to me in the Morning, to whom I ſaid, This is a great Extremity, God ſend us Patience, and no more.

Jephcot and *Perſey* cruel to Mr. *Glover.*

Then they were content that I ſhould have a Bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no Help, neither Night nor Day, nor Company of any Man, notwithſtanding my great Sickneſs; nor yet Paper, Pen nor Ink, or Books, except my New Teſtament in *Latin*, and a Prayer-book which I privily ſtole in.

Talk between Mr. *Glover* and the Chancellor in Priſon.

Within two Days after, Mr. Chancellor and Mr. *Temſey* a Prebendary there, came to me in Priſon. Mr. Chancellor exhorted me to conform myſelf to my Lord and to the Church. He wiſhed no more hurt to my Soul than to his own; belike becauſe I had laid to his Charge at *Coventry* the ſeeking of my Blood unjuſtly and wrongfully.

The Church giveth witneſs which be the true Books and Writings of the Apoſtles: As alſo the old Synagogue of the *Jews* doth witneſs which be the true Books of the holy Prophets: Yet it followeth not thereby, that the *Jews* have Authority over the Scripture.

Now thus the ſecond Time I anſwered Mr. Chancellor to his Exhortation, That I refuſed not to be ruled by that Church, that was content to be ordered and governed by the Word of God.

Chancellor. How know you the Word of God, but by the Church?

Glover. The Church ſheweth which is the Word of God, therefore the Church is above the Word of God: This is no good Reaſon in Learning, ſaid I to Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this; *John* ſhewed the People who was Chriſt: *Ergo*, *John* was above Chriſt. Or elſe, I have a Man that knoweth not the King, and I tell him who was the King, am I therefore above the King?

Mr. Chancellor ſaid, he came not to reaſon with me, and ſo departed. And I remained for the Space of eight Days without any further Conference with any Man, until the Biſhop's coming: In which Time I gave myſelf continually to Prayer, and Meditation of the merciful Promiſes of God made unto all, without Exception of Perſon, that call upon the Name of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. I found in myſelf daily Amendment of Health of Body, increaſe of Peace in Conſcience, and many Conſolations from God, by the Help of his Holy Spirit, and ſometimes as it were a Taſte and Glimmering of the Life to come; all for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake: To him be all Praiſe for ever and ever.

The Enemy ceaſed not many Times ſundry Ways to aſſault me, often objecting to my Conſcience mine own Unworthineſs, through the Greatneſs of the Benefit to be counted among the Number of them that ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, for his Goſpel ſake. Againſt him I replied with the Word of God on this Sort, What were all thoſe whom God had choſen from the Beginning, to be his Witneſſes, and to carry his Name before the World? Were they not Men, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſaid, as well Subject to Wickedneſs, Sin, and Imperfections, as other Men be? Even ſuch were *Noah*, *Abraham*, *David*, and all the reſt. *Who gave firſt unto him*, as *Paul* ſaith. And alſo ſpeaking to every Man, *What haſt thou that thou receivedſt not?* Likewiſe *John*, *All have received of his Fullneſs:* They were no Bringers of any Goodneſs to God, but altogether Receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them when they were his Enemies, full of Sin and Corruption, and void of all Goodneſs. He is and will be ſtill the ſame God, as rich in Mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive Sins without reſpect of Perſons, to the World's End, of all them that call upon him. *The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him: To all that call upon him in Truth.* God is near, he is at Hand, he is with all, with all (I ſay) and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true Repentance call upon him, in what Hour, what Place, or what Time ſoever it be. It is no Arrogancy nor Preſumption in any Man, to burthen God (as it were) with his Promiſe, and of Duty to claim and challenge his Aid, Help and Aſſiſtance in all our Perils, Dangers and Diſtreſs, calling upon him, not in the Confidence of our own Godlineſs, but in the Truſt of his Promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever boldly approacheth to the Mercy-ſeat of the Father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient or neceſſary, either for Body or Soul, in a more bountiful Manner, than he can well wiſh, or dare deſire. His Word cannot lie, *Call upon me in the Day of Trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.*

Acts 24. *Rom.* 11. *Rom.* 4. *John* 1. *Pſal.* 145.

It is no Arrogancy to preſume upon God's Promiſe.

I anſwered the Enemy alſo on this Manner; I am a Sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a Witneſs of this Truth. What then? muſt I deny his Word, becauſe I am not worthy to profeſs it? what bring I to paſs in ſo doing, but add Sin to Sin? what is greater Sin than to deny the Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel? as Chriſt himſelf beareth Witneſs, *He that is aſhamed of me or of my Words, of him I alſo will be aſhamed before my Father and all his Angels.* I might alſo for the like Reaſon neglect Obedience to any of God's Commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the Enemy may ſay to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: And ſo in like Manner of all the Commandments, I ſhall not forbear ſwearing, ſtealing, or murdering, becauſe I am not worthy to keep any Commandment of God. Theſe be the Deluſions of the Devil,

and Satan's Suggeſtions, which muſt be overcome by continual Prayer, and with the Word of God apply'd according to the Meaſure of every Man's Giſt, againſt all Aſſaults of the Devil.

At the Biſhop's firſt coming to *Litchfield*, after mine Impriſonment, I was called into a By-chamber next to my Priſon, to my Lord. Before whom when I came, and ſaw none but his Officers, Chaplains and Servants, except it were an old Prieſt, I was partly amaz'd, and lifted up my Heart to God for his merciful Help and Aſſiſtance.

My Lord asked me how I liked my Impriſonment; I gave him no Anſwer touching that Queſtion. He proceeded to perſwade me to be a Member of his Church, which had continued ſo many Years. As for your Church (ſaid he to me) it was not known but lately in King *Edward*'s Time.

* The true Church is always built upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles: which tho' it appear not always alike in outward Sight, the Fault is in the Time, not in the Church. Times did alter, and with the Times the outward Face of the Church may alter, ſometimes appearing more, ſometimes leſs, ſometimes very little, ſometimes nothing at all, according as the Perſecution is. Nevertheleſs, the Truth of the *Church* abideth always one. Neither doth it go by Number of Men, but by Soundneſs of Truth. Many agreeing in one maketh an Unity: but the Verity of the Word maketh the Church, whether it be in few or many.

I profeſs myſelf to be a Member of that Church (ſaid I) that is built * upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the Head Corner-ſtone; and ſo alledged the Place of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*. And this Church hath been from the Beginning (ſaid I) tho' it bear no glorious Shew before the World, being ever, for the moſt part, under the Croſs and Affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted; my Lord contended on the other Side, that they were the Church.

So cried all the Clergy (ſaid I) againſt the Prophets of *Jeruſalem*, ſaying, *The Church of the Lord, the Church of the Lord.* And always when I was about to ſpeak any thing, my Lord cried, Hold thy Peace, I command thee by the Virtue of thy Obedience to hold thy Peace, calling me a proud arrogant Heretick.

I deſired my Lord to lay ſomething to my Charge in particular, and then to convince me with ſome Scriptures and good Learning.

Then my Lord began to move certain Queſtions. I refuſed to anſwer him in Corners, requiring that I might make my Anſwer openly. He ſaid, I ſhould anſwer him there. I ſtood with him upon that Point till he ſaid I ſhould go to Priſon again, and there have neither Meat nor Drink till I had anſwered him.

Then I lifted up my Heart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the Doctrine of his moſt holy Word.

The firſt Queſtion was this, How many Sacraments Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed in the Church?

The Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſaid I, and the Sacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt Supper.

No more, ſaid he.

Then ſaid I, To all thoſe that declare a true and unfeigned Repentance, a ſure Hope, Truſt and Confidence in the Death of Chriſt, to ſuch Miniſters (I grant) have Authority to pronounce by the Power of God's Word the Remiſſion of Sins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in Hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly concern with him in that Point, becauſe the Matter was of no great Weight or Importance; although he in ſo doing did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

He asked me further, Whether I allowed their Confeſſion?

I anſwered, No.

Then the Biſhop would know my Mind what I thought of the Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament.

Anno 1555.

I anſwered, That their Maſs was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you have taken away the true Inſtitution, which when you reſtore again, I will tell you my Judgment concerning Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr leave behind him in his own Hand-writing, concerning the Manner of his Uſage in Priſon, and alſo of his Conflicts with the Biſhop and his Chancellor. More Examinations he had (no doubt) with the Biſhop in the publick Conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would alſo have left unto us, if either Length of Life, or Leiſure of Time, or Haſte of Execution, had permitted him to finiſh what he intended; but by reaſon of the Writ of his Burning being come down from *London*, want of Time did neither ſerve him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the Records of his laſt Examination, whereſoever they are become.

Only this which I could learn by the Relation of one *Auguſtine Bernher*, a Miniſter, and a familiar Friend of his, concerning the going to his Death, I can report; That the ſaid Mr. *Robert Glover*, after he was condemned by the Biſhop, and was now at a Point to be delivered out of this World, it ſo happened, that two or three Days before, his Heart being lumpiſh, and deſolate of all ſpiritual Conſolation, felt in himſelf no Aptneſs or Willingneſs, but rather a Heavineſs and Dullneſs of Spirit, full of much Diſcomfort to bear the bitter Croſs of Martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Mr. *Glover* deſtitute for a Time of the Lord's Comfort.

Whereupon fearing in himſelf leſt the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted Favour from him, made his Moan to this *Auguſtine* his Friend abovementioned, ſignifying unto him how earneſtly he had prayed Day and Night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no Motion nor Senſe of any Comfort from him.

Unto whom the ſaid *Auguſtine* anſwering again, deſired him patiently to wait the Lord's Pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent Feeling was, yet ſeeing his Cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame, and to play the Man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good Time would viſit him, and ſatisfy his Deſire with Plenty of Conſolation: Whereof (he ſaid) he was right certain and ſure; and therefore deſired him whenſoever any ſuch Feeling of God's heavenly Mercies ſhould begin to touch his Heart, that then he ſhould ſhew ſome Signification thereof, whereby he might witneſs with him the ſame, and ſo departed from him.

The Lord for a Time may withdraw his Comforts, but at length he viſiteth his Servants.

The next Day, when the Time came of his Martyrdom, as he was going to the Place, and was come within Sight of the Stake, (although all the Night before praying for Strength and Courage he could feel none) ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with God's holy Comfort and heavenly Joys, that he cried out, clapping his Hands to *Auſtin*, and ſaying theſe Words, Auſtin, *He is come, He is come*, &c. and that with ſuch Joy and Alacrity, as one ſeeming rather to be riſen from ſome deadly Danger to Liberty of Life, than as one paſſing out of the World by any Pains of Death. Such was the Change of the marvellous Working of the Lord's Hand upon that good Man.

Mr. *Glover* again receiveth Comfort from the Lord.

The Martyrdom of G. Catmer, R. Streater, A. Burward, G. Brodbridg, & J. Tutty, at Canterbury

The Martyrdom of W. Wolsey, & R. Pygot at Ely.

The Martyrdom of C. Bungey & R. Glover at Coventry.

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MUSEUM

Anno 1555.

Cornelius Bungey, *Fellow-Martyr with Mr.* Robert Glover.

IN the ſame Fire with Mr. *Glover*, *Cornelius Bungey* of *Coventry* was likewiſe burnt, who was condemned by the ſaid Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. As concerning the Articles which were objected to him, the Effect thereof was this.

Articles objected againſt Mr. *Bungey*.

Firſt, It was objected againſt him, that theſe three Years laſt, in the City of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and Places thereabout, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the Prieſt hath no Power here to abſolve any Sinner from his Sins.

Secondly, That by Baptiſm Sins are not waſhed away, becauſe he ſaid that the Waſhing of the Fleſh purgeth the Fleſh outwardly, and not the Soul.

Thirdly, That there be in the Church only two Sacraments, that is, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

Fourthly, That in the Sacrament of the popiſh Altar, was not the real Body and Blood of Chriſt, but the Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining ſtill, becauſe St. *Paul* calleth it Bread and Wine, *&c.*

Fifthly, That he within the Compaſs of the ſaid Years and Time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the Pope is not the Head of the viſible Church here on Earth, *&c.*

Sixthly, That he was of the Dioceſe and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, &c.

Seventhly, That the Premiſſes are true, maniſeſt and notorious, and that upon the ſame there hath been and is a publick Voice and Fame, as well in the Places above rehearſed, as in other Quarters alſo about, *&c.*

His Anſwers to the Articles.

To which Articles he anſwered again:

To the Firſt he granted, and to every Part thereof, meaning after the popiſh Manner of Abſolution.

To the Second he granted firſt, after revoked the ſame.

To the Third alſo he granted, adding withal, that in Scripture there is no more contained.

To the Fourth touching the Sacrament, he granted, and to every Part thereof.

To the Fifth, concerning the Pope likewiſe.

Alſo to the ſixth he granted, and likewiſe to the Seventh.

Upon theſe Articles and his Anſwers to the ſame, the ſaid *Radulph* the Biſhop read the Sentence, and ſo committed him alſo after Condemnation of Mr. *Robert Glover*, to the Secular Power.

Thus this aforeſaid *Cornelius*, falſly condemned by the Biſhop beforementioned, ſuffered at the ſame Stake with the Chriſtian Martyr Mr. *Robert Glover* at *Coventry*, about the twentieth Day of *September*.

The Hiſtory of John Glover *and* William Glover, *who were excommunicated after their Death and buried in the Fields.*

JOHN and *William Glover*, the two Brothers of *Robert Glover* the Martyr, ought not to be omitted in this Hiſtory, although they were not called to finiſh their Courſe in Fire, as their Brother and other Martyrs were; yet they were caſt out of the Church, and excommunicated even after they were dead, and deny'd chriſtian Burial.

And firſt concerning Mr. *John Glover* the eldeſt Brother, what inward Storms and Agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly Enemy, ye have partly heard before deſcribed: Now what his bodily Enemies wrought againſt him remaineth to be declared. Whoſe Rage and Malice, altho' God reſtrained, that they could little prevail againſt him ſo long as his Life endured, yet after his Deceaſe, having Power upon him, what they did ye ſhall now underſtand.

After the Martyrdom of Mr. *Robert Glover*, although *John Glover*, ſeeing his Brother to be apprehended for him, had ſmall Joy of his Life for the great Sorrow of his Heart, wherewith he was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly have put himſelf in his Brother's ſtead, if his Friends had not otherwiſe perſuaded him, ſhewing that in ſo doing he might entangle himſelf, but could do his Brother no good. He thus remained in great Care and Vexation, yet notwithſtanding endured as well as he could, till at length about the latter End of Queen *Mary*, there was a new Search made for the ſaid *John Glover*.

A new Search made for *J. Glover*.

Whereupon the Sheriffs, with their under-Officers and Servants, being ſent to ſeek him, came into his Houſe where he and his Wife were. It chanced as he was in the Chamber by himſelf, the Officers burſting into the Houſe, and ſearching other Rooms, came to the Chamber-door where *John Glover* was, who being within, and holding the Latch ſoftly with his Hand, perceived and heard the Officers buſtling about the Door, amongſt whom one of the ſaid Officers having the String in his Hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the ſame.

In the mean Time another coming by, (whoſe Voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, ſaying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to ſearch other Corners of the Houſe, where they found *Agnes Glover* his Wife, who being carried to *Litchfield*, and there examined before the Biſhop, at length after much ado, was conſtrained to give Place to their Tyranny. *John Glover* in the mean Time, partly for care of his Wife, partly through Cold taken in the Woods where he did lie, took an Ague, whereupon not long after he left his Life, which the cruel Papiſts ſo long had ſought for.

Agnes Glover Wife to *John Glover*, apprehended.

Thus by the mighty Protection of the Almighty Lord, how *John Glover* was deliver'd and defended from the Hands of the perſecuting Enemies during all the Time of his Life, ye have heard. Now what befel after his Death,

both

both to him and his Brother *William*, is worthy to be remembred. Who after he was Dead, and buried in the Church-yard without Prieſt or Clerk, Dr. *Dracot* then Chancellor, ſix Weeks after, ſent for the Parſon of the Town, and demanded how it happened that he was there buried. The Parſon anſwered that he was then ſick, and knew not of it. Then the Chancellor commanded the Parſon to go Home, and to cauſe the Body of the ſaid *John Glover* to be taken up, and to be caſt over the Wall into the High-way: The Parſon again anſwered, that he had been ſix Weeks in the Earth, and ſo ſmelled, that none were able to endure it. Well, quoth Dr. *Dracot*, then take this Bill, and pronounce him in the Pulpit a damned Soul, and a Twelvemonth after take up his Bones (for then the Fleſh will be conſumed) and caſt them over the Wall, that the Carts and Horſes may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that Place in the Church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the Parſon of the Town, who told the ſame to *Hugh Burrows*, dwelling at *Fynden* in *Darbyſhire*, and to Mr. *Robert Glover*'s Wife, by whoſe credible Information we received the ſame.

Dr. *Dracot* not ſuffering *John Glover* to be buried in the Church-yard.

Not much unlike Uſage was practiſed alſo by theſe catholick Children of the Mother Church, upon the Body of *William* the third Brother: Whom after it had pleaſed Almighty God about the ſame Seaſon to call out of this Vale of Miſery, the well-diſpoſed People of the Town of *Weme* in *Shropſhire*, where he died, brought the Body into the Pariſh Church, intending there to have it buried. But one *Bernard* being then Curate of the ſaid Church (and yet is, as I hear ſay, to this Day) to ſtop the Burial thereof rode to the Biſhop named *Ralph Baine*, to certify him of the Matter, and to have his Advice therein. In the mean Time the Body lying there a whole Day, in the Night-time one *Richard Morice* a Taylor, would have interred him. But then came *John Thorlyne* of *Weme* with ſome others, and would not ſuffer the Body to be buried; expreſſing to us the contrary Examples of good *Tobit*; for as he was religious in burying the Dead, ſo this Man putteth Religion in not burying the Dead; ſo that after he had lain there two Days and one Night, the aforeſaid *Bernard* the Curate came with the Biſhop's Letter, the Contents of which Letter being copied out Word for Word, here followeth.

The Manner of handling the Body of *William Glover* after his Death.

A Copy of the Biſhop's Letter written to the Pariſh of Weme.

UNderſtanding that one Glover *an Heretick is dead in the Pariſh of* Weme, *which* Glover *hath all the Time of my being in this Country, been known for a Rebel againſt our holy Faith and Religion, a Contemner of the Holy Sacraments and Ceremonies uſed in the holy Church, and hath ſeparated himſelf from the Holy Communion of all good chriſtian Men, and never required to be reconciled to our Mother Holy Church, nor in his laſt Days did call for his ghoſtly Father, but died without all Rites belonging to a chriſtian Man; I thought it good not only to command the Curate of* Weme, *that he ſhould not be buried in a chriſtian Man's Burial, but alſo will and command all the Pariſh of* Weme, *that no Man procure, help, nor ſpeak to have him buried in holy Ground: But I do charge and command the Church-wardens of* Weme *in ſpecial, and all the Pariſh of the ſame, that they aſſiſt the ſaid Curate in defending and hindering, and procuring that he be not buried in the Church, or within the Walls of the Church-yard: And likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the Body to the Place, to carry it away again, and that at their Charge, as they will anſwer at their Peril. At Eccleſch* this ſixth of *September* 1558. Anno 1555.

By your Ordinary, *Radulph*,

Coventry and *Litchfield.*

By virtue of this aforeſaid Letter, ſo it fell out, that they who brought the Corps thither, were obliged to carry it back again at their own Charges. But as the Body was corrupted, and ſmelt ſo ſtrong, that no Man could well come near it, they were forced to draw it with Horſes into a Broom-field, and there he was buried. The dead Corpſe of *W. Glover* dragged into a Broom-field by Horſes.

The like Example of charitable Affection in theſe catholick Churchmen, is alſo to be ſeen and noted in burying one *Edward Burton* Eſq; who in the ſame Dioceſs of *Cheſter*, departing out of this World the very Day before Queen *Elizabeth* was crowned, required of his Friends, as they would anſwer for it, that his Body ſhould be buried in his Pariſh Church (which was St. *Chads* in *Shrewsbury*) ſo that no Maſs-monger ſhould be preſent thereat. Which Thing being declared to the Curate of that Pariſh, named Sir *John Marſhall*, and the Body being withal brought to the Burial, upon the ſame Day when the Queen was crowned, the Curate being therewith offended, ſaid plainly, that he ſhould not be bury'd in the Church there. Whereunto one of the Friends of the Deceas'd, named *George Torpelley*, anſwering again, ſaid, That God would judge him in the laſt Day, *&c.* Then ſaid the Prieſt, Judge God or Devil the Body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his own Garden, where he is, no doubt, as near the Kingdom of Heaven, as if he had been bury'd in the midſt of the Church. *Ed. Burton* Eſquire, not ſuffered to have chriſtian Burial, on the ſame Day that Queen *Elizabeth* was crowned.

Moreover, in the ſaid County of *Salop*, I find that one *Oliver Richardine* of the Pariſh of *Whitchurch*, was burnt in *Hartford-weſt*, Sir *John Ygone* being Sheriff the ſame Time, which ſeemeth to be about the laſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Whoſe Name, as it was not mention'd before, I thought here to give ſome little touch of him, having now in hand to ſpeak of the Perſecution within the Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. *Oliver Richardine*, Martyr.

The Martyrdom of William Wolſey *and* Robert Pygot, *Painter.*

WILLIAM WOLSEY and *Robert Pygot*, both Inhabitants of the Town of *Wiſbich*, were the next condemned after the Suffering of *Robert Glover* and *Cornelius Bungey*. Theſe two bleſſed Martyrs were judged and condemned at *Ely*, by *John Fuller* the Biſhop's Chancellor of *Ely*, Dr. *Shaxtone* his Suffragan, *Robert Stewart* Dean of *Ely*, *John Chriſtopherſon* Dean of *Norwich*, *October* 9, 1555. The ſaid *William Wolſey*, who was then a Conſtable, was brought into Trouble by the Procurement of one *Richard Everard* Gentleman, a Juſtice appointed for thoſe Days, who extremely

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tremely handled the said *William Wolsey*, and causing him to put in Sureties for his good Behaviour and Appearance at the next general Sessions held within the Isle of *Ely*. Being called again at the next Sessions, he was still constrained to put in new Sureties, which at length he refused to do, and so was commanded to Jail, at the Assize held at *Ely* in Lent.

W. Wolsey commanded to the Jail.

In the *Easter* Week following, Dr. *Fuller*, the Chancellor, with *Christopherson*, and one Dr. *Yong*, came to confer with him, who laid earnestly to his Charge that he was out of the catholick Faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such Lay-men as he was, to do. The said *William Wolsey* standing still a great while, suffering them to say their Pleasure, at last he answered in this wise; Good Mr. Doctor, What did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these Words written in the 23d Chapter of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, *Wo be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men: For ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in.*

Dr. *Fuller*, *Christopherson*, and Dr. *Yong*, come to confer with *Wolsey*.

Wolsey putteth a Question to the Doctors.

Yea, saith Dr. *Fuller*, you must understand, that Christ spake to the Scribes and Pharisees.

Nay, Mr. *Doctor*, (said *Wolsey*) Christ spake even to you, and your Fellows here present, and to all others such as you be.

Away Mr. Doctor, said *Christopherson*, for you can do no good with this Man. Yet saith Dr. *Fuller*, I will leave thee a Book to read, I promise thee of a learned Man's Doing, that is to say, of Dr. *Watson*'s doing (who was then Bishop of *Lincoln*).

Wolsey receiving the same Book, did diligently read it over, which in many Places did manifestly appear contrary to the known Truth of God's Word. At length, a Fortnight or three Weeks following, the said Dr. *Fuller* resorting again to the Prison to confer with the said *Wolsey*, asked him how he liked the said Book, (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same) who answered him and said, Sir, I like the Book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it. Whereupon the Chancellor taking his Book, departed home.

At Night when Dr. *Fuller* came to his Chamber to look on it, he found in many Places, contrary to his Mind, the Book raised with a Pen by the said *Wolsey*. Which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, O this is an obstinate Heretick, and hath quite marred my Book.

The Chancellor giveth *Wolsey* leave to depart.

Then the Assizes to be held at *Wisbich* drawing nigh, Dr. *Fuller* cometh again to the said *Wolsey*, and spake unto him on this Manner: Thou dost much trouble my Conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy Tongue, so that I hear no more Complaint of thee, and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it.

Mr. Doctor, said *Wolsey*, I was brought hither by a Law, and by a Law I will be deliver'd.

Wolsey laid in the Castle of *Wisbich*.

Then being brought to the Sessions before named, *Wolsey* was laid in the Castle at *Wisbich*, he and all his Friends thinking, that he should have suffered there at that present Time, but it proved otherwise.

Rob. Pygot Painter, presented for not coming to the Church.

Then *Robert Pygot* the Painter, being at Liberty, was there presented by some evil disposed Persons (sworn Men as they called them) for not coming to the Church.

Talk between Sir *Clement Higham* Judge, and *R. Pygot*.

The said *Pygot* being called in the Sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir *Clement Hygham* being Judge, who said unto him; Ah, are you the Holy Father the Painter? How chance ye came not to the Church? Sir, quoth the Painter, I am not out of the Church, I trust in God.

No Sir, said the Judge, this is no Church, this is a Hall. Yea Sir, said *Pygot*, I know very well it is a Hall: But he that is in the true Faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the Church of God.

Ah Sirrah, said the Judge, you are too high learned for me to talk withal, wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I, straightways commanding him to the Jail where *Wolsey* lay. So the Sessions being broke up and ended, the said *Wolsey* and *Pygot* were carried again to *Ely* in Prison, where they both remain'd till the Day of their Death.

R. Pygot brought to the Jail where *W. Wolsey* lay.

In the mean Time some of their Neighbours of *Wisbich* being at *Ely*, came to see how they did. There came thither also a Chaplain of Bishop *Goodrick*'s, a *Frenchman* born, one *Peter Valentius*, who said to the said *Wolsey* and *Pygot*: My Brethren, according to my Office I am come to talk with you, for I have have been Amner here these twenty Years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my Brethren, to take it in good Part that I am come to talk with you, I promise you not to pull you from your Faith. But I both require and desire in the Name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the Truth of the Gospel and Word, and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the End. For I know not myself (my Brethren) how soon I shall be at the same Point that you are. Thus with many other like Words he made an End, causing all that were there present to water their Cheeks, contrary to the Expectation they all had of him. God be praised therefore.

Then within a short Time after, *Pygot* and *Wolsey* were called to Judgment about the 9th Day of *October*, before Dr. *Fuller* then Chancellor, with old Dr. *Shaxton*, *Christopherson*, and others in Commission, who laid earnestly to their Charge for their Belief in divers Articles, but especially of the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto their Answer was, That the Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol, and that the natural Body and Blood of Christ was not present really in the said Sacrament; and to this Opinion they said they would stick, perfectly believing the same to be no Heresy that they had affirmed, but the very Truth, whereunto they would stand. Then the Doctors said, that they were out of the catholick Faith.

The Words of *Nicholas Shaxton* to the Martyrs.

Then Dr. *Shaxton* said unto them, Good Brethren, remember yourselves, and become new Men, for I myself was in this fond Opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new Man.

Wolsey's Answer to *Shaxton*.

Ah, said *Wolsey*, are you become a new Man? Wo be to thee thou wicked new Man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Dr. *Fuller* then spake, saying, This *Wolsey* is an obstinate Fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the Painter, he is a Man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive)

ceive) and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any ill Opinion I find in him.

Mr. *Christopherson* writeth what he would have *Pygot* confess of the Sacrament.

Then *Christopherson* called for Pen and Ink, and wrote these Words following; I *Robert Pygot* do believe, that after the Words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there remaineth no more Bread and Wine, but the very Body and Blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin *Mary*: And reading it to the Painter, he said thus, Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?

Pygot refuseth to subscribe to *Christopherson*'s Faith.

No, Sir, said the Painter, that is your Faith, and not mine.

Christopher. Lo, Dr. *Fuller*, you would have let this Fellow go, he is as much an Heretick as the other. And so immediately Judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the Sentence read, they were sent again to Prison, where they lay till the Day of their Death. On which Day, one *Peacock*, a Batchelor of Divinity, being appointed to preach, took his Text out of the first Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 5. of one that had lived inordinately by abusing his Father's Wife; likening the said *Pygot* and *Wolsey* to the same Man, oftentimes saying, that such Members must be cut off from the Congregation, most maliciously reporting the said *Wolsey* to be clean out of the Faith, and in many Places quite denying the Scriptures.

So his Sermon being ended, the aforesaid *Pygot* and *Wolsey* were brought to the Place of Execution, and so bound to the Stake with a Chain, thither came one Sir *Richard Collinson* a Priest, at that Time destitute of any abiding Place or settled Benefice, who said unto *Wolsey*; Brother *Wolsey*, the Preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this Day, that you are quite out of the catholick Faith, and deny Baptism, and that you do err in the Holy Scripture; wherefore I beseech you for the certifying of my Conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what Place of the Scripture you do err or find Fault.

Wolsey. I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no Part or Point of God's Book, the Holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound Doctrine in all Points most worthy for my Salvation, and for all other Christians to the End of the World. Whatsoever mine Adversaries report of me, God forgive them therefore. With that came one to the Fire with a great Sheet full of Books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. O, said *Wolsey*, give me one of them, and *Pygot* desired another, both of them clapping them close to their Breasts, saying the 106th *Psalm*, desiring all the People to say *Amen*, and so received the Fire most thankfully. Witnesses and Informers hereof were,

Books burnt with *Wolsey* and *Pygot*.

Robert Scortred, *Robert Crane*, *Edward Story*, *Robert Kendall*, *Richard Best*, &c.

Concerning the Story of *William Wolsey*, I received moreover from the University of *Cambridge*, by a credible Person, and my faithful Friend *William Fulke*, this Relation which I thought in this Place not improper to be notify'd to the Reader in Order and Form as followeth.

The Natures of *Wolsey* and *Pygot* described.

There were two godly Martyrs burnt at *Ely*, the one named *Wolsey*, the other *Pygot*. In these two appeared a different Disposition of Spirit. *Pygot* was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his Persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. *Wolsey* was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having the Fulness of the Spirit, and detested all their Doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but Cruelty and Tyranny. He was wonderfully jealous over his Companion, fearing lest his gentle Nature would have been overcome by the flattering Enticements of the World; and therefore the same Day that they were burnt, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by Force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his Suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the Prison with the Tooth-ach, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the Day of Execution (which he called his glad Day) were come. Anno 1555.

This *Wolsey* being in Prison at *Ely*, was visited by *Thomas Hodilo* Brewer in *Ely*. To him he delivered certain Money to be distributed (as he appointed) part to his Wife, and part to his Kinsfolks and Friends, and especially six Shillings and Eight-pence to be delivered to one *Richard Denton* a Smith, dwelling at *Wells* in *Cambridgeshire*, within the Jurisdiction of the Isle of *Ely*, with his Commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that deliver'd him the Book of Scripture into his Hand, and told him that it was the Truth, desiring him to make haste after as fast as he could.

Richard Denton first Converter of *Wolsey*.

This *Thomas Hodilo*, both to avoid the Danger of the Time, and to have a Witness of his Doings herein, delivered the said Sum of Money to one Mr. *Lawrence*, a Preacher in *Essex* (who then resorted often to his House) to be distributed as *Wolsey* had appointed; which Thing he performed, riding from Place to Place. And when this six Shillings and Eight-pence was delivered to *Richard Denton*, with the Commendation aforesaid: His Answer was this, I confess it is true, but, alas; I cannot burn. This was almost one whole Year after *Wolsey* was burnt. But he that could not burn for the Cause of Christ, was afterwards burnt against his Will, even after Christ had given Peace to his Church. For in the Year of our Lord 1564, on *Tuesday* being the 18th Day of *April*, his House was set on Fire, and he going to save his Goods, perish'd in the Flames, with two others that were in the same House.

Money sent by *Wolsey* to *Denton*. *Wolsey* exhorting *R. Denton* to persist in the Truth. *Denton* afraid of burning. *R. Denton* burned in his own House, who before would not burn for Christ, *April* 18, 1564.

Witnessed by *Thomas Hodilo* and *Will. Fulke*.

Not much unlike this, was the Example of Mr. *West*, Chaplain to Bishop *Ridley*, who refusing to die in the Cause of Christ with his Master, said Mass against his Conscience, and died soon after.

The History of Dr. Nicholas Ridley *and Mr.* Hugh Latimer, *both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs.*

ON the 16th of *October* 1555. (the Day on which *William Wolsey* and *Thomas Pygot* suffered at *Ely*) those two famous and singular Captains, the principal Pillars of Christ's Church, Dr. *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, sometime Bishop of *Worcester*

Anno 1555. *ceſter* were cruelly burnt in one Fire at *Oxford*. Men, ever memorable for their Piety, Learning, and incomparable Ornaments and Gifts of Grace, joined with no leſs commendable Sincerity of Life, as the whole Realm can ſufficiently teſtify; ſo it needeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this Time in ſetting forth a full Deſcription of the ſame, but only to comprehend briefly in a few Words the Order of their Lives, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerveth to the due Inſtruction of the Reader, and maketh to the uſe of this preſent Hiſtory, in declaring firſt their Beginning and bringing up, then their Studies and Acts in the Univerſity, their Preferments alſo by their Studies to higher Dignity, at laſt their Care and Trouble in ſetting forth Religion, and in maintaining the ſame to the Shedding of their Blood. And firſt to begin with the Life of Dr. *Ridley*, whoſe Story here enſueth.

Among many other worthy Hiſtories and notable Acts of ſuch as of late Days have been troubled, murdered and martyred for the true Goſpel of Chriſt in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, the tragical Story and Life of Dr. *Ridley*, I thought good to commend to Chronicle, and leave to perpetual Memory; beſeeching thee (gentle Reader) with Care and Study well to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deeply to print the ſame in thy Breaſt, ſeeing him to be a Man beautified with ſuch excellent Qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired, and godly learned, and now written doubtleſs in the Book of Life, with the bleſſed Saints of the Almighty, crowned and enthroned amongſt the glorious Company of Martyrs. Firſt, deſcending of a Stock right worſhipful, he was born in the County of *Northumberland*, who being a Child learned his Grammar with great Dexterity in *Newcaſtle*, and was removed from thence to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he in ſhort Time became ſo famous, that for his ſingular Aptneſs he was called to higher Functions and Offices of the Univerſity, by Degrees attaining thereunto, and was called to be Head of *Pembroke-Hall*, and there made Doctor of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to *Paris*, and at his Return was made Chaplain to King *Henry* the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, and from thence tranſlated to the See and Biſhoprick of *London* in King *Edward*'s Days.

Dr. *Nicholas Ridley* born in *Northumberland*, and educated at *Newcaſtle*; made Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*. Is made Doctor of Divinity. Is made Chaplain to King *Henry*. Is made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and afterwards Biſhop of *London*.

In which Calling and Offices he ſo diligently occupied himſelf by preaching and teaching the true and wholeſome Doctrine of Chriſt, that no good Child was more ſingularly loved by his dear Parents, than he by his Flock and Dioceſs. Every Holiday and Sunday he preached in ſome one Place or other, except he were otherwiſe hindered by weighty Affairs and Buſineſs, to whoſe Sermons the People reſorted, ſwarming about him like Bees, and coveting the ſweet Flowers and wholſome Juice of the fruitful Doctrine, which he did not only preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his Life, as a glittering Lanthorn to the Eyes and Senſes of the Blind, in ſuch pure Order and Chaſtity of Life (declining from evil Deſires and Concupiſcences) that even his very Enemies could not reprove him in any one Jot thereof.

The ſucceſsful Diligence of Bp. *Ridley* in preaching the Goſpel.

Beſides this, he was very well learned, his Memory was great, and he of ſuch Reading withal, that of Right he deſerved to be compared to the beſt of this our Age, as his notable Works, pithy Sermons, and his ſundry Diſputations in both the Univerſities can well teſtify, and alſo his very Adverſaries will ſay the ſame themſelves.

Beſides all this, he was wiſe of Counſel, deep of Wit, and very politick in all his Doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obſtinate Papiſts from their erroneous Opinions, and by Gentleneſs to win them to the Truth, his gentle Ordering, and courteous Handling of Dr. *Heath* late Archbiſhop of *York*, being Priſoner with him in King *Edward*'s Time in his Houſe one Year, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a Prelate, and in all Points ſo good, pious and ſpiritual a Man, that *England* may juſtly rue the Loſs of ſo worthy a Treaſure. And thus much concerning theſe publick Matters.

Now I will ſpeak ſomething further particularly of his Perſon and Conditions. He was a Man right comely and well proportioned in all Points, both in Complexion and Lineaments of the Body. He took all Things in good Part, bearing no Malice nor Rancour from his Heart, but ſtraightways forgetting all Injuries and Offences done againſt him. He was very kind and natural to his Kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any otherwiſe than Right would require, giving them always for a general Rule, yea to his own Brother and Siſter, that they doing Evil ſhould ſeek or look for nothing at his Hand, but ſhould be as Strangers and Aliens to him; and they to be his Brother and Siſter, who uſed Honeſty and a godly Trade of Life.

Bp. *Ridley* tender to his Kindred, yet no otherwiſe than Truth and Right required.

He uſed all kinds of Ways to mortify himſelf, and was much given to Prayer and Contemplation: For duly every Morning, as ſoon as his Apparel was put upon him, he went forthwith to his Bed-chamber, and there upon his Knees prayed the Space of half an Hour; which being done, immediately he went to his Study (if no other Buſineſs came to interrupt him) where he continued till Ten of the Clock, and then came to the common Prayer, daily uſed in his Houſe. The Prayers being done, he went to Dinner; where he uſed little Talk, except otherwiſe occaſion had been miniſtred, and then it was ſober, diſcreet and wiſe, and ſometimes merry, as Cauſe required.

The Order of his Study and Diet.

The Dinner done, which was not very long, he uſed to ſit an Hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at the Cheſs: That done, he returned to his Study, and there would continue, except Suiters, or Buſineſs abroad were Occaſion of the contrary, until Five of the Clock at Night, and then would come to common Prayer, as in the Forenoon; which being finiſhed, he went to Supper, behaving himſelf there as at his Dinner before. After Supper recreating himſelf in playing at Cheſs the Space of an Hour, he would then return again to his Study; continuing there till Eleven of the Clock at Night, which was his common Hour of going to Bed, then ſaying his Prayers upon his Knees as in the Morning when he roſe. Being at his Manour of *Fulham*, as ſometimes he uſed to be, he read daily a Lecture to his Family at the common Prayer, beginning at the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and ſo going through all the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, giving to every Man that could read a New Teſtament, hiring them beſides with Money to learn by Heart certain principal Chapters, but eſpecially the 13th Chapter of the *Acts of*

The careful Diligence of Biſhop *Ridley* in inſtructing his Family.

the Apoſtles, reading alſo unto his Houſhold oftentimes the 101 *Pſalm*, being marvellous careful over his Family, that they might be a Spectacle of all Virtue and Honeſty to others. To be ſhort, as he was godly and virtuous himſelf, ſo nothing but Virtue and Godlineſs reigned in his Houſe, feeding them with the Food of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Now remaineth a Word or two to be declared of his gentle Nature and kind Behaviour to old Mrs. *Bonner*, Mother to Dr. *Bonner* ſometime Biſhop of *London*, which I thought good to mention, as well for the rare Clemency of Dr. *Ridley*, as the unworthy Inhumanity and ungrateful Diſpoſition again of Dr. *Bonner*. Biſhop *Ridley* being at his Manour of *Fulham*, always ſent for the ſaid Mrs. *Bonner*, dwelling in a Houſe adjoining to his Houſe, to Dinner and Supper, with one Mrs. *Mungey*, *Bonner*'s Siſter, ſaying; Go for my Mother *Bonner*; who coming, was always placed in the Chair at the Head of the Table, being ſo gently treated, welcomed and taken, as though ſhe had been his own Mother, being never diſplaced from her Seat, although the King's Council had been preſent; ſaying, when any of them were there, (as ſeveral Times they were) By your Lordſhip's Favour, this Place of Right and Cuſtom is for my Mother *Bonner*. But how well he was recompenſed for this his ſingular Kindneſs, and gentle Pity afterwards at the Hands of the ſaid Dr. *Bonner*, almoſt the leaſt Child that goeth on the Ground can declare. For who afterward was more Enemy to Dr. *Ridley* than Dr. *Bonner* and his? Who more went about to ſeek his Deſtruction than he? recompenſing this his Gentleneſs with extreme Cruelty; as well appeared by the ſtrict Handling of Dr. *Ridley*'s own Siſter, and her Husband *George Shipſide* from Time to Time: Whereas the Gentleneſs of the other permitted *Bonner*'s Mother, Siſter, and others of his Kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from Biſhop *Bonner*, but alſo entertained them in his own Houſe, ſhewing much Courteſy and Friendſhip daily unto them: Whereas on the other Side, Biſhop *Bonner* being reſtored again, would not ſuffer the Brother and Siſter of Biſhop *Ridley*, and others of his Friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their ſaid Brother Biſhop *Ridley*, but alſo curriſhly, without all Order or Law of Honeſty, wreſted from them all the Livings they had.

The Courteſy of Biſhop *Ridley*, and the Cruelty of Biſhop *Bonner* compared together.

And yet being not therewith ſatisfy'd, he ſought all the Means he could to work the Death of the foreſaid *Shipſide*, ſaying, that he would make twelve Godfathers to go upon him, which indeed had been brought to paſs, at the Time he was Priſoner at *Oxford*, had not God otherwiſe wrought his Deliverance by the Means of Dr. *Heath*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*. Witneſſed by *George Shipſide*.

Whereby all good impartial Readers may eaſily underſtand what great Diverſity there was in the Diſpoſition of theſe two Natures. Inſomuch that as the one excelled in Mercy and Piety, ſo the other again, as much, or more, excelled in churliſh Ingratitude, and deſpiteful Diſdain. But of this Matter enough.

Now concerning God's Vocation, how Dr. *Ridley* was firſt called to the Savouring and Favouring of Chriſt and his Goſpel, partly by his Diſputation before, and by his other Treatiſes it may appear, that the firſt Occaſion of his Converſion was by reading of *Bertram*'s Book of the Sacrament, whom alſo the Conference with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and with *Peter Martyr* did not a little confirm in that Behalf. Who now by the Grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true Way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old Ignorance, ſo was he conſtant and faithful in the right Knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his Life and Doctrine during all the Time of King *Edward*) and ſo long he did much good, when Power and Authority defended the Goſpel, and ſupported the Peace and Happineſs of the Church. But after it pleaſed God (in his wiſe Providence) to bereave us of our Stay, in taking from us that precious Prince King *Edward*, the whole State of the Church of *England* was lett deſolate and open to the Enemies Hand: So that Biſhop *Ridley*, after the coming in of Queen *Mary*, was one of the firſt that Hands were laid on, and committed to Priſon, as before hath been ſufficiently declared: Firſt in the Tower, and from thence tranſlated with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and Mr. *Latimer* to *Oxford*, and with them incloſed in the common Priſon of *Bocardo*, but at length being ſeparated from them, he was committed to Cuſtody in the Houſe of one *Iriſh*, where he remained 'till the Day of his Martyrdom, which was from the Year of our Lord 1554, 'till *October* 16, 1555.

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Biſhop *Ridley* one of the firſt in trouble after the Death of King *Edward*. He is put into the Tower, and removed from thence to *Bocardo* in *Oxford*.

As for his Diſputations at *Oxford*, his Determination at *Cambridge*, his Reaſons and Conference in the Tower at the Lieutenant's Table, enough hath been ſaid already. Beſides, he had other Conferences in Priſon, both with Dr. *Cranmer* and Mr. *Latimer*, as here followeth to be read.

Conference between Dr. Ridley *and Mr.* Latimer *in Priſon upon the Objection of* Antonian, *meaning by that Name ſome Popiſh Perſecutor, at* Wincheſter, *alluding thereby to the Story of* Victor. lib. 3. De perſecut. Aphri.

IN writing again ye have done me an unſpeakable Pleaſure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that Day. For I have received great Comfort at your Words: But yet I am not ſo filled withal, but that I thirſt much more of the Cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleaſant. I pray you, good Father, let me have one Draught more to comfort my Stomach. For ſurely except the Lord aſſiſt me with his gracious Aid, in the Time of his Service, I know I ſhall play but the Part of a White-liver'd Knight. But truly my Truſt is in him, that in mine Infirmity he ſhould try himſelf ſtrong, and that he can make the Coward in his Cauſe, to fight like a Man.

Dr. *Ridley* to Mr. *Latimer*.

Sir, now I daily look when *Diotrephes* with his Warriors ſhall aſſault me: Wherefore I pray you good Father, for that you are an old Soldier, and an expert Warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young Soldier, and as yet of ſmall Experience in theſe Feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my Harneſs. And now I would have you to think, that theſe Darts

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are caſt at my Head by ſome of *Diotrephes*, or *Antonius* Soldiers.

Except the Lord help me, ye ſay. Truth it is. For without me, ſaith he, ye can do nothing, much leſs ſuffer Death by our Adverſaries, through the bloody Law now prepared againſt us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my Word abide in you, ask what you will, and it ſhall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make Anſwer yourſelf ſo well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to ſmell what you mean by travelling thus with me; you uſe me as *Bilney* once did, when he converted me, pretending as tho' he would be taught by me, he ſought Ways and Means to teach me, and ſo do you. I thank you therefore moſt heartily. For indeed you miniſter Armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, ſaving that I give myſelf to Prayer for my Refuge.

Mr. *Latimer's* Anſwer to Dr. *Ridley.*

John 15.

The firſt Objection of the *Antonian.*

All Men marvel greatly, why you, after the Liberty you have granted unto you, more than the reſt, do not go to Maſs, which is a Thing much eſteemed of all Men, yea, of the Queen herſelf.

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

Luke 9. *Gal.* 2.

Becauſe no Man that layeth Hand on the Plough and looketh back is fit for the Kingdom of God, and alſo for the ſelf-ſame Cauſe why St. *Paul* would not ſuffer *Titus* to be circumciſed, which is, that the Truth of the Goſpel might remain with us uncorrupt, *Gal.* 2. And alſo, If I build again the Things which I deſtroy'd, I make myſelf a Treſpaſſer. This is likewiſe another Cauſe: Leſt I ſhould ſeem by outward Fact to allow the Thing, which I am perſuaded is contrary to ſound Doctrine, and ſo ſhould be a Stumbling-block unto the Weak. But wo be unto him by whom Offence cometh: It were better for him that a Mill-ſtone were hanged about his Neck, and he caſt into the midſt of the Sea.

Matth. 18. *Mark* 9.

The ſecond Objection of the *Antonian.*

What is it then that offendeth you ſo greatly in the Maſs, that you will not vouchſafe once either to hear it or ſee it? And from whence cometh this new Religion upon you? Have not you uſed in Times paſt to ſay Maſs yourſelf?

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

* He meaneth his own Confeſſion openly in preaching

I confeſs unto you my Fault and Ignorance; but know you that for theſe Matters I have done * Penance long ago, both at *Paul's* Croſs, and alſo openly in the Pulpit at *Cambridge*, and I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine Offence: For I did it ignorantly. But if you be deſirous to know, and will vouchſafe to hear what Things do offend me in the Maſs, I will rehearſe thoſe Things which be moſt clear, and ſeem moſt manifeſtly to repugn againſt God's Word, and they be theſe: The ſtrange Tongue, the want of the ſhewing of the Lord's Death, the breaking of the Lord's Commandment of having a Communion; the Sacrament is not communicated to all under both Kinds, according to the Word of the Lord; the Sign is ſervily worſhipped for the Thing ſignified; Chriſt's Paſſion is injured, for as much as this Maſs-ſacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of Sins; to be ſhort, the manifold Superſtitions, and trifling Fooleries which are in the Maſs, and about the ſame.

Matth. 26.

1 *Tim.* 1.

Mr. *Latimer.*

Better a few Things well pondered, than to trouble the Memory with too much; you ſhall prevail more with praying, than with ſtudying, though Mixture be beſt, for ſo one ſhall alleviate the Tedioufneſs of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in Words, after a reaſonable Account of my Faith given: For it will be but in vain. They will ſay as their Fathers ſaid, when they have no more to ſay: We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die. Be ye ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, ſaith St. *Paul:* And again, Stand faſt: And how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide, *&c.* But we ſhall be called obſtinate, ſturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? ſo that a Man hath need of much Patience, having to do with ſuch Men.

John 19. 1 *Cor.* 15. 1 *Tim.* 3. *John* 15. *Coloſ.* 1.

The third Objection of the *Antonian.*

But you know how great a Crime it is to ſeparate yourſelf from the Communion or Fellowſhip of the Church, and to make a Schiſm, or Diviſion. You have been reported to have hated the Sect of the Anabaptiſts, and always to have impugned the ſame. Moreover, this was the pernicious Error of *Novatus*, and of the Hereticks called *(Cathari)* that they would not communicate with the Church.

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

I know that the Unity of the Church is to be retained by all Means, and the ſame to be neceſſary to Salvation. But I do not take the Maſs, as it is at this Day, for the Communion of the Church, but a popiſh Device, whereby both the Commandment and Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, for the oft freqenting of the Remembrance of his Death, is eluded, and the People of God are miſerably deluded. The Sect of the Anabaptiſts, and the Hereſy of the *Novatians* ought of right to be condemned, foraſmuch as without any juſt or neceſſary Cauſe they wickedly ſeparated themſelves from the Communion of the Congregation, for they did not alledge that the Sacraments were unduly adminiſtred, but turning away their Eyes from themſelves, wherewith according to St. *Paul's* Rule they ought to examine themſelves, and caſting their Eyes ever upon others, either Miniſters, or Communicants with them, they always reproved ſomething for which they abſtained from the Communion, as from un unholy Thing.

1 *Cor.* 11.

Mr. *Latimer.*

I remember that *Calvin* beginneth to confute the Interim after this Sort with this Saying of *Hilary*, The Name of Peace is beautiful, and the Opinion of Unity is fair: But who doubteth that to be the true and only Peace of the Church, which is Chriſt? I would you had that little Book, there ſhould you ſee how much is to be given to Unity. St. *Paul*, when he requireth Unity, joyneth with it, according to Jeſus Chriſt, no further. *Diotrephes* now of late did always harp upon Unity, Unity. Yea Sir, ſaid I, but in Verity, not in Popery. Better is Diverſity, than an Unity in Popery. I had nothing again but ſcornful Taunts, with Commandment to the Tower.

Rom. 15.

The fourth Objection of the *Antonian.*

But admit there be in the Maſs, that peradventure might be amended, or at leaſt made better: Yea, ſeeing you will have it ſo, admit there be a Fault; if you do not conſent thereto, why do you trouble yourſelf in vain? Do you not know both by *Cyprian* and *Auguſtine*, that Communion of Sacraments doth not defile a Man, but Conſent of Deeds?

Cyr. lib. 1. *epiſt* 2. *Aug. epiſt.* 152.

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

If it were any one trifling Ceremony, or if it were ſome one Thing of itſelf indifferent (although I would wiſh nothing ſhould be done in the Church which doth not edify the ſame) yet for the Continuance of the common

Quietneſs I could be content to bear it. But foraſmuch as Things done in the Maſs tend openly to the Overthrow of Chriſt's Inſtitution, I judge that by no Means either in Word or Deed I ought to conſent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well ſpoken, if it be well underſtood. But it is meant of them which ſuppoſe they are defiled, if any ſecret Vice be either in the Miniſters, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor Superſtition, and wicked Traditions of Men, and will not ſuffer the ſame to be thruſt upon themſelves, or upon the Church, inſtead of God's Word and the Truth of the Goſpel.

Mr. *Latimer.* The very Marrow-bones of the Maſs are altogether deteſtable, and therefore by no Means to be born withal; ſo that of Neceſſity the mending of it is to aboliſh it for ever. For if you take away Oblation and Adoration, which do hang upon Conſecration and Tranſubſtantiation, moſt of the Papiſts will not ſet a Button by the Maſs, as a Thing which they eſteem not, but for the Gain that followeth thereon. For if the *Engliſh* Communion which of late was uſed, were as gainful to them, as the Maſs hath been heretofore, they would ſtrive no more for their Maſs: From thence groweth the Grief.

The fifth Objection of the *Antonian.* Conſider into what Dangers you caſt your ſelf, if you forſake the Church; and you cannot but forſake it, if you refuſe to go to Maſs. For the Maſs is the Sacrament of Unity; without the Ark there is no Salvation. The Church is the Ark and *Peter*'s Ship. Ye know this Saying well enough: He ſhall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the Church to be his Mother. Moreover without the Church (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) be the Life never ſo well ſpent, it ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

Aug. lib. 1. *de Sim.* 10. *In Ep. poſt. col contra Donat.*

Dr. *Ridley*'s Anſwer. The holy Catholick or Univerſal Church, which is the Communion of Saints, the Houſe of God, the City of God, the Spouſe of Chriſt, the Body of Chriſt, the Pillar and Stay of the Truth; this Church I believe, according to the Creed. This Church I do Reverence and Honour in the Lord. But the Rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which Rule we go forward unto Life. And as many as walk according to this Rule, I ſay with St. *Paul*, Peace to be upon them, and upon *Iſrael* which pertaineth unto God. The Guide of this Church is the Holy Ghoſt, The Marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark World, and in the midſt of this crooked and froward Generation, are theſe; The ſincere Preaching of God's Holy Word, the due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, Charity, and faithful obſerving of eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, according to the Word of God. And that Church or Congregation which is garniſhed with theſe Marks, is in very Deed that heavenly *Jeruſalem*, which conſiſteth of thoſe that be born from above. This is the Mother of us all, and by God's Grace I will live and die the Child of this Church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no Salvation; and I ſuppoſe the reſt of the Places objected are rightly to be underſtood of this Church only. In Times paſt (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) there were many Ways to know the Church of Chriſt, that is to ſay, by good Life, by Miracles, by Chaſtity, by Doctrine, by adminiſtring the Sacraments. But from that Time that Hereſies did take hold of the Church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true Church. They have all Things in outward Shew, which the true Church hath in Truth. They have Temples like unto ours.

1 *Tim.* 3. *Rev.* 21. *Epheſ.* 1. *Gal.* 6. *Phil.* 2. *Rev.* 2. *John* 3. *Gal.* 4. *In op. imp. Hom.* 49. *in Matth.*

Anno 1555.

And in the End concluded. Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church. To that which they ſay, That the Maſs is the Sacrament of Unity, I anſwer; The Bread which we break, according to the Inſtitution of the Lord, is the Sacrament of the Unity of Chriſt's myſtical Body. For we being many are one Bread and one Body, foraſmuch as we all are Partakers of one Bread. But in the Maſs the Lord's Inſtition is not obſerved; for we are not all Partakers of one Bread, but one devoureth all, *&c.* So that (as it is uſed) it may ſeem a Sacrament of Singularity, and of a certain ſpecial Privilege for one Sect of People, whereby they be diſcerned from the reſt, rather than a Sacrament of Unity, wherein our knitting together in one is repreſented. 1 *Cor.* 10.

Yea, what Fellowſhip hath Chriſt with Antichriſt? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the Yoke with Papiſts. Come forth from among them, ſaith the Lord. It is one Thing to be the Church indeed, another Thing to counterfeit the Church. Would God it were well known what is the forſaking of the Church. In the King's Days that is Dead, who was the Church of *England?* The King and his Favourers, or Maſs-mongers in Corners? If the King and the Favourers of his Proceedings, why be we not now the Church, abiding in the ſame Proceedings? If private Maſs-mongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary to the King's Proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church contrary to the Queen's Proceedings? Not all that are covered with the Title of the Church, are the Church indeed. Separate thyſelf from them that are ſuch, ſaith St. *Paul*; From whom? The Text hath before, If any Man follow other Doctrine, *&c.* he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, *&c.* Weigh the whole Text, that ye may perceive what is the Fruit of contentious Diſputations: But wherefore are ſuch Men ſaid to know nothing, when they know ſo many Things? You know the old Verſes, Mr. *Latimer.* 2 *Cor.* 6. 1 *Tim.* 6.

Hoc eſt neſcire, ſine Chriſto plurima ſcire:
Si Chriſtum bene ſcis, ſatis eſt, ſi cætera neſcis.

That is, *This is to be ignorant, to know many Things without Chriſt. If thou knoweſt Chriſt well, thou knoweſt enough, though thou know no more.* Therefore would St. *Paul* know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt crucified, *&c.* As many as are Papiſts and Maſs-mongers, they may well be ſaid to know nothing. For they know not Chriſt, foraſmuch as in their Maſſing they take much away from the Benefit and Merit of Chriſt. 2 *Cor.* 2.

The ſixth Objection of the *Antonian.* That Church which you have deſcribed to me is inviſible, but Chriſt's Church is viſible and known. For elſe why ſhould Chriſt have ſaid, Tell it unto the Church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the Church, if a Man cannot tell which it is.

Dr. *Ridley*'s Anſwer. The Church which I have deſcribed is viſible, it hath Members which may be ſeen; and alſo

Anno 1555. alſo I have before declared, by what Marks tnd Tokens it may be known, but if either our Eyes are ſo dazzled, that we can't ſee, or that Satan hath brought ſuch Darkneſs into the World, that it is hard to diſcern the true Church; that is not the Fault of the Church, but either of our Blindneſs or of Satan's Darkneſs. But yet in this moſt deep Darkneſs there is one moſt clear Candle, which of itſelf alone is able to put away all Darkneſs. Thy Word is a Candle unto my Feet, and a Light unto my Steps.

The Seventh Objection of the *Antonian.* The Church of Chriſt is a Catholick or Univerſal Church, diſperſed throughout the whole World; this Church is the great Houſe of Ood, in this are good Men and evil mingled together, Goats and Sheep, Corn and Chaff; it is the Net which gathereth all Kind of Fiſhes: This Church cannot err, becauſe Chriſt hath promiſed it his Spirit, which ſhall lead it into all Truth, and that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it; that he will be with it unto the End of the World; whatſoever it ſhall looſe or bind upon Earth, ſhall be ratified in Heaven, *&c.* This Church is the Pillar and Stay of the Truth; this is it for which St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, he believeth the Goſpel: But this Univerſal Church alloweth the Maſs, becauſe the greater Part of the ſame alloweth it. Therefore, *&c.*

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer. I grant that the Name of the Church is taken after three divers Manners in the Scripture. Sometimes for the whole Multitude of them who profeſs the Name of Chriſt, of which they are alſo named Chriſtians. But as St. *Paul* ſaith of the *Jew*, not every one is a *Jew*, that is a *Jew* outwardly, *&c.* Neither yet all that be of *Iſrael* are counted the Seed; even ſo not every one that is a Chriſtian outwardly is a Chriſtian indeed. For if any Man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his. Therefore that Church which is his Body, and of which Chriſt is the Head, ſtandeth only in living Stones, and true Chriſtians, not only outwardly in Name and Title, but inwardly in Heart and in Truth. But forſomuch as this Church (which is the Second taking of the Church) as touching the outward Fellowſhip, is contained within the great Houſe, and hath with the ſame, outward Society of the Sacraments and Miniſtry of the Word, many Things are ſpoken of that Univerſal Church (which St. *Auguſtine* calleth the mingled Church) which cannot truly be underſtood, but only of that pure part of the Church. So that *Rev. 2.* the Rule of *Ticonius* concerning the mingled Church, may here well take Place; where there is attributed unto the whole Church that which cannot agree to the ſame, but by reaſon of the one Part thereof; that is, either for the Multitude of good Men, which is the very true Church indeed; or for the Multitude of evil Men, which is the malignant Church and Synagogue of Satan. And there is alſo a Third taking of the Church; of which, although there be ſeldomer mention in the Scriptures, in that Signification, yet in the World, even in the moſt famous Aſſemblies of *Chriſtendom*, this Church hath born the greateſt Sway. This Diſtinction preſuppoſed of the three Sorts of Churches, it is an eaſy Matter, by a Figure called *Synecdoche*, to give to the mingled and univerſal Church, that which cannot truly be underſtood but only of the one Part thereof. But if any Man will ſtiffly affirm, that Univerſal doth ſo pertain unto Church, that whatſoever Chriſt hath promiſed to the Church, it muſt needs be underſtood of that, I would gladly know of the ſame Man, where that Univerſal Church was in the Times of the Patriarchs and Prophets, of *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Moſes*, (at ſuch Time as the People would have ſtoned him) of *Elias*, of *Jeremiah*, in the Times of Chriſt, and the Diſperſion of the Apoſtles, in the Time of *Arius*, when *Conſtantius* was Emperor, and *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome* ſucceeded *Liberius*. It is worthy to be noted, that *Lyra* writeth upon *Matthew*; The Church (ſaith he) doth not ſtand in Men by reaſon of their Power or Dignity, whether it be eccleſiaſtical or ſecular. For many Princes and Popes, and other Inferiours, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the Church conſiſteth in thoſe Perſons, in whom is true Knowledge and Confeſſion of the Faith, and of the Truth. Evil Men (as it is in a Gloſs of the Decrees) are in the Church in Name, and not in Deed. And St. *Auguſtine (Contra Creſconium grammaticum)* ſaith, Whoſever is afraid to be deceived by the Darkneſs of this Queſtion, let him ask Counſel at the ſame Church of it: Which Church the Scripture doth point out without any Doubtfulneſs. All my Notes which I have written and gathered out of ſuch Authors as I have read in this Matter, and ſuch like, are come into the Hands of ſuch as will not let me have the leaſt of all my written Books; wherein I am inforced to complain of them unto God: For they ſpoil me of all my Labours, which I have taken in my Study theſe many Years. My Memory was never good, for help whereof I have uſed for the moſt Part, to gather out Notes of my reading, and ſo to place them, that thereby I might have had the Uſe of them when the Time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's Will, that I ſhould be thus ordered, and ſpoiled of the poor Learning I had (as I thought) in ſtore, to the Intent that I now deſtitute of that, ſhould from henceforth, with St. *Paul*, learn only to know Chriſt, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young Scholar, and to learn this Leſſon ſo well, that neither Death nor Life, Wealth nor Woe, *&c.* make me ever to forget that, *Amen*, *Amen*.

Exod. 7. 1 Kings 19. Jerem. 6. Theo. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 15. 61. Lyra in Matthew. De pœnit. diſt. 1. cap. eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 1 Cor. 2.

Mr. *Latimer.* I have no more to ſay in this Matter; for you yourſelf have ſaid all that is to be ſaid. That ſame vehement Saying of St. *Auguſtine*, I would not believe the Goſpel, *&c.* was wont to trouble many Men; as I remember, I have read it well qualify'd of *Philip Melanchthon*; but my Memory is altogether ſlippery. This it is in Effect; The Church is not a Judge, but a Witneſs. There were ſome in his Time that lightly eſteemed the Teſtimony of the Church, and the outward Miniſtry of Preaching, and rejected the outward Word itſelf, ſticking only to their inward Revelations. Such raſh Contempt of the Word, provoked and drove St. *Auguſtine* into that exceſſive Vehemency. In which after the bare Sound of the Words, he might ſeem to ſuch as do not attain unto his Meaning, that he preferred the Church far before the Goſpel, and that the Church hath a Free Authority over the ſame; but that pious Man never thought ſo. It were a Saying worthy to be brought forth againſt the Anabaptiſts, who think the open Miniſtry to be a Thing not neceſſary, if they any thing

thing esteemed such Testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the most Part of the great House, that is to say, of the whole universal Church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the Name of Christ, and another Thing to come together with a Mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first, Christ ruleth; in the latter, the Devil beareth the Sway; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our six Articles come forth again into the Light, they themselves being very Darkness.

A Question. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better Part of the catholick Church may be seen of Men, or no?

Answer. St. *Paul* saith, *The Lord knoweth them that are his.* What manner of Speaking is this in Commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the Text: *The sure Foundation of God standeth still, and hath this Seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every Man that nameth the Name of Christ depart from Iniquity.* Now how many are there of the whole catholick Church of *England* who depart from Iniquity? How many of the Noblemen, how many of the Bishops or Clergy, how many of the rich Men, or Merchants, how many of the Queen's Counsellors, yea, how many of the whole Realm? In how small Room then I pray you is the true Church within the Realm of *England?* And where is it? And in what State? I had a Conceit of mine own well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

The eighth Objection of the *Antonian.* General Councils represent the universal Church, and have this Promise of Christ; Where two or three be gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a Multitude, *&c.* But in General Councils Mass hath been approved and used. Therefore, *&c.*

Dr *Ridley's* Answer. Of the universal Church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical Body of Christ doth obey, are the lively Members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his Word, and go before the Flock towards everlasting Life, then undoubtedly Councils gathered together of such Guides and Pastors of the Christian Flock, do indeed represent the universal Church; and being so gathered in the Name of Christ, they have a Promise of the Gift and Guiding of his Spirit into all Truth. But that any such Council hath at any Time allowed the Mass, such an one as ours was of late, in a strange Tongue, and stuffed with so many Absurdities, Errors and Superstition; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no Agreement betwixt Light and Darkness, betwixt Christ and Belial; so surely Superstition and the sincere Religion of Christ, Will-worship, and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in Spirit and Truth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a Company is gathered together, it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the Name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the Decrees and Ordinances are pronounced according to the greater Number of the Multitude of Voices) what can the less Number of Voices avail? It is a known Thing, and a common Proverb, Oftentimes the greater Part overcometh the better. Anno 1555.

Mr. *Latimer.* As touching General Councils, at this present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own Experience, to think of our Country Parliaments and Convocations, how and what ye have seen and heard. The greater part in my Time did bring forth six Articles; for then the King would have it so, being seduced of certain. Afterward the greater part did repel the same, our good *Josias* willing to have it so. The same Articles now again (alas) another great but worse part hath restored. O what an Uncertainty is this! But after this Manner, most commonly are Man's Proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such Torments of Mind? Therefore is Death the best Physician, but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all Griefs. You must think this written upon this Occasion, because you would needs have your Paper blotted.

The Inconstancy of the *English* Parliaments and Convocations.

The ninth Objection of the *Antonian.* If the Matter should go thus, that in General Councils Men should not stand to the greater Number of the Multitude (I mean of them which ought to give Voices) then should no certain Rule be left unto the Church, by which Controversies in weighty Matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his Church destitute of so necessary a Help and Safeguard.

D. *Ridley's* Answer. Christ, who is the most loving Spouse of his Church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to Salvation; but yet so, that the Church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the Bounds of his Commandments, and further not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto Salvation. Now further, for Determination of all Controversies in Christ's Religion, Christ himself hath left unto the Church not only *Moses* and the Prophets, whom he willeth in all Doubts to go unto, and ask Counsel at, but also the Gospels, and the rest of the Body of the New Testament; in which whatsoever is heard of *Moses* and the Prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto Salvation, is revealed and opened. *Ephes.* 5.

So that now we have no Need to say, Who shall climb up into Heaven, or who shall go down into the Depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended to us the Word of Faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his Word written; so that hereafter if we walk earnestly in this Way, to the searching out of the Truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain Benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting Life. Should Men ask Counsel of the Dead for the Living, saith *Isaiah?* Let them go rather to the Law and to the Testimony, *&c.* Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the Truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, *Search the Scriptures.* I remember a like Thing well spoken of St. *Jerome*; Ignorance of the Scriptures is the Mother and Cause of all Errors. And in another Place, as I remember in the same Author, The Knowledge of the Scriptures is the Food of everlasting Life. But now methinks I enter into a very broad Sea, *Isa.* 8. *John* 5. *Hier.* 23. *in Matt.*

Anno 1555. in that I begin to shew, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient Writers, how much the Holy Scripture is of Force to teach the Truth of our Religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Christ would have the Church his Spouse in all Doubts to ask Counsel at the Word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any Place hath laid so great a Burden upon the Members of his Spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal Church. *Whatsoever things are written,* saith St. *Paul,* Rom. 12. *are written for our Learning.* Ephes 4. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his Church, some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Shepherds and Teachers, to the Edifying of the Saints, till we come all to the Unity of Faith, *&c.* But that all Men should meet together out of all Parts of the World, to define of the Articles of our Faith, I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the Word of God.

Mr. *Latimer.* There is difference betwixt Things pertaining to God or Faith, and politick and civil Matters. For in the First we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto Salvation, if they well be understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good Wills, and give themselves to Study and Prayer. Neither are there any Men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise Men of the World. But in the other, that is, in civil or politick Matters, oftentimes the Magistrates do tolerate a less Evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this Saying oft in their Mouths; Better an Inconveniency than a Mischief. And it is the Property of a wise Man, saith one, to dissemble many Things; and he that cannot dissemble cannot rule. In which Sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Wherefore forsomuch as Mans Laws, if it be but in this Respect only, that they be devised by Men, are not able to bring any Thing to Perfection, but are inforced of Necessity to suffer many Things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst Things: Seeing they know not how to maintain the common Peace and Quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the greater Part shall take Place. You know what these Kind of Speeches mean, I speak after the Manner of Men; ye walk after the Manner of Men, all Men are Liars. And that of St. *Augustine,* If ye live after Man's Reason, ye do not live after the Will of God.

The tenth Objection of the *Antonian.* If ye say that Councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholick Church? for that Councils are gathered by the Authority of the catholick Church.

Dr. *Ridley's* Answer. From may be, to be indeed, is no good Argument; but from being, to may be, no Man doubteth but it is a most sure Argument. But now that Councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest. How many Councils were there in the East Parts of the World, which condemned the Nicene Council; and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a *Soc. eccles. hist. lib. 2.* slanderous Name (as they thought) *Homousians.* Was not *Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius,* Men very well learned, and of godly Life, banished and condemned as famous Hereticks, and that by wicked Councils? How many Things are there in the Canons and Constitutions of the Councils, which the Papists themselves do much mislike? But here peradventure one Man will say unto me, We will grant you this in provincial Councils, or Councils of some one Nation, that they may sometimes err, forsomuch as they do not represent the Universal Church; but it is not to be believed, that the General and full Councils have erred at any Time. Here if I had my Books of the Councils, or rather such Notes as I have gathered out of those Books, I could bring something which should serve for this Purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one Place only out of St. *Austin,* which, in my Judgment, may suffice in this Matter instead of many. Who knoweth not *(saith he)* that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the Letters of Bishops may be reproved by others Mens Words, and by Councils, and that the Councils themselves which are gathered by Provinces and Countries, do give Place to the Authority of the general and full Councils; and that the former and general Councils are amended by the latter, when as by some Experience of Things, either what was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known. Thus much out of St. *Austin.* But I will plead with our *Antonian* upon Matter confessed. Here with us when as Popery reigned, I pray you how doth that Book, which was called, The Bishop's Book, made in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, whereof the Bishop of *Winchester* is thought to be either the first Father, or chief Gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the *Florentine* Council, in which was decreed the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome,* and that with the Consent of the Emperor of *Constantinople,* and of the *Grecians*? So that in those Days our learned ancient Fathers and Bishops of *England* did not stick to affirm, that a general Council might err. But methinks I hear another Man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called Councils, are not worthy to be called Councils, but rather Assemblies and Conventicles of Hereticks. I pray you, Sir, why do you judge them worthy of so scandalous a Name? Because *(saith he)* they decreed Things heretical, contrary to sound Doctrine and true Godliness, and against the Faith of christian Religion. The Cause is weighty, for which they ought of Right so to be called. But if it be so that all Councils ought to be despised, which decree any Thing contrary to sound Doctrine, and the true Word, which is according to Godliness, forsomuch as the Mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the Word of God; forsooth, it must of Necessity follow, that all such Councils, as have approved such Masses, ought of right to be shunn'd and despised, as Conventicles and Assemblies that stray from the Truth.

Soc. eccles. hist. lib. 2. cap. 24, 32. Theo. lib 5. cap. 34. Objection. Answer. *Lib. 2. de baptis. cont. Don. c. 3.* The Bishop's Book.

The Bishop of *Rome's* Authority. Another Man alledgeth unto me the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome,* without which neither can the Councils *(saith he)* be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any Thing concerning Religion. But this Objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless Maintenance of the *Romish* Tyranny and usurped Dominion over the Clergy; which Tyranny we *English* Men long ago, by the Consent of the whole

Realm, have expulſed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little Book ſet forth of both the Powers, doth clearly ſhew. I grant that the *Romiſh* Ambition hath gone about to challenge to itſelf, and to uſurp ſuch a Privilege of old Time. But the Council of *Carthage*, in the Year of our Lord 457, did openly withſtand it, and alſo the Council at *Milevite*, in which St. *Auſtin* was preſent, did prohibit any Appellations to be made to Biſhops beyond the Sea.

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 22.

The 11th Objection of the *Antonian.*

St. *Auſtin* ſaith, the good Men are not to be forſaken for the Evil, but the Evil are to be born withal for the Good. Ye will not ſay (I ſuppoſe) that in our Congregations all be Evil.

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

I ſpeak nothing of the Goodneſs or Badneſs of your Congregations; but I fight in Chriſt's Quarrel againſt the Maſs, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the Ordinance of Chriſt. Let that be taken quite away, and then the Partition of the Wall that made the Striſe ſhall be broken down. Now to the Place of St. *Auſtin*, For bearing with the Evil for the Good's ſake, there ought to be added other Words, which the ſame Writer hath expreſſed in other Places; that is, if thoſe evil Men do caſt abroad no Seeds of falſe Doctrine, nor lead others to Deſtruction by their Example.

Aug. lib. 3. cont. literas Param. cap. 23.

The 12th Objection of the *Antonian.*

It is perillous to attempt any new Thing in the Church, which lacketh Example of good Men. How much more perillous is it to commit any Act, unto which the Example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are contrary? But unto this your Fact, in abſtaining from the Church by reaſon of the Maſs, the Example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are clean contrary: Therefore *&c.* The firſt Part of the Argument is evident, and the ſecond Part I prove thus. In the Times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, all Things were moſt corrupt. The People were miſerably given to Superſtition, the Prieſts deſpiſed the Law of God; and yet notwithſtanding we read not that the Prophets made any Schiſms or Diviſions; and Chriſt himſelf haunted the Temple, and taught in the Temple of the *Jews*. *Peter* and *John* went up into the Temple at the Ninth Hour of Prayer; *Paul* after the reading of the Law, being deſired to ſay ſomething to the People, did not refuſe to do it. Yea further, no Man can ſhew, that either the Prophets, or Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, did refuſe to pray together with others, to ſacrifice, or to be Partakers of the Sacrament of *Moſes* Law.

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer.

I grant the former Part of your Argument; and to the ſecond Part I ſay, that although it contain many true Things, as of the corrupt State in the Times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, and of the Temple being frequented by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding the ſecond Part of your Argument is not ſufficiently proved. For ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, either Chriſt or his Apoſtles did in the Temple communicate with the People in any Kind of worſhipping which is forbidden by the Law of God, or repugnant to the Word of God. But that can no where be ſhewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refuſed to go to it, and to pray with the People, to hear the Word of God, and to do all other Things whatſoever may agree with the Word of God. St. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of the Ceremonies of the *Jews* (I ſuppoſe in the Epiſtle *ad Januarium*) although he grants they grievouſly oppreſſed that People, both for the Number and Bondage of the ſame, yet he calleth them Burdens of the Law, which were delivered unto them in the Word of God, not Preſumptions of Men, which notwithſtanding if they were not contrary to God's Word, might in ſome Meaſure be born withal. But now, ſeeing they are contrary to ſuch Things as are written in the Word of God, whether they ought to be born by any Chriſtian or no, let him judge who is ſpiritual, who feareth God more than Man, and loveth everlaſting Life more than this ſhort and tranſitory Life. To that which was ſaid, that my Fact lacketh Example of the godly Fathers that have gone before, the contrary is moſt evident in the Hiſtory of *Toby*: Of whom it is ſaid, that when all others went to the golden Calves, which *Jeroboam* the King of *Iſrael* had made, he himſelf alone fled from their Company, and got him to *Jeruſalem* unto the Temple of the Lord, and there worſhipped the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Did not the Man of God threaten grievous Plagues both unto the Prieſts of *Bethel*, and to the Altar which *Jeroboam* had there made after his own fantaſy? Which Plagues King *Joſias* the true Miniſter of God, did execute at the Time appointed. And where do we read, that the Prophets or the Apoſtles did agree with the People in their Idolatry, when as the People went a Whoring with their Hill-altars? For what Cauſe, I pray you, did the Prophets rebuke the People ſo much, as for their falſe worſhipping of God after their own Minds, and not after God's Word? For what was ſo much as that was? Wherefore the falſe Prophets ceaſed not to malign the true Prophets of God: Therefore they beat them, they baniſhed them, *&c.* How elſe, I pray you, can you underſtand what St. *Paul* alledgeth, when he ſaith, What Concord hath Chriſt with *Belial?* or what part hath the Believer with the Infidel? or how agreeth the Temple of God with Images? for ye are the Temple of the living God, as God himſelf hath ſaid; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my People. Wherefore, come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves from them (ſaith the Lord) and touch no unclean Thing; ſo will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord God Almighty.

Anno 1555.

1 *Kings* 13.

2 *Kings* 13.

Jerem. 20. *Heb.* 11.

2 *Cor.* 6.

Judith that holy Woman, would not ſuffer herſelf to be defiled with the Meats of the Wicked. All the Saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any Thing which they knew to be contrary to God's Laws, have choſe to die rather than to forſake the Laws of their God. Wherefore the *Macchabees* put themſelves in danger of Death for the Defence of the Law, and at length died manfully in the Defence of the ſame. If we do praiſe (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) the *Macchabees*, and that with great Admiration, becauſe they did ſtoutly ſtand even unto Death, for the Law of their Country; how much more ought we to ſuffer all Things for our Baptiſm, for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, *&c.* But the Supper of the Lord, ſuch a one (I mean) as Chriſt commandeth

Cont. epiſt. Gauden in cap. 22.

Anno 1555. mandeth us to celebrate, the Maſs utterly aboliſheth, and corrupteth moſt ſhamefully.

Mr. *Latimer.* Who am I that I ſhould add any Thing to this which you have ſpoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchſafed to miniſter ſo plentiful Armour to me, being otherwiſe altogether unarmed, ſaving that he cannot be left deſtitute of Help, who rightly truſteth in the Help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Teſtament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an Helper unto me in time of Need.

The 13th Objection of the *Antonian.* Seeing you are ſo obſtinately ſet againſt the Maſs, that you affirm, becauſe it is done in a Tongue not underſtood of the People, and for other Cauſes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true Sacrament ordained of Chriſt? I begin to ſuſpect you, that you think not catholickly of Baptiſm alſo. Is our Baptiſm, which we do uſe in a Tongue unknown unto the People, the true Baptiſm of Chriſt, or no? If it be, then the ſtrange Tongue doth not hurt the Maſs. If it be not the Baptiſm of Chriſt, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether will ye (as the Anabaptiſts do) that all which were baptized in *Latin*, ſhould be baptized again in the *Engliſh* Tongue?

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer. Although I would wiſh Baptiſm to be given in the vulgar Tongue for the Peoples ſake which are preſent, that they may the better underſtand their own Profeſſion, and alſo be more able to teach their Children the ſame, yet notwithſtanding there is not like Neceſſity of the vulgar Tongue in Baptiſm, as in the Lord's Supper. Baptiſm is given to Children, who by reaſon of their Age are not able to underſtand what is ſpoken unto them, what Tongue ſoever it be. The Lord's Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are at Years of Maturity. Moreover, in Baptiſm, which is accuſtomed to be given to Children in the *Latin* Tongue, all the ſubſtantial Points (as a Man would ſay) which Chriſt commanded to be done, are obſerved. And therefore I judge that Baptiſm to be a perfect and true Baptiſm; and that it is not only not needful, but alſo not lawful for any Man ſo baptized, to be chriſten'd again. But yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be taught the Catechiſm of the chriſtian Faith, when they ſhall come to Years of Diſcretion; which Catechiſm whoſoever deſpiſeth, or will not deſirouſly embrace and willingly learn, in my Judgment he playeth not the Part of a chriſtian Man. But in the Popiſh Maſs are wanting certain Subſtantials, that is to ſay, Things commanded by the Word of God to be obſerved in the Miniſtration of the Lord's Supper; of which there is ſufficient Declaration made before.

Mr. *Latimer.* Where you ſay (I would wiſh) ſurely I would wiſh that you had ſpoken more vehemently, and to have ſaid, It is of Neceſſity, that all Things in the Congregation ſhould be done in the vulgar Tongue, for the Edifying and Comfort of them that are preſent, notwithſtanding that the Child itſelf is ſufficiently baptiſed in the *Latin* Tongue.

The 14th Objection of the *Antonian.* Foraſmuch as I perceive you are ſo ſtiffly, I will not ſay obſtinately bent, and ſo wedded to your Opinion, that no gentle Exhortations, no wholeſome Counſels, no other Kind of Means can call you Home ro a better Mind, there remaineth that which in like Caſes was wont to be the only Remedy againſt ſtiff-necked and ſtubborn Perſons, that is, you muſt be hampered by the Laws, and be compelled to obey whether ye will or no, or elſe to ſuffer that which a Rebel to the Laws ought to ſuffer. Do you not know that whoſoever refuſeth to obey the Laws of the Realm, he bewrayeth himſelf to be an Enemy to his Country? Do not you know that this is the readieſt Way to ſtir up Seditson and civil War? It is better that you ſhould bear your own Sin, than that through the Example of your Breach of the common Laws, the common Quiet ſhould be diſturbed. How can you ſay, you will be the Queen's true Subject, when as you do openly profeſs that you will not keep her Laws?

Dr. *Ridley's* Anſwer. O heavenly Father, the Father of all Wiſdom, Underſtanding, and true Strength, I beſeech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, look mercifully upon me wretched Creature, and ſend thy Holy Spirit into my Breaſt, that not only I may underſtand according to thy Wiſdom, how this peſtilent and deadly Dart is to be born off, and with what Anſwer it is to be beaten back, but alſo when I muſt join to fight in the Field for the Glory of thy Name, that then I being ſtrengthened with the Defence of thy right Hand, may manfully ſtand in the Confeſſion of thy Faith, and of thy Truth, and continue in the ſame unto the End of my Life, through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Now to the Objection. I grant it to be reaſonable, that he which by Words and Gentleneſs cannot be made to yield to that that is right and good, ſhould be bridled by the ſtrait Correction of the Laws: That is to ſay, He that will not be ſubject to God's Word, muſt be puniſhed by the Laws. It is true that is commonly ſaid, He that will not obey the Goſpel, muſt be tamed and taught by the Rigour of the Law. But theſe Things ought to take place againſt him which refuſeth to do that is right and juſt according to true Godlineſs, not againſt him which cannot quietly bear Superſtitions, but doth hate and deteſt from his Heart ſuch kind of Proceedings, and that for the Glory of the Name of God. To that which ye ſay, a Tranſgreſſor of the common Laws bewrayeth himſelf to be an Enemy of his Country, ſurely a Man ought to look unto the Nature of the Laws, what manner of Laws they be which are broken. For a faithful Chriſtian ought not to think alike of all manner of Laws. But that Saying ought only truly to be underſtood of ſuch Laws as are not contrary to God's Word. Otherwiſe, whoſoever love their Country in Truth (that is to ſay, in God) they will always judge, if at any Time the Laws of God and Man be the one contrary to the other, that a Man ought rather to obey God than Man. And they that think otherwiſe, and pretend a Love to that Country foraſmuch as they make their Country to fight as it were againſt God, in whom conſiſteth the only Stay of their Country, ſurely, I do think that ſuch are to be judged moſt deadly Enemies, and Traitors to their Country. For they that fight againſt God which is the Safety of their Country, what do they elſe but go about to bring upon their Country a preſent Ruin and Deſtruction? But they that do ſo are worthy to be judged Enemies to their Country, and Betrayers of the Realm. Therefore, *&c.*

But this is the readieſt Way (ye ſay) to ſtir

ſtir up Sedition, to trouble the Quiet of the Commonwealth; therefore are theſe Things to be repreſſed in Time by force of Laws. Behold, Satan doth not ceaſe to practiſe his old Guiles, and accuſtomed Subtleties. He hath ever this Dart in a Readineſs to hurl againſt his Adverſaries, to accuſe them of Sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher Powers. For ſo hath he by his Miniſter always charged the Prophets of God. *Ahab* ſaid unto *Elias*, *Art thou he that troubleth* Iſrael. The falſe Prophets alſo complained to their Prince, of *Jeremy*, that his Words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered: Did not the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* falſly accuſe Chriſt as a ſeditious Perſon, and one that ſpake againſt *Cæſar*? Did they not at the laſt Cry, *If thou let this Man go, thou art not* Cæſar's Friend? The Orator, *Tertullus*, how doth he accuſe *Paul* before *Felix* the high Deputy? *We have found this Man*, ſaith he, *a Peſtilent Fellow, and a Stirrer of Sedition, unto all the* Jews *in the whole World*, &c. But, I pray you, where theſe Men, as they were called, ſeditious Perſons? Chriſt, *Paul* and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were by falſe Men falſely accuſed. And for what, I pray you? but becauſe they reproved before the People their Guiles, Superſtition and Deceit. And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the Way, they accuſed them as ſeditious Perſons, and Troublers of the Commonwealth, that being by this Means made hateful to the People and Princes, they might the more eaſily be ſnatched up to be tormented, and put to Death. But how far they were from all Sedition, their whole Doctrine, Life, and Converſation doth well declare. For that which was objected laſt of all, that he cannot be a faithful Subject to his Prince, who profeſſeth openly that he will not obſerve the Laws which the Prince hath made; here I would wiſh that I might have an impartial Judge, and one that feareth God, to whoſe Judgment in this Cauſe, I promiſe I will ſtand. I anſwer therefore, A Man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never againſt the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince againſt God, doth not a Duty to the Prince, but is a Deceiver of the Prince, and an Helper unto him to work his own Deſtruction. He is alſo unjuſt, who giveth not to the Prince that which is the Prince's, and to God that which is God's. Here cometh to my Remembrance that notable Saying of *Valentinian* the Emperor for chuſing the Biſhop of *Milan*. Set him *(ſaith he)* in the Biſhop's Seat, to whom if we (as Man) do offend at any Time, we may ſubmit ourſelves. *Polycarp* the moſt conſtant Martyr, when he ſtood before the Chief Rulers, and was commanded to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſwear by the Fortune of *Cæſar*, &c. he anſwered with a mild Spirit; We are taught *(ſaith he)* to give Honour unto Princes: And thoſe Powers which be of God; but ſuch Honour as is not contrary to God's Religion.

Satan and his Miniſters do always charge the godly with Sedition.

Theod. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 4. *c.* 5. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *c.* 4. *Niceph. l.* 3. *c.* 35.

Hitherto ye ſee (good Father) how I have in Words only made as it were a Flouriſh before the Fight, which I ſhortly look for, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of Weapons to fight againſt the Adverſary of Chriſt, and to muſe with myſelf how the Darts of the old Enemy may be born off, and after what manner I may ſmite him again with the Sword of the Spirit. I learn alſo hereby to accuſtom myſelf to Armour, and to try how I can go armed. In *Tindal* where I was born, not far from the Borders of *Scotland*, I have known my Countrymen to watch Night and Day in their Harneſs, ſuch as they had, and their Spears in their Hands, eſpecially when they had any private Warning of the coming of the *Scots*. And ſo doing, although at every ſuch bickering ſome of them ſpent their Lives, yet by ſuch Means, like valiant Men, they defended their Country. And thoſe that ſo died, I think that before God they died in a good Quarrel, and their Off-ſpring and Progeny all the Country loved them the better for their Fathers ſake. And in the Quarrel of Chriſt our Saviour, in the Defence of his own divine Ordinances, by which he giveth unto us Life and Immortality, yea, in the Quarrel of Faith and the Chriſtian Religion, wherein reſteth our everlaſting Salvation, ſhall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? Always looking when our Adverſary (which like a roaring Lion ſeeketh whom he may devour) ſhall come upon us by reaſon of our Slothfulneſs? Yea, and wo be unto us, if he can oppreſs us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us ſleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good Man of the Houſe knew at what Hour the Thief would come, he would ſurely watch, and not ſuffer his Houſe to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I ſay: Let us not ſuffer our Houſe to be broken up. Reſiſt the Devil, ſaith St. *James*, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore reſiſt him manfully, and taking the Croſs upon our Shoulders, let us follow our Captain Chriſt, who by his own Blood hath dedicated and hallowed the Way which leadeth unto the Father, that is to the Light which no Man can attain, the Fountain of the everlaſting Joys. Let us follow, I ſay, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that after theſe Afflictions, which laſt but for a Moment, whereby he trieth our Faith, as Gold by the Fire, we may everlaſtingly Reign and Triumph with him in the Glory of the Father, and that through the ſame our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory now and for ever, *Amen*, *Amen*.

Anno 1555.

Good Father, forſomuch as I have determined with myſelf, to pour forth theſe my Cogitations into your Boſom, here, methinks, I ſee you ſuddenly lifting up your Head towards Heaven, after your Manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical Countenance, and ſpeaking to me, with theſe or ſuch like Words, Truſt not, my Son (I beſeech you vouchſafe me the Honour of this Name; for in ſo doing I ſhall think myſelf both honoured and beloved of you). Truſt not, I ſay, my Son, to theſe Word-weapons; for the Kingdom of God is not in Words, but in Power. And remember always the Words of the Lord. *Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in that ſame Hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you.* I pray you therefore, Father, pray for me, that I may caſt my whole Care upon him, and truſt upon him in all Perils. For I know, and am ſurely perſwaded, that whatſoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he aſſiſt me with his Spirit when the Time is. I beſeech you therefore, Father, pray for me, that

Matt. 10. *Mark* 12.

Anno 1555. that ſuch a complete Harneſs of the Spirit, ſuch a Boldneſs of Mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true Faith ſay with *David*; *I will not truſt in my Bow, and it is not my Sword that ſhall ſave me. For he hath no Pleaſure in the Strength of an Horſe*, &c. *but the Lord's Delight is in them that fear him, and put their Truſt in his Mercy.* I beſeech you pray, pray, that I may enter this Fight only in the Name of God, and that when all is paſt, I being not overcome through his gracious Aid, may remain and ſtand faſt in him, till that Day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the Victory ſhall be given the lively Manna to eat, and a triumphant Crown for evermore.

Pſal. 44. *Pſal.* 147.

Now farther, I pray you help me to buckle on this Harneſs a little better. For ye know the Deepneſs of Satan, being an old Soldier, and you have collared with him e're now: Bleſſed be God, that hath ever aided you ſo well. I ſuppoſe he may well hold you at the Bay. But truly he will not be ſo willing (I think) to join with you as with us Youngſters: Sir, I beſeech you, let your Servant read this my babling unto you, and now and then, as it ſhall ſeem unto you beſt, let your Pen run on my Book; ſpare not to blot my Paper: I give you good Leave.

Mr. *Latimer.* Sir, I have cauſed my Man not only to read your Armour unto me, but alſo to write it out; for it is not only no bare Armour, but alſo well buckled Armour. I ſee not how it could be better. I thank you even from the Bottom of my Heart for it, and my Prayers you ſhall not lack, truſting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the Help, &c. many Things make Confuſion in Memory. And if I were learned as well as St. *Paul*, I would not beſtow much amongſt them, further than to gall them, and ſpur-gall too, when and whereas Occaſion were given, and Matter came to Mind; for the Law ſhall be their Sheet-anchor, Stay, and Refuge. Therefore there is no Remedy, namely, now when they have the maſter Bowl in their Hand, and rule the Roaſt, but Patience. Better it is to ſuffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high Indignation. Wherefore (my good Lord) be of good Cheer in the Lord, with due Conſideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promiſe you. Our common Enemy ſhall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our Strength, &c. Be at a Point what ye will ſtand unto; ſtick unto that, and let them both ſay and do what they liſt. They can but kill the Body, which otherwiſe is of itſelf mortal. Neither yet ſhall they do that when they liſt, but as God will ſuffer them, when the Hour appointed is come. It will be but in vain to uſe many Words with them, now they have a bloody and deadly Law prepared for them. But it is very requiſite that ye give a reaſonable Account of your Faith, if they will quietly hear you; elſe, ye know, in a wicked Place of Judgment a Man may keep Silence, after the Example of Chriſt. Let them not deceive you with their ſophiſtical Sophiſms and Fallacies: You know that falſe Things may have more Appearance of Truth, than Things that be moſt true: Therefore St. *Paul* giveth us a Watch-word, Let no Man deceive you with Likelineſs of Speech. Neither is it requiſite that with the Contentious ye ſhould follow Striſe of Words, which tend to no Edification, but to the Subverſion of the Hearers, and the vain Bragging and Oſtentation of the Adverſaries. Fear of Death doth moſt perſwade a great Number. Be well aware of that Argument; for that perſuaded *Shaxton* (as many Men thought) after that he had once made a good Profeſſion openly before the Judgment-ſeat. The Fleſh is weak, but the Willingneſs of the Spirit ſhall refreſh the Weakneſs of the Fleſh.

Coloſ. 2.

The Number of the Criers under the Altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſeparated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greateſt Promotion that God giveth in this World, to be ſuch *Philippians*, to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer, &c. But who is able to do theſe Things? ſurely all our Ability, all our Sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiſeth. Let us declare our Obedience to his Will when it ſhall be requiſite in the Time of Trouble, yea, in the midſt of the Fire.

Rev. 6. *Phil.* 1.

When that Number is fulfilled; which I ſuppoſe will be ſhortly, then have-at the Papiſts, when they ſhall ſay Peace, all Things are ſafe, when Chriſt ſhall come to keep his great Parliament to redreſs all Things that are amiſs. But he ſhall not come as the Papiſts feign him, to hide himſelf, and to play Bo-peep as it were under a Piece of Bread: But he ſhall come glorioufly, to the Terror and Fear of all Papiſts, but to the great Conſolation and Comfort of all that will here ſuffer for him. Comfort yourſelves and one another with theſe Words.

Lo Sir, here have I blotted your Paper vainly, and played the Fool egregiouſly; but ſo I thought better than not to do your Requeſt at this Time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me I ſay, pray for me I ſay. For I am ſometimes ſo fearful, that I would creep into a Mouſe-hole; ſometimes God doth viſit me again with his Comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine Infirmity, to the Intent to give Thanks to him that is worthy, leſt I ſhould rob him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the World. Fare ye well.

What Belief is to be given to Papiſts, may appear by their Wracking, Writing, Wrinching, and monſtrouſly Injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Pope's Law. But I dwell here now in a School of Obliviouſneſs. Fare you well once again, and be you ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in the Lord. *Paul* loved *Timothy* marvellous well, notwithſtanding he ſaith unto him, *Be thou Partaker of the Afflictions of the Goſpel*; and again, *Harden thyſelf to ſuffer Afflictions. Be faithful unto Death and I will give thee a Crown of Life*, ſaith the Lord.

1 *Cor.* 15. 2 *Tim.* 1. *Rev.* 2.

A Letter ſent from Biſhop *Ridley* and his Fellow-Priſoners, to Mr. *Bradford* and his Fellow-Priſoners in the King's-Bench in *Southwark*, Anno 1554.

WELL beloved in Chriſt our Savicur, we all with one Heart wiſh to you, with all thoſe that love God in Deed and Truth, Grace and Health, and eſpecially to our dearly beloved Companions which are in Chriſt's Cauſe, and the Cauſe both of their Brethren and of their own Salvation, to put their

Neck willingly under the Yoke of Christ's Cross. How joyful it was to us to hear the Report of Dr. Taylor, *and of his godly Confession*, &c. *I assure you it is hard for me to express.*

False Reports spread by the Policy of the Papists.

Blessed be God, which was and is the Giver of that, and of all godly Strength and Support in the Time of Adversity. As for the Rumours that have or do go Abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust, that they which know God and their Duty towards their Brethren in Christ, will not be too light of belief. For it is not the Slanderer's evil Tongue, but a Man's evil Deed that can with God defile a Man; and therefore with God's Grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's Grace continue, &c. *Like Rumours as ye have heard of our coming to* London, *hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned Men Prisoners, hither from* London; *but as yet we know no Certainty which of these Rumours is, or shall be more true. Know ye that we have you in our daily Remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our aforesaid Companions well in Christ.*

It would much comfort us, if we might have Knowledge of the State of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome Time do stand in Christ's Cause, and in the Defence of the Truth thereof. We have heard somewhat of Mr. Hooper's *Matter, but nothing of the rest. We long to hear of Father* Crome, *Dr.* Sands, *Mr.* Saunders, Veron, Beacon, * Rogers, *&c. We are in good Health, thanks be to God, and yet the Manner of using us doth change as sour Ale in Summer. It is reported to us by our Keepers, that the University beareth us heavily. A Coal happened to fall in the Night out of the Chimney, and burnt a Hole in the Floor, and no more harm was done, the Bailiff's Servant sitting by the Fire. Another Night there chanced (as Mr. Bailiffs told us) a drunken Fellow to multiply Words, and for the same he was set in* Borcado. *Upon these Things as is reported, there is a Rumour risen in the Town and Country about, that we would have broke the Prison with such Violence, as that if Mr. Bailiffs had not played the pretty Men, we should have made an Escape. We had out of our Prison a Wall that we might have walked upon, and our Servants had Liberty to go abroad in the Town or Fields, but now both they and we are restrained of both.*

* This Letter seemeth to be written a little before, or about the Time of the Burning of Mr. *Rogers.*

My Lord of Worcester *passed through* Oxford, *but he did not visit us. The same Day our Restraint began to be more close, and the Book of the Communion was taken from us by the Bailiffs at the Mayor's Commandment, as the Bailiffs did report to us. No Man is licensed to come unto us; before they might, that would see us upon the Wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained*, &c. *Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil Reports, Grudges and Restraints, we are merry in God, all our Care is and shall be (by God's Grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary Miseries, to have eternal Joy and perpetual Felicity with* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, Peter *and* Paul, *and all the heavenly Company of the Angels in Heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there has no learned Man, nor any Scholar, been to visit us since we came into* Bocardo, *which now in* Oxford *may be called a College of* Quondams. *For as ye know we are no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his Portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good and gracious Gift. Thus fare you well. We shall by God's Grace one Day meet together, and be merry. The Day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that Day come, I fear the World will wax worse and worse. But then all our Enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot; Righteousness and Truth then shall have the Victory; and bear the Bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be Partakers, and all that love truly the Truth.*

Bp. *Ridley* and his Fellow-prisoners in *Bocardo*, restrained of their Liberty.

Anno 1555.

We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our Commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you when we were in the Tower, with their friendly Remembrances and Benefits. Mrs. Wilkson *and Mrs.* Warcup *have not forgotten us, but ever since we came to* Bocardo, *with their charitable and friendly Benevolence have comforted us: Not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he hath always hitherto sufficiently provided for us) but that is a great Comfort, and an Occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.*

Mrs. *Wilkson* and Mrs. *Warcup* help the Bishops in Prison.

Yours in Christ,

NICH. RIDLEY.

Another Letter from Bishop *Ridley* to Mr. *Bradford.*

This Letter was written to Mr. *Bradford* soon after his Condemnation, when it was thought that he would be carried to *Lancashire* to suffer.

O *Dear Brother, seeing the Time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour's sake to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's Calling.* Well done good and faithful Servant, because thou hast been faithful in small Matters, he shall set thee over great Things, and thou shalt enter into the Joy of thy Lord.

O dear Brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native Country? The Wisdom and Policy of the World may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the Matter finally by his fatherly Providence, that some great Occasion of God's gracious Goodness shall be plentifully poured abroad amongst our dear Brethren in that Country by this your Martyrdom, where the Martyrs for Christ's sake shed their Blood, and lost their Lives. O what wondrous Things hath Christ afterwards wrought to his Glory, and Confirmation of their Doctrine? If it be not the Place that sanctifieth the Man, but the holy Man doth by Christ sanctify the Place, Brother Bradford *then happy and holy shall be that Place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy Ashes in Christ's Cause sprinkled over withal. All thy Country may rejoyce of thee, that it ever brought forth such a One, which would render his Life again in his Cause, of whom he had received it. Brother* Bradford, *so long as I shall understand thou art in thy Journey, by God's Grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake to set the safely home: And then good Brother, speak you, and pray for the Remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.*

We do look now every Day when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I think I am the weakest many Ways of our Company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear Brother Rogers *departing, and stout Confession of Christ and his Truth even unto the Death, my Heart (blessed be God) rejoyced for it; that since that Time (I say) I never felt any lumpish Heaviness in my Heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good Brother, blessed be*

God

Anno 1555. *God in thee, and bleſſed be the Time that ever I knew thee. Farewel, farewel.*

Your Brother in Chriſt,

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

The Subſtance of Mr. *Grindal*'s Letter to Biſhop *Ridley.*

Mr. *Grindal* (afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) being in the Time of Exile in the City of *Frankfort*, wrote to Dr. *Ridley* then Priſoner, a certain Epiſtle, wherein firſt he lamenteth his Captivity, exhorting him withal to be conſtant. *Secondly*, He certifieth him of the State of the *Engliſh* Exiles being diſperſed in *Germany*, and of the ſingular Providence of God in ſtirring up the Magiſtrates and Rulers there towards them. *Thirdly*, he writeth to know his Mind and Will concerning the Printing of his Book againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of certain other Treatiſes and his Diſputations. Whereunto Biſhop *Ridley* anſwereth again in Order as followeth.

Dr. *Ridley*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Grindal*'s Letter.

BLeſſed be God our heavenly Father which inclined your Heart to have ſuch a Deſire to write unto me, and bleſſed be he again which hath heard your Requeſt, and brought your Letters ſafe unto my Hands; and over all this I bleſs him through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the great Comfort I received by the ſame, of the Knowledge of your State, and of other our dearly beloved Brethren and Countrymen in thoſe Parts beyond the Sea.

Dearly beloved Brother Grindal, *I ſay to you and all the reſt of our Brethren in Chriſt with you, rejoyce in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my Reverend Fathers and Fellow-priſoners, (which undoubtedly are* Gloria Chriſti) *lament not our State, but I beſeech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his boundleſs Mercies and unſpeakable Benefits, even in the midſt of all our Troubles given unto us, moſt hearty Thanks. For know ye, that as the Weight of his Croſs hath increaſed upon us, ſo he hath not, nor doth not ceaſe to multiply his Mercies to ſtrengthen us; and I truſt, yet by his Grace I doubt nothing, but he will do ſo for Chriſt our Maſter's ſake, even to the End. To hear that you and our other Brethren do find Favour and Grace in your Exile, with the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Citizens at* Tigury, Frankfort, *and other Places, it doth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that do love Chriſt and his true Word. I do aſſure you it warmed my Heart, to hear you by Chance name ſome, as* Scory, Cox, *&c. O that it had come in your Mind to have ſaid ſomewhat alſo of* Cheek, Turner, Leaver, Sampſon, *and* Chambers, *but I truſt in God they be all well. And, Sir, ſeeing you ſay, that there be in thoſe Parts with you of Students and Miniſters ſo good a Number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwiſe than to wiſh that God's Glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call us Home (as we look daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come) you, bleſſed be God, are enow through his Aid, to light, and ſet up again the Lanthorn of his Word in* England. *As concerning the Copies ye ſay ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did or could find the Way to come to you. My Diſputation, except ye have that which I gathered myſelf after the Diſputation was done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole Manner after which I was uſed in the Diſputation.*

As for the Treatiſe in Engliſh *againſt Tranſubſtantiation, I can't think it worth tranſlating into* Latin, *nor would I have you tranſlate any other of my Writings, 'till you are certain how the Lord will diſpoſe of me. And thus much concerning your Letters. Now, although I ſuppoſe you know a good Part of our Condition here, (for we are forth-coming, even as when ye departed, &c.) you ſhall underſtand that I was in the Tower about the Space of two Months cloſe Priſoner, and after that had granted to me, without my Labour, the Liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about half a Year, and then, becauſe I refuſed to allow the Maſs with my Preſence, I was ſhut up in Priſon again.*

Bp. *Ridley* Priſoner in the Tower above half a Year.

The laſt Lent ſave one, it chanced by reaſon of the Tumult ſtirred up in Kent, *there were ſo many Priſoners in the Tower, that my Lord of* Canterbury, *Mr.* Latimer, *and Mr.* Bradford *and I were put all together in one Priſon, where we remained 'till almoſt the next* Eaſter, *and then we three,* Canterbury, Latimer *and I, were ſuddenly ſent a little before* Eaſter *to* Oxford, *and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About the* Whitſuntide *following was our Diſputations at* Oxford, *after which all was taken from us, as Pen, Ink, &c. Our own Servants were taken from us before, and every one had a ſtrange Man put to him, and each of us were appointed to be kept in ſeparate Places, as we are unto this Day.*

Bleſſed be God, we three at the Writing hereof were in good Health, and (in God) of good Chear. We expected long ago to have been diſpatched, for we were all three on one Day condemned as Hereticks by Dr. Weſton *(he being the head Commiſſioner) within a Day or two of our Diſputations, and ever ſince we remain as we were by him left. The Lord's Will be fulfilled in us, as, I doubt not but by his Grace it ſhall be to his Glory, and our eternal Salvation through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

Likewiſe the Lord hath hitherto preſerved above all our Expectation, our dear Brother, and in Chriſt's Cauſe, a ſtrong Champion, John Bradford. *He is alſo condemned, and is already deliver'd to the Secular Power, and Writs (as we have heard ſay) given out for his Execution, and called in again.*

Writs for burning of *J. Bradford* called in again.

Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed Pleaſure is, preſerveth whom he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderful raging of the World. Many (as we hear ſay) have valiantly ſuffered confeſſing Chriſt's Truth, and nothing yielding to the Adverſary, yea, not for the Fear or Pains of Death.

The Names of them which I knew, and have now ſuffered, are theſe; Farrar *Biſhop of* St. David's, Hooper *Biſhop of* Worceſter, Rogers *your Fellow-Prebend, Dr.* Taylor *of* Hadley, *Mr.* Saunders, *and one* Tomkins *a Weaver, and now this laſt Day Mr.* Cardmaker, *with another were burnt in* Smithfield *at* London, *and many others in* Eſſex *and* Kent, *whoſe Names are written in the Book of Life, whom yet I do not know.*

Weſt, *your old Companion, and ſometime my Officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath ſhortened his Days, for ſoon after he died, and is gone.* Grimbold *was caught by the Heel, and caſt into the* Marſhalſea, *but now is at Liberty again, but I fear he eſcaped not without bowing of his Knee to* Baal.

Mr. *Weſt* when he had recanted and ſaid Maſs againſt his Conſcience, ſhortly after pined away, and died for Grief.

My dear Friend Thomas Ridley *of the* Bull-head *in* Cheap, *which was to me the moſt faithful Friend that I had in my Trouble, is departed alſo unto God. My Brother* Shipſide *that hath married my Siſter, hath been almoſt half a Year in Priſon, for delivering (as he was accuſed) of*

Note how *Bonner* here requiteth the Kindneſs of Bp. *Ridley* ſhewed to his Mother.

*certain Things from me; but now, Thanks be to God, he is at Liberty again, but ſo that the Biſhop hath taken from him his * Park.*

Of all us three Priſoners in Oxford, *I am kept moſt ſtrict, and with leaſt Liberty; either becauſe the Man in whoſe Houſe I am a Priſoner is governed by his Wife, who is a moroſe, ſuperſtitious old Woman, and thinks ſhe ſhall merit by having me very cloſely confin'd; for the Man himſelf, whoſe Name is* Iriſh, *is civil enough to all, but too much rul'd by his Wife. Though I never had a Wife, yet from this daily Uſage I begin to underſtand how great and intolerable a Burthen it is to have a bad one. The wiſe Man ſays rightly,* A good Wife is the Gift of God: *And again,* Bleſſed is the Man who has a good Wife. *Or elſe I ſay the Reaſon is (for I know not from which) that he is ſo commanded from the higher Powers, which is what he pleads, when I complain of my hard Uſage.*

All the Statutes of Reformation in *Cambridge* broken, and all Things reduced again into the old State of Popery.

At Cambridge *(as I hear ſay) all the Reformations of Students and Statutes which were lately made, are now undone; and all Things are reduced to their ancient Confuſion and old popiſh Superſtition. All the Heads of Colleges who preached the ſincere Word of God, or favour'd it, are turned out, and others of the popiſh Faction put in their Places; inſomuch that I hear no one can be admitted Fellow of a College, that will not bow the Knee to* Baal. *Nor do I wonder, ſince 'tis ſo throughout the whole Realm of* England *among Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, and the whole Body of the Clergy. And to tell you much naughty Matter in few Words, Popery every where reigns among us in its full and ancient Force.*

The Lord be merciful, and for Chriſt's ſake pardon us our old Unkindneſs and Unthankfulneſs: For when the poured upon us the Gifts of his manifold Graces and Favours, (alas) we did not ſerve him nor render Thanks unto him according to the ſame. We Paſtors many of us were too cold, and bare too much with the wicked World; our Magiſtrates did abuſe, to their own worldly Gain, both God's Goſpel and the Miniſters of the ſame. The People in many Places were unruly and unkind. Thus of every Side and of every Sort we have provok'd God's Anger and Wrath to fall upon us: But bleſſed might he be that hath not ſuffered his to continue in thoſe Ways which ſo wholly hath diſpleaſed his ſacred Majeſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly Correction of his own Son's Croſs, unto his Glory, and our endleſs Salvation through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Biſhop *Ridley*'s Prayer for the Churches Abroad, which openly profeſs the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

My daily Prayer is (as God doth know) and by God's Grace ſhall be ſo as long as I live in this World, for you my dear Brethren that are fled out of your own Country, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly Things than the Truth of God's Word. It is even the ſame that I uſe to make to God, for all thoſe Churches Abroad through the World, which have forſaken the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the Purity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, will daily increaſe in you the gracious Gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true ſetting forth of his Glory and of his Goſpel, and make you to agree brotherly in the Truth of the ſame, that there ariſe no Root of Bitterneſs among you, that may infect that good Seed which God hath ſown in your Hearts already, and finally that your Life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the Rule of God's Word, and according to that Vocation whereunto we are called by the Goſpel of Chriſt our Saviour, that the Honeſty and Purity of the ſame may provoke all that ſhall ſee or know it, to the Love of your Doctrine, and to love you for your Honeſty and Virtue ſake, and ſo both in brotherly Unity of your true Doctrine, and alſo in the godly Virtue of your honeſt Life, to glorify our Father which is in Heaven. Anno 1555. 52

Several of our Magiſtrates, viz. *The Chancellor of* Wincheſter, *Earl of* Arundel, *and Lord* Paget, *are Embaſſadors with Cardinal* Pool *beyond the Seas, to make Peace (as 'tis ſaid) between the Emperor, our Realm, and the King of* France. *After whoſe Return, and the Delivery of the Queen, which we daily expect, and have long expected, and which God for the Glory of his Name grant to be a ſafe and happy one, then ſhall we expect from the old Enemy of our Profeſſion, ſoon to receive triumphant Crowns in the Lord.* Bp. *Ridley* prayeth for Queen Mary.

I humbly with my whole Heart commend myſelf to all your Prayers, and firſt to yours, O moſt dear Brother in Chriſt, and my moſt beloved Grindal, *to yours moſt dear and together with me beloved in the Lord,* Cheek, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampſon, Chambers, *and all our Brethren and Fellow-countrymen who live amongſt you, and love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Truth. I commend alſo to you the reverend Fathers in God, and my Fellow-captives in the Lord,* Thomas Cranmer, *now moſt worthy of the Name of a true great Paſtor and Archbiſhop; and that old Soldier of Chriſt and true Apoſtle of our* Engliſh *Nation,* Hugh Latimer. *I here give myſelf the greater Length in this Letter, moſt dear Brother, becauſe after this I am perſuaded they'll be too ſhort to trouble you.*

Oxford, N. R.

The Life of Biſhop Latimer, *a famous Preacher, and worthy Martyr of Chriſt.*

NOW conſequently after the Life of Biſhop *Ridley*, followeth the Life of that valiant Champion of Chriſt, Biſhop *Hugh Latimer*, who was the Son of one *Hugh Latimer* of *Thirkeſſon* in the County of *Leiceſter*, a Husbandman in good Repute; with whom he was brought up 'till he was about four Years old: At which Time his Parents ſeeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and ſharp Wit, purpoſed to train him up in Erudition, and Knowledge of good Literature; wherein he ſo profited in the common Schools of his own Country, that at fourteen Years of Age he was ſent to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: Where, after ſome Continuance in the Exerciſe of other Things, he gave himſelf up to the Study of ſuch School Divinity, as the Ignorance of that Age would ſuffer. *Hugh Latimer* firſt ſet to School. He is ſent to *Cambridge*.

Zealous he was then in the popiſh Religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupulous, as himſelf confeſſed, that being a Prieſt, and uſing to ſay Maſs, he was ſo ſervile an Obſerver of the *Romiſh* Decrees, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mingled his maſſing Wine with Water; and moreover, that he ſhould never be damned, if he were once a profeſſed Friar, with divers of ſuch ſuperſtitious Fancies. And in this blind Zeal he was a very Enemy, to the Profeſſors of Chriſt's Goſpel; as both his Oration made, when he proceeded Batchelor of Divinity, againſt *Melanchthon*, and alſo his other Works did plainly declare. But eſpecially in thoſe Days his popiſh Zeal could in no Caſe abide good Mr. *Stafford*, Reader of the

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the divinity Lectures in *Cambridge*, moſt ſpitefully railing againſt him, and perſuading the Youth of *Cambridge* in no wiſe to believe him.

Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the Goodneſs and merciful Purpoſe of God, that when he ſaw his good Time, by which way he thought utterly to have defaced the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and true Church of Chriſt, he was at length himſelf by a Member of the ſame prettily caught in the Bleſſed Net of God's Word. For Mr. *Thomas Bilney* being at that Time a Trier out of Satan's Subtilties, and a ſecret Overthrower of Antichriſt's Kingdom, ſeeing Mr. *Latimer* to have a Zeal in his Way (altho' not according to Knowledge) was ſtricken with a brotherly Pity towards him, and began to conſider by what Means he might beſt win this zealous ignorant Brother to the true Knowledge of Chriſt. Wherefore, after a ſhort Time, he came to Mr. *Latimer*'s Study, and deſired him to hear him make his Confeſſion, which he willingly did; and by hearing thereof he was, by the good Spirit of God, ſo touched, that thereupon he forſook the Study of the School-doctors, and other ſuch Fopperies, and became an earneſt Student in true Divinity, as he himſelf, as well in his Conference with Biſhop *Ridley*, as alſo in his firſt Sermon made upon the *Pater Noſter*, doth confeſs. So that whereas before he was an Enemy, and almoſt a Perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zealous Seeker after him, changing his old Manner of caviling and railing, into a diligent Kind of conferring, both with Mr. *Bilney* and others, and came alſo to Mr. *Stafford* before he died, and deſired him to forgive him.

After his own Converſion, he was not ſatisfy'd without endeavouring that of others, and therefore became both a publick Preacher, and alſo a private Inſtructor to the reſt of his Brethren within the Univerſity, by the Space of three Years, ſpending his Time partly in the *Latin* Tongue among the Learned, and partly amongſt the ſimple People in his natural and vulgar Language. Howbeit, as Satan never ſleepeth when he ſeeth his Kingdom to begin to decay, ſo likewiſe now, ſeeing that this worthy Member of Chriſt would be a terrible Shaker thereof, he raiſed up his impious Imps to moleſt and trouble him.

Enemies ſtirred in *Cambridge* againſt Mr. *Latimer.*

Amongſt theſe there was an *Auguſtine* Friar, who took Occaſion upon certain Sermons that Mr. *Latimer* made about *Chriſtmas*, 1529, as well in the Church of St. *Edward*, as alſo in St. *Auguſtine*'s, within the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to inveigh againſt him, for that Mr. *Latimer* in the ſaid Sermons (alluding to the common Uſage of the Seaſon) gave the People certain Cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters of St. *Matthew*, whereupon they might, not only then, but always elſe occupy their Time. For the chief Triumph in the Cards he limited the Heart, as the principal Thing that they ſhould ſerve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary Furtherance of God's Holy Word and Sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wiſhed the Scriptures to be in *Engliſh*, whereby the common People might the better learn their Duty, as well to God as to their Neighbours.

Latimer's preaching of the Cards in *Cambridge.*

The Handling of this Matter was ſo apt for the Time, and ſo pleaſantly apply'd by him, that it not only declared the Wit and Dexterity of the Preacher, but alſo wrought in the Hearers much Fruit, to the Overthrow of popiſh Superſtition, and ſetting up of perfect Religion.

This was upon the *Sunday* before *Chriſtmas* Day; on which Day coming to the Church, and cauſing the Bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, taking for his Text the Words of the Goſpel aforeſaid, read in the Church that Day; *Who art thou?* &c. In delivering which Cards (as is aboveſaid) he made the Heart to be Triumph, exhorting and inviting all Men thereby to ſerve the Lord with inward Heart and true Affection, and not with outward Ceremonies: Adding moreover to the Praiſe of that Triumph, that tho' it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt Court-card beſide in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubs, *&c.* meaning thereby how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in Simplicity of Heart and Verity, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religion, and not in the outward Deeds of the Letter only, or in the glittering Shew of Man's Traditions, or Pardons, Pilgrimages, Ceremonies, Vows, Devotions, voluntary Works, and Works of Supererogation, Foundations, Oblations, the Pope's Supremacy, *&c.* ſo that all theſe either were needleſs, where the other is preſent; or elſe were of ſmall Eſtimation, in Compariſon of the other.

The Difference between true and falſe.

It would require a long Diſcourſe to declare what a ſtir there was in *Cambridge* upon this Preaching of Mr. *Latimer*. Belike Satan began to feel himſelf and his Kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it Time to look about him, and to make out his Men of Arms.

Dr. *Buckneham* preacheth againſt Mr. *Latimer.*

Firſt came out the Prior of the *Black Friars* called *Buckneham*, who thinking to make a great Hand againſt Mr. *Latimer*, about the ſame Time of *Chriſtmas*, when Mr. *Latimer* brought forth his Cards to deface belike the Doings of the other, brought out his *Chriſtmas* Dice, caſting there to his Audience Cinque and Quater, meaning by the Cinque five Places in the New Teſtament, and the Four Doctors by the Quater; by which his Cinque Quater, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in *Engliſh*, leſt the Ignorant and Vulgar Sort through the Occaſion thereof, might aptly be brought in danger to leave their Vocation, or elſe to run into ſome Inconvenience: As for Example.

Note theſe great Reaſons of the Catholicks why the Scriptures ſhould not come in *Engliſh.*

The Plowman when he heareth this in the Goſpel, *No Man that layeth his Hand on the Plough and looketh back, is meet for the Kingdom of God*; might peradventure hearing this, ceaſe from his Plough. Likewiſe the Baker, when he hears that a little Leaven corrupteth a whole Lump of Dough, may perchance leave our Bread unleavened, and ſo our Bodies ſhall be unſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple Man, when he heareth in the Goſpel, *If thine Eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee*, may make himſelf blind, and ſo fill the World with Beggars. Theſe with ſome others this clerkly Friar brought out, to the Number of five, to prove his Purpoſe.

Mr. *Latimer* hearing this Sermon of Dr. *Buckneham*, cometh again in the Afternoon, or ſhortly after to the Church, to anſwer the Friar, where reſorted to him a great Multitude, as well of the Univerſity as of the Town,

both Doctors and other Graduates, with great Expectation to hear what he could ſay: Among whom alſo, directly in the Face of *Latimer*, underneath the Pulpit, ſate *Buckneham* the aforeſaid Friar, Prior of the Black Friars, with his Black Friar's Cowl about his Shoulders.

Anſwer of Mr. *Latimer* to Dr. *Buckneham*'s Sermon.

Then Mr. *Latimer* firſt repeating the Reaſons of Dr. *Buckneham*, whereby he would prove it a dangerous Thing for the vulgar People to have the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, ſo refuted the Friar, ſo anſwered to his Objections, ſo dallied with his bald Reaſon of the Ploughman looking back, and of the Baker leaving his Bread unleavened, that the Vanity of the Friar might to all Men appear, well proving and declaring to the People, that there was no ſuch Fear nor Danger for the Scriptures to be in *Engliſh*, as the Friar pretended; at leaſt requiring this, that the Scripture might be ſo long in the *Engliſh* Tongue, till *Engliſhmen* were ſo mad, that either the Ploughman durſt not look back, or the Baker ſhould leave his Bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his Sermon, he began to diſcourſe of the myſtical Speeches and figurative Phraſes of the Scripture; which Phraſes he ſaid were not ſo diffuſe and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the *Hebrew* Tongue are commonly uſed and unknown; and not only in the *Hebrew* Tongue, but alſo every Speech (ſaith he) hath his like Metaphors and figurative Significations, ſo common and vulgar to all Men, that the very Painters do paint them on Walls and on Houſes.

As for Example (ſaith he, looking toward the Friar that ſate overagainſt him) when they paint a Fox preaching out of a Friar's Cowl, none is ſo mad to take this to be a Fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the Matter; which is to paint out unto us, what Hypocriſy, Crafts, and ſubtle Diſſimulation lieth hid many times in theſe Friars Cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Friar *Buckneham* was ſo daſh'd with this Sermon, that he durſt never after peep out of the Pulpit againſt Mr. *Latimer*.

Another barking Friar againſt Mr. *Latimer*.

Beſides this *Buckneham*, there was alſo another railing Friar, not of the ſame Coat, but of the ſame Note and Faction, a grey Friar and a Doctor, an outlandiſh Man, named Dr. *Venetus*, who likewiſe in his brawling Sermons railed and raged againſt Mr. *Latimer*, calling him a mad and brainleſs Man, and willing the People not to believe him, &c. To whom Mr. *Latimer* anſwering again, taketh for his Ground the Words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Matt.* 5. *Thou ſhalt not kill*, &c. *But I ſay unto you, Whoſoever is angry with his Neighbour ſhall be in Danger of Judgment; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his Neighbour Racha*, (or any other like Words of rebuking) *ſhall be in Danger of Council: and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his Neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in Danger of Hell-fire.*

Mr. *Latimer*'s Anſwer.

In diſcuſſing of which Place, firſt he divideth the Offence of killing into three Branches. One to be with Hand, the other with Heart, the third with Word. With Hand, when we uſe any Weapon drawn, to ſpill the Life of our Neighbour. With Heart, when we be angry with him: With Word, when in Word or Countenance we diſdainfully rebuke our Neighbour, or deſpitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we ſpeak any opprobrious or unſeemly thing, whereby the Patience of our Neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (ſaid he) or brainleſs, or ſuch like, which are guilty of Council: Words of Spite, or Reviling are, when we call him Fool; which Chriſt ſaith is guilty of Hell-fire. Anno 1555.

Thus Mr. *Latimer* in handling and trimming this Matter, after that with the Weight of Chriſt's Words, and the explaining of the ſame, he had ſufficiently born the Friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*. Out of which Chapter he declared to the Audience, how the true Servants and Preachers of God in this World, commonly are ſcorned and reviled by the proud Enemies of God's Word, which account them here as Madmen, Fools, brainleſs and drunken: So did they (ſaid he) in the Scripture call them which moſt purely preached, and ſet forth the Glory of God's Word. But (ſaid he) what will be the End of theſe jolly Fellows, or what will they ſay in the End? We Madmen, we mad Fools, we, we ourſelves, &c. And that will be their End except they repent. And thus ending his Sermon, he ſo confounded the poor Friar, that he drave him not only out of Countenance, but alſo clean out of the Univerſity.

But why ſhould I here ſtand decyphering the Names of his Adverſaries, when whole Swarms of Friars and Doctors flocked againſt him on every Side, almoſt through the whole Univerſity, preaching and likewiſe barking againſt him? Amongſt whom was Dr. *Watſon*, Maſter of *Chriſt's-College*, whoſe Scholar *Latimer* had been before; Dr. *Notaries*, Maſter of *Clare-Hall*; Dr. *Philo*, Maſter of *Michael-Houſe*; Dr. *Metecalfe*, Maſter of *St. John's*; Dr. *Blithe*, of the *King's-Hall*; Dr. *Bullock*, Maſter of the *Queen's-College*; Dr. *Cliffe*, of *Clement-Houſe*; Dr. *Donnes*, of *Jeſus-College*; Dr. *Pſalms*, Maſter of St. *Nicholas Hoſtel*; *Bain*, *Rudd*, and *Greenwood*, Batchelors of Divinity, all three of St. *John's-College*; alſo *Brickenden*, Batchelor of Divinity, of the ſame Houſe, and Scholar ſometime to the ſaid *Latimer*. In ſhort, almoſt as many as were Heads there of Houſes, ſo many Impugners did this worthy Standard-bearer of Chriſt's Goſpel ſuſtain.

Dr. *Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely* forbidding Mr. *Latimer* to preach.

Then came at laſt Dr. *Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*; who preaching againſt Mr. *Latimer* at *Barwell Abbey*, forbad him within the Churches of that Univerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding, ſo the Lord provided, that Dr. *Barnes*, Prior of the *Auguſtine* Friars, did licenſe Mr. *Latimer* to preach in his Church of the *Auguſtines*, and he himſelf preached at the Church by, called St. *Edward*'s Church, which was the firſt Sermon of the Goſpel that Dr. *Barnes* preached, being *Sunday* and *Chriſtmas* Eve. Whereupon certain Articles were gathered out of his Sermon, and were commenced againſt him by Mr. *Tyrell*, Fellow of the *King's-Hall*, and ſo by the Vice-Chancellor preſented to the Cardinal.

This Mr. *Latimer* (as you have heard) being baited by the Friars, Doctors, and Maſters of that Univerſity, about the Year aforeſaid, 1529. notwithſtanding the Malice of theſe malignant Adverſaries, continued yet in *Cambridge* preaching for the Space of three Years together with Favour and Applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch Admiration of his Enemies that heard him, that the Biſhop himſelf coming in, and hearing his Gift, wiſhed himſelf to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the ſame.

So Mr. *Latimer* and Mr. *Bilney* after this

Anno 1555. continued in *Cambridge* for ſome Time, where they ſo frequently conferred together, that the Fields wherein they uſually walked, was for a long Time after called, *The Hereticks Hill.*

The Society of theſe two, as it was much noted by many in that Univerſity, ſo it was full of many good Examples, to all ſuch as would follow them, both in viſiting the Priſoners, relieving the Needy, and in feeding the Hungry. Mr. *Latimer* maketh mention of a certain Hiſtory which happened about this Time in *Cambridge* between them both and a certain Woman then Priſoner in the Caſtle or Tower of *Cambridge*, which I thought here worthy to be mentioned. The Story is this: It ſo happened, that after Mr. *Latimer* had been ſo acquainted with the aforeſaid Mr. *Bilney*, he went with him to viſit the Priſoners in the Tower of *Cambridge*, and being there, among other Priſoners, there was a Woman who was accuſed that ſhe had killed her own Child, which Act ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly deny'd. Whereby it gave them Occaſion to ſearch for the Matter, and at length they found that her Husband loved her not, and therefore ſought all Means he could to make her away. The Matter was thus:

A Story of a certain Woman condemned, who was ſaved by Mr. *Latimer.*

A Child of hers had been ſick a whole Year, and at length died in Harveſt Time, as it were in a Conſumption: Which when it was gone, ſhe went to have her Neighbours to help her at the Burial, but all were Abroad in the Harveſt; whereby ſhe was enforced with Heavineſs of Heart, alone to prepare the Child for the Burial. Her Husband coming Home, and not loving her, accuſed her of murdering rhe Child. This was the Cauſe of her Trouble, and Mr. *Latimer*, by earneſt Inquiſition, of Conſcience thought the Woman not guilty. Then immediately after he was called to preach before King *Henry* the Eighth at *Windſor*, where after his Sermon the King's Majeſty ſent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which Time Mr. *Latimer*, finding an Opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole Matter to the King, and deſired her Pardon, which the King moſt graciouſly granted, and gave it to him at his Return homeward. In the mean Time the Woman was delivered of a Child in the Priſon, whoſe Godfather was Mr. *Latimer*, and Mrs. *Cheek* Godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the Pardon, but laboured to have her confeſs the Truth of the Matter. At length the Time came when ſhe expected to ſuffer, and Mr. *Latimer* came, as he was wont, to inſtruct her; unto whom ſhe made great Lamentation and Moan, to be purify'd before her ſuffering, for ſhe thought ſhe muſt be damned if ſhe died without Purification.

Mr. *Latimer.*

Then Mr. *Bilney* being with Mr. *Latimer*, both told her, that that Law was made for the *Jews*, and not for us, and that Women be as well in the Favour of God before they be purify'd as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politick Law, for natural Honeſty ſake, than that they ſhould any Thing the more be purify'd from Sin thereby, *&c.* So thus they argued with this Woman 'till they had better inſtructed her, and at length ſhewed her the King's Pardon, and let her go.

This good Act, among many others about that Time, happened in *Cambridge* by Mr. *Latimer* and Mr. *Bilney*. But this was not all, for many more like Matters were wrought by them. But as it is commonly ſeen in the natural Courſe of Things, that as the Fire beginneth more to kindle, ſo the more Smoke ariſeth withal, in much like Sort it happened with Mr. *Latimer*; whoſe Towardneſs the more it began to ſpring, his Virtues to be ſeen, and his Doings to be known, the more his Adverſaries began to kick and ſpurn againſt him.

Mr. *Latimer* called up to the Cardinal.

After Mr. *Latimer* had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the Univerſity of *Cambridge* about the Space of three Years, at length he was called up to the Cardinal for Hereſy, by the Procurement of ſome of the ſaid Univerſity, where he was content to ſubſcribe and grant to ſuch Articles as then they propounded to him, *&c.*

Dr. *Buts* a worthy Favourer of God's Word.

After that he returned to the Univerſity again, where ſhortly after by the Means of Dr. *Buts* the King's Phyſician, a ſingular good Man, and a ſpecial Favourer of good Proceedings, he was in the Number of them which laboured in the Cauſe of the King's Supremacy. Then went he to the Conrt, where he remained a certain Time in the ſaid Dr. *Buts* Chamber, preaching then in *London* very often. At laſt being weary of the Court, having a Benefice offered by the King, at the Sute of the Lord *Cromwel* and Dr. *Buts*, was glad thereof, ſeeking by that Means to be rid out of the Court, wherewith in no Caſe he could agree; and ſo having a Grant of the Benefice, contrary to the Mind of Dr. *Buts*, he would needs depart, and be reſident at the ſame.

This Benefice was in *Wiltſhire*, under the Dioceſe of *Sarum*, the Name of which Town was called *Weſt Kingſton*, where this good Preacher did exerciſe himſelf with much Diligence of teaching to inſtruct his Flock, and not only to them his Diligence extended, but alſo to all the Country about. In fine, his Diligence was ſo great, his Preaching ſo powerful, the Manner of his teaching ſo zealous, that there in like Sort he could not eſcape without Enemies. So true it is that St. *Paul* foretelleth us, Whoſoever will live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer Perſecution. It ſo happened, that whereas he preaching upon the Bleſſed Virgin Chriſt's Mother (whom we call our Lady) had thereupon declared his Mind, referring and reducing all Honour only to Chriſt our only Saviour, certain popiſh Prieſts being therewith offended, wrought much Trouble againſt him, drawing out Articles and Impoſitions which they untruly, unjuſtly, falſly, and uncharitably imputed unto him: Firſt, that he ſhould preach againſt our Lady, for that he reproved in a Sermon the ſuperſtitious Rudeneſs of certain blind Prieſts, which ſo held together upon the Bleſſed Virgin, as tho' ſhe never had any Sin, nor were ſaved by Chriſt the only Saviour of the whole World.

Mr. *Latimer* troubled for preaching Chriſt only to be our Saviour, and not our Lady.

Item, That he ſhould ſay, that Saints were not to be worſhipped.

Matter deviſed againſt Mr. *Latimer* by popiſh Prieſts.

Item, That *Ave Maria* was a Salutation only, and no Prayer.

Item, That there was no material Fire in Hell.

Item, That there was no Purgatory, in ſaying, that he had rather be in Purgatory than in *Lollard*'s Tower.

The chief Impugners and Moleſters of him, beſides theſe Country Prieſts, were Dr. *Powel* of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Wilſon* ſometime of *Cambridge*, Mr. *Hubberdin*, and Dr. *Sherwood*. Of whom ſome

ſome preached and ſome wrote againſt him; inſomuch that by their Procurement he was cited up, and called to appear before *W. Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *John Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, *Jan.* 29, 1531. The Copy of which Citation (as now tranſlated from *Latin*) here followeth.

The Copy of a Citation ſent to the ſaid Mr. *Latimer* by the Chancellor of *Sarum*, at the Interceſſion of the Biſhop of *London*.

RICHARD HILLEY, *Doctor of the Decrees of the moſt Reverend Father in God*, Laurence, *by divine Providence Biſhop of* Sarum, *and Vicar General in ſpiritual Affairs throughout* England, *To all and ſingular Rectors, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and the reſt of the Clergy and learned Perſons throughout the whole Dioceſs of* Sarum, *Health in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Together and apart we commit and firmly command, that ye immediately cite or cauſe to be cited, Mr.* Hugh Latimer, *Vicar of* Weſt Kingſton *in the County of* Wilts *and Dioceſs of* Sarum, *that he may appear before the Reverend Father in God*, John, *by divine Providence Biſhop of* London, *or his Vicar General in Spirituals, or before the Chapter held in the Church of St.* Paul, London, *on* Monday *the* 29th *of this Inſtant* January, *between the Hours of Nine and Eleven in the Forenoon of the ſame Day, there perſonally to anſwer to certain Articles or Queſtions concerning grievous Crimes and Miſdemeanours by him committed, and under Cognizance of the Biſhop of* London, *and furthermore to receive condign Puniſhment for the ſame: And that ye certify us at* Sarum *of what is done on the Premiſſes before the* 22d *of the ſame Month of* January, *that we may be able to certify the ſame to the abovеſaid Reverend Father, the Lord Biſhop of* London, *on or before the ſaid* 22d *of* January, *according as the ſame Reverend Father having pray'd and required it of us, in Aid of the Law, and out of mutual Kindneſs.*

Given at *Sarum* under the Seal of the aforeſaid Father in God, the 10th Day of *January* 1531.

Mr. *Latimer* appealed from the Biſhop of *London*'s Citation, to his own Ordinary.

Againſt this Citation, although Mr. *Latimer* did appeal to his own Ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtanding, he was had up to *London* before *Warham* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, where he was greatly moleſted, and detained a long Time from his Cure at Home. There he being called thrice every Week before the ſaid Biſhops, to make Anſwer for his Preaching, had certain Articles or Propoſitions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to ſubſcribe. At length he not only perceiving their practical Proceedings, but alſo much grieved with their troubleſome Unquietneſs, who neither would preach themſelves, nor yet ſuffer him to preach and do his Duty, writeth to the aforeſaid Archbiſhop, partly excuſing his Infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their Commandment, partly expoſtulating with them for ſo troubling and detaining him from doing his Duty, and that for no juſt Cauſe, but only for preaching the Truth againſt certain vain Abuſes crept into Religion, much needful to be ſpoken againſt. Which all may appear by his Epiſtle ſent to a certain Biſhop or Archbiſhop, whoſe Name is not expreſſed; the Copy of which Epiſtle is now tranſlated from *Latin*, and is as followeth. Anno 1555.

A Copy of the Epiſtle written by Mr. *Latimer* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Moſt Reverend Governour,

HAD not Sickneſs prevented me, I had myſelf waited on you at your Palace; but theſe freſh Troubles have brought on me a ſharp Return of an old Diſtemper, ſo that I can't be able to wait on you to Day, I can't (I ſay) without great Pain, but that your Lordſhip might no longer in vain expect my coming, I have ſent theſe Lines ſcribled with mine own Hand to your Grace, as to a moſt upright Judge, of my Excuſe, in which I wiſh I had more Time or more Judgment to frame a juſt Expoſtulation with your Grace for detaining me ſo long againſt my Will from my Cure, and that ſo unſeaſonably, at a Time when it moſt behoves every Paſtor to-be with his Flock. But what ſhall I ſay, if it is lawful for ſo mean a Priſoner to plead with ſo great a Father? If we eſteem a Prieſt good for doing his Duty, who while he remains in this earthly Tabernacle, never ceaſeth to teach and admoniſh his Congregation, and ſo much the more as he draws nearer his laſt Home, what muſt we think of thoſe who neither preach themſelves now (at which I ſhould not wonder had they not been uſed to it before) nor permit thoſe who are deſirous to do it, unleſs they are bound to do and ſay nothing but what they pleaſe. At firſt I thought it ſafe to ſubmit myſelf entirely to your Clemency, but now it ſeems as ſafe to juſtify myſelf a little, ſince one Thing was pretended in the Beginning, but now another, and what will be the End I have great room to doubt; but I hope Truth only will be uſed. St. Jerome *on theſe Words (which I hope I ſhall never forget)* The Lord who preſerveth Truth, for ever ſhall deliver thee, *writes thus, Whatſoever I ſuffer for Truth's ſake ſhall never trouble me, for the Lord liveth and careth for me. Firſt I was ſent to* London, *where I was before the Court of* Canterbury, *then all was ſtopped that had been done, and the Matter had Bounds and Limits ſet to it by him who ſent me, but ſo the Buſineſs was handled and brought into doubt, that at length there ſeemed no End to it, but that it muſt be infinitely prolonged. For while, without either Method or Deſign, I was queſtioned of one Thing after another, whether pertinent or impertinent, now by one and then by another, if I gave them no Anſwer, or if I anſwered them to the Purpoſe (which I thought was not imprudent ſometimes to put an End to the Diſpute) I was equally uncivil; while one anſwers to many and of many Things, he may inadvertently ſay ſomething that may prejudice the moſt righteous Cauſe. None ought to judge me wicked for what at moſt they can call but an Error of Conſcience, and to remember all Things it behoves a Man to remember the Foundation of the other World. When a Man acts againſt Conſcience he doth it to gain, to maintain, or defend his own, but what they charge me with is far different, and I believe without Example, wickedly requeſting to know the Cauſe of my Confinement. If any Perſon is diſpoſed to attack my Sermons, that they are obſcure, or not cautiouſly enough worded, I am prepared either to explain or vindicate them, for (to the beſt of my Knowledge) I never preach'd any Thing againſt the Truth, againſt the Councils of the Fathers, or againſt the catholick Faith. All that my*

Anno 1555. *Adverſaries or Detractors truly charge me with, is what I have long deſired, and do deſire, namely, the improving the common Peoples Judgment. I heartily deſire that all Men might know and comprehend the Diſagreement of Things, the Worth, Place, Time, Degrees and Order proper for each, and how much they are concerned in thoſe Things which God has prepared for them to walk in: Every Man ought to be very diligent in doing the Works of his Calling, after which, Things indifferent may be done with equal Diligence, amongſt which are all Things which no Law has forbid, unleſs we forbid them to ourſelves: 'tis lawful to uſe Images, to go on Pilgimages, to invocate Saints, to remember the Souls in Purgatory, but theſe which are voluntary Acts are to be ſo reſtrained that they diminiſh not the juſt Eſteem the Precepts of God (which beſtow eternal Life on thoſe who do them) ſhould neceſſarily have; they who uſe them otherwiſe, are ſo far from gaining the Love of God, that they rather incur his Hatred. The true Love of God is to keep his Commandments, as our Saviour ſays, He who heareth my Words and doth them, he it is who loveth me. Let no Man then have ſo mean an Opinion of the Laws of God, as to make them equal with the Fancies of Men, ſince by thoſe at the laſt Day before the Tribunal of Chriſt we ſhall all be judged, and not by theſe; as Chriſt ſays, The Word that I ſpeak that ſhall judge you at the laſt Day; and what Man is able to make Amends for the Breach of one of thoſe Commands, by any or all of theſe ſpecious Additions. O that we would be but as ready, as diligent, as devoted to do his Will, as we are to follow our own empty Notions. Many Things done with an upright Heart God accepts of, making Allowance for our Infirmities, though he has not commanded or required them; but theſe Things ought to be taken away when they begin to have the Force of Commands, leſt while we do theſe we omit thoſe that are abſolutely neceſſary, and what can be more abſurd than to revere as Ordinances of God, the idle Fancies of Men, whilſt his true Ordinances are neglected; whence I in behalf of the Commandments of God ſtand hitherto immovable, not ſeeking my own but Chriſt's Gain, not my own but God's Glory, and whilſt I live I will ſtand ſtedfaſt: So all the* German *Divines have hitherto complained of the intolerable Abuſe of theſe Things, that no Man deſirous of the Glory of Chriſt can accept of the Miniſtry without doing Things againſt his Conſcience, and if ſome have (for I won't ſay none) ſubmitted to this Hardſhip purely to do good, yet what doth the chriſtian Religion ſuffer by it? Unleſs we are ſo miſerably blinded as to think that theſe Things are to be diſpenſed with for our own filthy Gain, though they are not for the Honour of God. Now who can juſtify the conſtant Practice of ſuch Things which in themſelves are highly criminal? Some Things are conſtantly performed which ought never, while others are omitted which ought always to be done: Now who cannot ſee this manifeſt Abuſe? and who ſees, and don't grieve? and who grieves, that would not labour to remove it? and when ſhall it be removed, while it is conſtantly preached and commended? why 'tis hardly poſſible for it not to be univerſal. It is one Thing barely to permit, and another to inforce as Law. Go (ſays Chriſt) and teach all Things, but what are thoſe all Things? why all that ye have heard of me, not all that ſeems fit to yourſelves. Let us therefore by the Help of God, go and do likewiſe: Let us employ our whole Strength to preach the ſincere Word of God, not to flatter or cook up our Sermons to Men's depraved Taſte, then ſhall we be true Preachers of God's Word. As careleſs as Men are in what relates to God, they are diligent enough in what relates to themſelves, to this they want no Spurs; but they are miſerably deceived by an unjuſt Eſteem of Things, and an early Superſtition received in their tender Years from their Fore-fathers, which we are hardly able to remedy by any Preaching, how frequent, how earneſt, how ſincere and pure ſoever, which God doth not now permit; for in theſe evil Days they who ought to preach themſelves (for to us, ſays St.* Peter, *has he given to preach the Goſpel) forbid them to preach who are willing and able, and on the contrary, compel Time-ſervers, who damnably detain the miſerable People in Superſtition and falſe Confidence; but Lord have Mercy upon us, and grant we may know thy Way upon Earth, not to be found amongſt thoſe to whom the Lord ſays, My Ways are not your Ways, neither are my Thoughts your Thoughts; hence I dare not ſubſcribe to theſe Propoſitions moſt honoured Father, becauſe I would no way be acceſſary to the longer Continuance of theſe popular Superſtitions, leſt I ſhould be the Author of my own Damnation. Was I worthy, I'd give even you ſome Advice, but that little impertinent Thing the Heart, can do little elſe than gueſs, none knowing the Things of a Man but the Spirit of a Man which is in him. 'Tis not any Pride that hinders me from ſubſcribing to theſe Propoſitions, on the contrary, I am very ſorry I can't wholly perform your Requeſt. I know how great a Crime it is to diſobey the Fathers and Governors of the Church, but then Regard is to be had to what they command, in which Caſe we ought always to obey God rather than Man.*

My Head aches ſo much, and my Body is ſo weak, that I can neither come, nor write over again and correct theſe Lines; but your Lordſhip, I hope, will approve, if not the Judgment, yet the Endeavours of

Your Lordſhip's devoted Servant.

In this aforeſaid Epiſtle (as ye hear) he maketh mention of certain Articles or Propoſitions, whereunto he was required by the Biſhops to ſubſcribe. The Copy and Effect of thoſe Articles or rude Propoſitions (as he calleth them) are theſe:

Articles deviſed by the Biſhops for Mr. Latimer *to ſubſcribe unto.*

I Believe that there is a Purgatory to purge the Souls of the Dead after this Life.

That the Souls in Purgatory are holpen with the Maſſes, Prayers, and Alms of the Living.

That the Saints do pray as Mediators now for us in Heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in Heaven.

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to call upon the Saints, that they may pray as Mediators for us unto God.

That Pilgrimages and Oblations done to the Sepulchres and Relicks of Saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual Chaſtity may not marry, nor break their Vow, without the Diſpenſation of the Pope.

That the Keys of binding and looſing delivered to *Peter*, do ſtill remain with the Biſhops of *Rome* his Succeſſors, although they live wickedly, and are by no Means nor at any Time committed to Laymen.

That Men may merit and deſerve at God's

Hand by Faſting, Prayer, and other good Works of Piety.

That they which are forbidden by the Biſhop to preach, as ſuſpect Perſons, ought to ceaſe until they have purged themſelves before the ſaid Biſhop, or their Superiours, and be reſtored again.

That the Faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other Faſts preſcribed by the Canons, and by Cuſtom received of the Chriſtians (except Neceſſity otherwiſe require) are to be obſerved and kept.

That God in every one of the ſeven Sacraments giveth Grace to a Man, rightly receiving the ſame.

That Conſecrations, Sanctifyings and Bleſſings, by Uſe and Cuſtom received in the Church are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifix and other Saints, ſhould be had in the Churches as a Remembrance, and to the Honour and Worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt and his Saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to cloath thoſe Images, and ſet up burning Lights before them to the Honour of the ſaid Saints.

To theſe Articles, whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this Epiſtle above written to the Biſhop, that he durſt not conſent unto them, where he writeth in theſe Words, I dare not ſubſcribe to theſe Propoſitions, becauſe I would no Ways be acceſſary to the longer Continuance of theſe popular Superſtitions, leſt I be the Author, *&c.* But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree through the cruel Handling of the Biſhops, it is in doubt. By the Words and the Title in *Tonſtal*'s Regiſter prefix'd before the Articles, it may ſeem that he did ſubſcribe. The Words of the Regiſter are theſe: *Hugh Latimer*, Batchelor of Divinity, of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in a Convocation held at *Weſtminſter* before the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *John* Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the reſt of the Clergy, has acknowledged and made the following Confeſſion of his Faith, as in theſe Articles, *Mar.* 21. 1531. If theſe Words be true, it may be thought that he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no great matter nor marvel, the Iniquity of the Time being ſuch, that either he muſt needs ſo do, or elſe abide the Biſhop's Bleſſing, that is, cruel Sentence of Death, which he at that Time (as he himſelf confeſſed preaching at *Stamford*) was loth to ſuſtain for ſuch Matters as theſe were, unleſs it were for Articles neceſſary of his Belief; by which his Words I conjecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought ſo to do. Yet this by the Way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful Handling of theſe Biſhops in his Examinations, what ſubtle Devices they uſed the ſame Time to entrap him in their Snares. The Truth of the Story he ſhewed forth himſelf in a certain Sermon preached at *Stamford*, *Octob.* 9. 1550. his Words be theſe:

The crafty Handling of the Biſhops in examining Mr. *Latimer*.

I was once (ſaith he) in Examination before five or ſix Biſhops, where I had much turmoiling; thrice every Week I came to Examinations, and many Snares and Traps were laid to get ſomething. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the Law, but that God gave me Anſwer and Wiſdom what I ſhould ſpeak; it was God indeed, for elſe I had never eſcaped them. At laſt I was brought forth to be examined into a Chamber hanged with Arras, where I was wont to be examined: But now at this Time the Chamber was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont always to be a Fire in the Chimney, now the Fire was taken away, and an Arras hanged over the Chimney, and the Table ſtood near the Chimney's End. Anno 1555.

There was amongſt the Biſhops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great Friend, an aged Man, and he ſate next the Table's End.

Then amongſt all other Queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtle and crafty one, and ſuch an one indeed as I could not think ſo great Danger in. And when I ſhould make Anſwer, I pray you, Mr. *Latimer*, ſaid one, ſpeak out, I am very thick of Hearing, and here be many that ſit far off. I marvelled at this that I was bid to ſpeak out, and begun to ſuſpect, and give an Ear to the Chimney; and, Sir, there I heard a Pen walking in the Chimney behind the Cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine Anſwers; for they made ſure that I ſhould not ſtart from them; there was no ſtarting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me Anſwer, I could never elſe have eſcaped it. The Queſtion there and then objected to him was this; Whether he thought in his Conſcience, that he hath been ſuſpected of Hereſy? This was a captious Queſtion. There was no holding of Peace would ſerve; for that was to grant himſelf faulty. To anſwer, it was every Way full of Danger: But God, which alway giveth in Need what to anſwer, helped him, or elſe (as he confeſſed himſelf) he had never eſcaped their bloody Hands. Albeit what was his Anſwer, he doth not there expreſs. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold Troubles of this godly Preacher, in the Time not only of his being in the Univerſity, but eſpecially at his Benefice, as partly in his own Words abovementioned does appear.

A ſubtle and captious Queſtion put to Mr. *Latimer* by the Biſhops.

In theſe ſo hard and dangerous Straits, and ſuch Snares of the Biſhops, hard it had been for him, and impoſſible to have eſcaped and continued ſo long, had not the Almighty helping Hand of the Higheſt, as he ſtirred him up, ſo preſerved him through the Favour and Power of his Prince; who with much Favour embraced him, and with his meer Power ſometime reſcued and delivered him out of the crooked Claws of his Enemies. Moreover, at length alſo through the Procurement partly of Dr. *Buts*, partly of the good Lord *Cromwell*, he advanced him to the Dignity and Degree of a Biſhop, making him the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, which ſo continued a few Years, inſtructing his Dioceſe, according to the Duty of a diligent and vigilant Paſtor, with wholſome Doctrine and Example of perfect Converſation duly agreeing to the ſame. It were a long Matter to ſtand particularly upon ſuch Things as might here be brought to the Commendation of his Pains; as Study, Readineſs, and continual Carefulneſs in Teaching, Preaching, Exhorting, Viſiting, Correcting, and Reforming, either as his Ability could ſerve, or elſe the Time would bear. But the Days then were ſo dangerous and variable, that he could not in all Things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermoſt of his Strength, ſo that although he could

Mr. *Latimer* reſcued by the King.

Mr. *Latimer* advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* by the King.

The paſtoral Diligence of Mr. *Latimer* in his Dioceſe.

BRITISH MUSEUM
8 OCT 15

Mr Latimer *Preaching before King* Edward VI. *at* Weſtminſter.

Anno 1545. not utterly extinguiſh all the ſparkling Relicks of old Superſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that tho' they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be uſed with as little Hurt, and with as much Profit as might be. As for Example, in this Thing, and in divers others it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy Water and holy Bread muſt needs be received, yet ſo he prepared and inſtructed them of his Dioceſe, with ſuch Informations and Leſſons, that in receiving thereof Superſtition ſhould be excluded, and ſome Remembrance taken thereby; teaching and charging the Miniſters of his Dioceſe, in delivering the holy Water and the holy Bread, to ſay theſe Words following:

Words ſpoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Words uſed in Biſhop *Latimer*'s Dioceſe in giving holy Water.

Remember your Promiſe in Baptiſm,
Chriſt his Mercy and Blood-ſhedding,
By whoſe moſt holy Sprinkling,
Of all your Sins you have free pardoning.

What to ſay in giving Holy Bread.

Words uſed in giving holy Bread.

Of Chriſt's Body this is a Token,
Which on the Croſs for our Sins was broken:
Wherefore of your Sins you muſt be Forſakers,
If of Chriſt's Death ye will be Partakers.

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent Care of this Biſhop was in doing the Duty of a faithful Paſtor among his Flock. And moreover it is to be thought, that he would have brought more Things elſe to paſs, if the Time then had anſwered to his Deſire; for he was not ignorant how the Inſtitution of holy Water and holy Bread, not only had no Ground in Scripture, but alſo how full of profane Exorciſms and Conjurations they were, contrary to the Rule and Learning of the Goſpel. Thus this good Man behaved himſelf in his Dioceſe. But (as before) both in the Univerſity and at his Benefice, he was toſs'd and troubled by wicked and evil-diſpoſed Perſons; ſo in his Biſhoprick alſo he was not free from ſome that ſought his Trouble. As among many other evil Willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall Perſon, who accuſed him then to the King for his Sermons. The Story becauſe he himſelf ſheweth in a Sermon of his before King *Edward*, I thought therefore to uſe his own Words, which be theſe:

The Troubles of Mr. *Latimer* in his Biſhoprick.

In the King's Days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to ſpeak our Minds in certain Matters. In the End one kneeleth down and accuſeth me of Sedition; and that I had preached ſeditious Doctrine. A heavy Salutation, and a hard Point of ſuch a Man's doing, as if I ſhould name ye would not think.

Mr. *Latimer* accuſed to King *Henry* for his preaching.

The King turned to me, and ſaid; What ſay you to that, Sir? Then I kneeled down, and turned firſt to my Accuſer, and required him; Sir, what Form of Preaching would you appoint me in Preaching before a King? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a King in the King's Sermon? Have you any Commiſſion to appoint me what I ſhall preach? Beſides this, I asked him divers other Queſtions, and he would make no Anſwer to any of them all; he had nothing to ſay.

Mr. *Latimer* anſwereth his Accuſer.

Then I turned to the King, and ſubmitted myſelf to his Grace, and ſaid, I never thought myſelf worthy, nor did I ever ſue to be a Preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you miſlike me) to give Place to my Betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy or the Room than I am. And if it be your Grace's Pleaſure ſo to allow them for Preachers, I could be content to carry their Books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would deſire your Grace to give me Leave to diſcharge my Conſcience, give me Leave to frame my Doctrine according to my Audience. I had been a very Blockhead to have preached ſo at the Borders of your Realm, as I preach before your Grace.

Mr. *Latimer*'s Words to the King.

And I thank Almighty God (who hath always been my Remedy) that my Sayings were well accepted of the King; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another Communication. It is even as the Scripture ſaith, *The Lord directeth the King's Heart.* Some of my Friends came to me with Tears in their Eyes, and told me they expected I ſhould have been in the *Tower* the ſame Night.

The King's Heart relenteth toward Biſhop *Latimer.*

It were a long Proceſs to declare all the Doings, Travels, and Writings of this Chriſtian Biſhop, neither yet have we expreſſed all all that came to our Hands; but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he continued in his laborious Function of a Biſhop ſome Years, till the coming in of the ſix Articles. Then being diſtreſſed thro' the Straightneſs of Time, ſo that either he muſt loſe the Quietneſs of a good Conſcience, or elſe forſake his Biſhoprick, the latter of which he freely did, and Dr. *Shaxton* the Biſhop of *Salisbury* reſigned likewiſe with him. At which Time he threw off his Rochet in his Chamber among his Friends, and ſuddenly gave a Skip on the Floor for Joy, feeling his Shoulder ſo light, and being diſcharged (as he ſaid) of ſuch an heavy Burden. However, he was not ſo lightened, but that Troubles and Labours followed him whereſoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his Biſhoprick, he was much bruiſed by the Fall of a Tree; then coming up to *London* for Remedy, he was moleſted and troubled by the Biſhops, whereby he was again in no little Danger, and at length was ſent to the *Tower*, where he continually remained Priſoner, till the Time that bleſſed King *Edward* entered his Crown, by which Means the golden Mouth of this Preacher, long ſhut up before, was now opened again. And ſo he beginning afreſh to ſet forth his Plough again, continued all the Time of the ſaid King, labouring in the Lord's Harveſt moſt fruitfully, diſcharging his Talent at *Stamford*, and before the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and many other Places in this Realm, as alſo at *London* in the Convocation-Houſe, and eſpecially before the King at the Court: In the ſame Place of the inward Garden, which was before apply'd to laſcivious and courtly Paſtimes, there he diſpenſed the fruitful Word of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, preaching there before the King and his whole Court, to the Edification of many.

Biſhop *Latimer* at the coming in of the ſix Articles, reſigned his Biſhoprick.

Mr. *Latimer* preaching before King *Edward.*

And thus he ſpent his Time in King *Edward*'s Days, preaching, for the moſt part, twice every *Sunday*, to the Shame of all other unpreaching Prelates, who occupy great Rooms, and do little good; and ſo much the more to their Shame, becauſe he being a Man ſo bruiſed by the Fall of a Tree, and above 67 Years of Age, took ſo little Eaſe and

and Care of ſparing himſelf, to do the People good.

As the Diligence of this Man of God never ceaſed all the Time of King *Edward*, to profit the Church both publickly and privately, ſo it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the ſame good Spirit of God that aſſiſted and comforted him in preaching the Goſpel, did alſo enable him evidently to foretel all thoſe Kinds of Plagues, which afterwards enſued; if *England* ever had a Prophet, he ſeemed to have been one. And as touching himſelf, he ever affirmed, that the Preaching of the Goſpel would coſt him his Life, to which he no leſs chearfully prepared himſelf, than certainly was perſuaded, that *Wincheſter* was kept in the Tower for the ſame Purpoſe, as the Event did too truly prove the ſame. For after the Death of the ſaid pious King *Edward*, not long after Queen *Mary* was proclaimed, a Purſuivant was ſent down (by the Means, no doubt, of *Wincheſter*) into the Country, to call him up, of whoſe coming although Mr. *Latimer* lacked no forewarning, being premoniſhed about ſix Hours before by one *John Careles* (whoſe Story hereafter followeth) yet he was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that he prepared himſelf for his Journey before the ſaid Officer came to his Houſe.

Mr. *Latimer* called up to *London.*

At which when the Purſuivant marvelled, ſeeing him ſo prepared for his Journey, Mr. *Latimer* ſaid unto him, My Friend, you be a welcome Meſſenger to me. And be it known unto you and to all the World, that I go willingly to *London* at this preſent, being called by my Prince to render a Reckoning of my Doctrine, as ever I went to any Place in the World. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his Word before two excellent Princes, ſo will he enable me to witneſs the ſame unto the Third, either to her Comfort or Diſcomfort eternally, *&c.* When the Purſuivant had delivered his Letters, he departed, affirming that he had Commandment not to tarry for him. By whoſe ſudden Departure it was manifeſt that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the Realm. They knew that his Conſtancy ſhould deface them in their Popery, and confirm the Godly in the Truth.

Mr. *Latimer's* Words to the Queen's Meſſenger.

Thus Mr. *Latimer* being ſent for, and coming up to *London*, (entering *Smithfield*, he merrily ſaid, That *Smithfield* had long groaned for him) was brought before the Council, where he patiently bearing all the Mocks and Taunts given him by the ſcornful Papiſts, was again ſent to the Tower, where he being aſſiſted with the heavenly Grace of Chriſt, patiently ſuſtained Impriſonment a long Time; notwithſtanding the cruel and unmerciful Uſage of the lordly Papiſts, who then thought their Kingdom would never fall, yet he ſhewed himſelf not only patient, but alſo merry and cheerful in and above all that which they could work againſt him; yea, ſuch a valiant Spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to deſpiſe the Terribleneſs of Priſons and Torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to Scorn even the cruel Proceedings of his Enemies. It is well known to many what Anſwer he made the Lieutenant when he was in the Tower. For when the Lieutenant's Man upon a Time came to him, the aged Father kept without Fire in the Froſty Winter, and well nigh ſtarved for Cold, he bade the Man tell his Maſter, That if he did not look better after him, perchance he might deceive him.

Mr. *Latimer* chearful in Impriſonment.

His merry Meſſage to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The Lieutenant hearing this, and not knowing what to make of ſo odd a Speech, and fearing that he would in earneſt make his Eſcape, began to look more ſtrictly to his Priſoner, and ſo coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his Words, reciting the ſame unto him which his Man had told him before; That if he were not better looked unto, perchance he might deceive him. Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, ſo I ſaid, quoth he, for I ſuppoſe you expect that I ſhould burn; but except you let me have ſome Fire, I am like to deceive your Expectation, for I am like here to ſtarve for Cold. Anno 1555.

Many ſuch-like Anſwers and Reaſons, merry, but ſavory, coming not from a vain Mind, but from a conſtant and quiet Reaſon, proceeded from that Man, declaring a firm and ſtable Heart, little minding all this bluſtering of their terrible Threats, but rather deriding the ſame.

Mr. *Latimer* removed to *Oxford.*

Thus Mr. *Latimer* paſſing a long Time in the Tower, with as much Patience as a Man in his Caſe could do, from thence was removed to *Oxford* with Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, there to diſpute upon Articles ſent down from *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as is before mentioned; the Manner and Order of which Diſputation between them and the Univerſity Doctors, is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſaid *Latimer* with his other Fellow-Priſoners were condemned after the Diſputations, and ſo committed again to the Priſon, and there they continued from the Month of *April* till the Month of *October*; where they were moſt godly occupied, either with brotherly Conference, or with fervent Prayer, or with fruitful Writing.

Albeit Mr. *Latimer*, by reaſon of the Feebleneſs of his Age, wrote leaſt of them all in this latter Time of his Impriſonment; yet in Prayer he was fervently occupied; wherein oftentimes ſo long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without Help: And amongſt other Things, theſe were three principal Matters he prayed for.

Three Requeſts of Mr. *Latimer's* Prayer.

Frſt, That as God had appointed him to be a Preacher of his Word, ſo alſo he would give him Grace to ſtand to his Doctrine until his Death, that he might give his Heart Blood for the ſame.

Secondly, That God of his Mercy would reſtore his Goſpel to *England* once again; and theſe Words ONCE AGAIN, ONE AGAIN, he did ſo inculcate and beat into the Ears of the Lord God, as though he had ſeen God before him, and ſpoke to him Face to Face.

Mr. *Latimer's* Prayer for Queen *Elizabeth.*

The third Matter was, to pray for the Preſervation of the Lady *Elizabeth*, whom in his Prayer he uſed to name, and even with Tears deſired God to make her a Comfort to this comfortleſs Realm of *England*.

Theſe were the Matters he prayed for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe Things of him deſired in vain, as the good Succeſs thereof after following did declare; for the Lord moſt graciouſly did grant all thoſe his Requeſts.

Firſt, Concerning his Conſtancy, even in the moſt Extremity the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted him. For when he ſtood at the Stake without *Bocardo-Gate* at *Oxford*, and the Tormentors about to ſet the Fire to him, and to the learned and pious Biſhop Dr. *Ridley*, he

Anno 1555. he lifted up his Eyes towards Heaven with an amiable and comfortable Countenance, ſaying theſe Words, *God is faithful, which doth not ſuffer us to be tempted above our Strength*; and ſo afterward ſhed his Blood in the Cauſe of Chriſt, which Blood ran out of his Heart in ſuch Abundance, that all thoſe that were preſent, did marvel to ſee the moſt Part of the Blood in his Body to be gathered to his Heart, and with ſuch Violence to guſh out, his Body being opened by the Force of the Fire; by which Things God moſt graciouſly granted his Requeſt, which was, That he might ſhed his Heart Blood in the Defence of the Goſpel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his ſecond Requeſt, in reſtoring his Goſpel once again unto this Realm, theſe Days can bear Record. And what then ſhall *England* ſay now for her Defence, which being ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the Word of God, ſo ſlenderly and unthankfully conſidereth either her own Miſery paſt, or the great Benefit of God now preſent? The Lord be merciful unto us *Amen.*

Again, concerning his third Requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectually granted, to the great Praiſe of God, the Furtherance of his Goſpel, and to the unſpeakable Comfort of this Realm. For whether at the Requeſt of his Prayer, or of other God's Holy Saints, or whether God was moved with the Cry of his whole Church, the Truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a deſperate Caſe, and ſo deſperate that the Enemies mightily flouriſhed and triumphed, God's Word was baniſhed, *Spaniards* received, no Place left for Chriſt's Servants to cover their Heads, ſuddenly the Lord called to Remembrance his Mercy, and forgetting our former Iniquity, made an End of all theſe Miſeries, and wrought a marvellous Change of Things; at the Change whereof the ſaid Queen *Elizabeth* was appointed and anointed, for whom this Gray-headed Father ſo earneſtly pray'd in his Impriſonment: Thro' whoſe true, natural, and imperial Crown, the Brightneſs of God's Word was ſet up again to confound the dark and falſe vizored Kingdom of Antichriſt, the true Temple of Chriſt reedify'd, the Captivity of ſorrowful Chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the Prayers of ſo many good Men, eſpecially of this faithful and true Servant of the Lord, Mr. *Latimer.*

God's gracious Help in Time of Need, upon the Realm of *England.*

Touching the memorable Actions of this worthy Man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold Enterprize he attempted, in ſending to King *Henry* a Preſent, the Manner whereof is this. There was then and remaineth ſtill an old Cuſtom received from the old *Romans*, that upon *New-years* Day, being the firſt Day of *January*, every Biſhop with ſome handſome *New-years* Gift ſhould gratify the King; and ſo they did, ſome with Gold, ſome with Silver, ſome with a Purſe full of Money, and ſome one Thing, ſome another: But Mr. *Latimer*, being then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, among the reſt, preſented a New Teſtament for his *New-years* Gift, with a Napkin having this Poſy about it, *Fornicators and Adulterers God will judge.*

And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the Life both of Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer*, two worthy Fathers in the Church of Chriſt, with their Writings, Diſputations, Sufferings, their painful Travels, and faithful Preachings, ſtudious Service in Chriſt's Church, their patient Impriſonment, and conſtant Fortitude in that which they had taught, with all their Proceedings from Time to Time, ſince their firſt ſpringing Years to this preſent Month of Queen *Mary*, being the Month of *October*, *Anno* 1555. In which Month they were brought forth together, to their final Examination and Execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their Lives diſtinctly one from another; ſo now jointly to couple them both together, as they were both together joined in one Society of Cauſe of Martyrdom, we will by the Grace of Chriſt proſecute the reſt that remaineth concerning their laſt Examination, degrading and conſtant ſuffering, with the Order and Manner alſo of the Commiſſioners, and what were their Words, their Objections, their Orations there uſed, and what again were the Anſwers of theſe Men to the ſame, as in the Proceſs here followeth to be ſeen.

The Order and Manner of the Examination of Dr. Ridley *and Mr.* Latimer *in* September 1555.

The laſt Examination of Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer.*

FIRST, after the appearing of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* before the Pope's Delegate, and the Queen's Commiſſioners in St. *Mary*'s Church at *Oxford*, about the 12th of *September*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (by God's Grace) when we come to the Death of the ſaid Archbiſhop; ſhortly after, on the 28th of the ſaid Month, another Commiſſion was ſent down to *Oxford* from cardinal *Poole*, to *John White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and Dr. *Holyman* Biſhop of *Briſtol.* The Contents and Vertue of which Commiſſion was, that the ſaid Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Glouceſter*, and *Briſtol*, or two of them, ſhould have full Power and Authority to cite, examine and judge Mr. *Hugh Latimer* and Dr. *Ridley*, for divers and ſundry erroneous Opinions, which the ſaid *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Ridley* did hold and maintain in open Diſputations had in *Oxford*, in the Months of *May*, *June* and *July* in the Year 1554, as long before in the Time of Perdition, and ſince. Which Opinions, if the named Perſons would now recant, giving and yielding themſelves to the Determination of the Univerſal and Catholick Church planted by *Peter* in the bleſſed See of *Rome*, that then the deputed Judges, by the ſaid Authority of their Commiſſion, ſhould have Power to receive the ſaid penitent Perſons, and forthwith adminiſter unto them the Reconciliation of the Holy Father the Pope; but if the ſaid *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Ridley* would ſtoutly and ſtubbornly defend and maintain theſe their erroneous Opinions and Aſſertions, that then the ſaid Lords by their Commiſſion ſhould proceed in form of Judgment, according to the Law of Hereticks; that is, degrading them from their Promotion and Dignity of Biſhops, Prieſts, and all other eccleſiaſtical Orders, ſhould pronounce them as Hereticks, and therefore clean cut them off from the Church, and ſo yield them to receive Puniſhments due to all ſuch Hereſy and Schiſm.

Wherefore the laſt of *September* the ſaid two Perſons *Nicholas Ridley* aud *Hugh Latimer*,

were cited to appear before the said Lords in the Divinity-school at *Oxford*, at Eight of the Clock. At which Time the Lords repaired thither, placing themselves in the High Seat made for publick Lectures and Disputations, according to the Usage of that School, being then fair set and trimmed with Cloth of Tissue, and Cushions of Velvet: And after the said Lords were placed and set, the said *Latimer* and *Ridley* were sent for. And first Dr. *Ridley* appeared, and by and by Mr. *Latimer*. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Mr. *Latimer* was kept back until Dr. *Ridley* was throughly examined. Therefore soon after the Coming of Dr. *Ridley* into the School, the Commission was published by an appointed Notary, and openly read. But Dr. *Ridley* standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the Cause of that his Appearance, as soon as he had heard the Cardinal named, and the Pope's Holiness, put on his Cap. Wherefore after the Commission was published, the Bishop of *Lincoln* spake as followeth.

Dr. *Ridley* putteth on his Cap at the Hearing of the Pope's Name.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect of our own Persons do look for Cap or Knee, yet because we bear and represent such Persons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinal's Grace, Legate a Latere to the Pope's Holiness, as well in that he is of a noble Parentage (and there Dr. *Ridley* moved his Cap with lowly Obeisance) descending from the Royal Blood, as in that he is a Man worthy to be reverenced with all Humility, for his great Knowledge and Learning, noble Virtues and godly Life, and especially in that he is here in *England* Deputy to the Pope's Holiness, it should have becomed you at this Name to have uncovered your Head. Wherefore except you will of your ownself take the Pains to put your Hand to your Head, and at the Nomination, as well of the said Cardinal, as of the Pope's Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your Contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend Persons, (which Thing we may in no Case suffer) you shall cause us to take the Pains to oblige some Man to pluck off your Cap from you. To whom Dr. *Ridley* (desiring Licence) answered:

The Words of the Bishop of *Lincoln* to Dr. *Ridley* for not putting off his Cap.

Ridley. As touching what you said, my Lord, that you of your own Persons desire no Cap nor Knee, but only require the same in Consideration that you represent the Cardinal's Grace's Person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my Protestation, that I did put on my Cap at the naming of the Cardinal's Grace, neither for any Contumacy that I bear towards your own Persons, neither for any Derogation of Honour toward the Lord Cardinal's Grace. For I know him to be a Man worthy of all Humility, Reverence, and Honour, in that he came of the most regal Blood, and in that he is a Man indued with manifold Graces of Learning and Virtue, and as touching these Virtues and Points, I with all Humility (therewith he put off his Cap, and bowed his Knee) and Obeisance that I may, will Reverence and Honour his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the Bishop of *Rome* (and therewith put on his Cap) whose usurped Supremacy and abused Authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any Obeisance or Honour unto him, lest that my so doing might be prejudical to mine Oath, and Derogation to the Verity of God's Word: And therefore that I might not only by Confession profess the Verity in not reverencing the renounced Authority, contrary to God's Word, but also in Gesture, in Behaviour, and all my Doings express the same, I have put on my Cap, and for this Consideration only; and not for any Contumacy to your Lordships, neither Contempt of this worshipful Audience, neither Derogation of any Honour due to the Cardinal's Grace, both for his noble Parentage, and also his excellent Qualities, I have kept on my Cap. Anno 1555.

Dr. *Ridley*'s Answer.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, you excuse yourself of that with which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your Cap, neither for any Contumacy towards us (who look for no such Homage from you) neither for any Contempt of this Audience: Which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this Case do not require any such Obeisance of you; neither in Derogation of any Honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, for his regal Descent (at which Word Dr. *Ridley* moved his Cap) and excellent Qualities; for although in all the Premisses Honour be due, yet in these Respects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinal's Grace is here in *England*, Deputy of the Pope's Holiness (at which Word the Lords and others put off their Caps, and Dr. *Ridley* put on his) and therefore we say unto you the second Time, that except you take the Pains yourself, to put your Hand to your Head, and put off your Cap, you shall put us to the Pains to cause some Man to take it from you, except you alledge some Infirmity and Sickness, or other more reasonable Cause, upon the Consideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The Premisses I said only for this End, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful Audience, why and for what Consideration I used such kind of Behaviour, in not humbling myself to your Lordships with Cap and Knee: And as for my Sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at Ease as I have been this long Time; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my Behaviour, that I acknowledge in no Point that usurped Supremacy of *Rome*, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all Authourity coming from him. In taking off my Cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the Bishop of *Lincoln*, after the third Admonition, commanded one of the Beadles (that is an Officer of the University) to pluck his Cap from his Head; Dr. *Ridley* bowing his Head to the Officer, gently permitted him to take it away.

After this the Bishop of *Lincoln* in a long Oration exhorted Dr. *Ridley* to recant, and submit himself to the universal Faith of Christ, in this Manner.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the Effect of this our Commission with good Advice, considering both Points thereof, how that Authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true Doctrine of the Church, which first was founded by * *Peter* at *Rome* immediately after the Death of Christ, and from him by lineal Succession hath been brought to this our Time, if you will be content to renounce your former Errors, recant your heretical and seditious Opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted

* Nay, the Faith of Christ may be proved to have been at *Rome* in *Tiberius*'s Time before *Peter* came there.

Anno 1555. undoubted Faith and Truth of the Goſpel, received and always taught by the Catholick and apoſtolick Church, which the King and Queen all the Nobles of this Realm, and Commons of the ſame, all Chriſtian People have and do confeſs, you only ſtanding alone by yourſelf: You underſtand and perceive, I am ſure, that Authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due Penance to join and aſſociate you again into the Number of the Catholicks and Chriſt's Church, from which you have ſo long ſtrayed, without which no Man can be ſaved, which Thing I and my Lords here, yea and all as well Nobles and Commons of this Realm moſt heartily deſire, and I for my Part [here he put off his Cap] moſt earneſtly exhort you to do.

Though the Country of *Rome* be not ſtrange, yet the Doctrine *Rome* is ſtrange.

Remember, Mr. *Ridley*, it is no ſtrange Country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken Degrees in the School. You were made a Prieſt, and became a Preacher, ſetting forth the ſame Doctrine which we do now. You were made Biſhop according to our Laws; and to be ſhort, it is not ſo long ago ſince you ſeparated yourſelf from us, and in the Time of Hereſy became a Setter forth of that deviliſh and ſeditious Doctrine which in theſe latter Days was preached amongſt us. For at what Time the new Doctrine of only Faith began to ſpring, the Council willing to win my Lord Chancellor, ſent you to him (I then being in my Lord's Houſe unknown as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my Lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain Points of your Talk, and Means of your Perſwaſion, and amongſt others this was one, that you ſhould ſay, * Tuſh, my Lord, this Matter of Juſtification is but a Trifle, let us not ſtick to condeſcend herein to them; but for God's Love, my Lord, ſtand ſtoutly in the Verity of the Sacrament: For I ſee they will aſſault that alſo. If this be true (as my Lord is a Man credible enough in ſuch a Matter) hereby it is declared of what Mind you were then, as touching the Truth of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament.

* The Words of Dr. *Ridley* falſly reported.

Alſo in a Sermon of yours at *Paul*'s Croſs, you as effectually and as catholickly ſpake of that bleſſed Sacrament, as any Man might have done, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtrange Thing, nor unknown Place whereunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to return thither from whence you came: That is, with us to acknowledge the Church of God, wherein no Man can err, to acknowledge the Supremacy of our moſt Reverend Father in God, the Pope's Holineſs, which (as I ſaid) lineally taketh his Deſcent from *Peter*, upon whom Chriſt promiſed before his Death, to build his Church; which Supremacy or Prerogative, the moſt Antient Fathers in all Ages, in all Times did acknowledge: And here he brought a Place or two out of the Doctors, but eſpecially ſtaid upon a Place of St. *Auguſtine*, who writeth in this Manner: All the Chriſtian Countries beyond the Sea are ſubject to the Church of *Rome*. Here you ſee, Mr. *Ridley*, that all *Chriſtendom* is ſubject to the Church of *Rome*. What ſhould hinder you therefore to confeſs the ſame as St. *Auguſtine* and other Fathers.

Then Dr. *Ridley* deſired his Patience to ſuffer him to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Premiſſes, leſt the Multitude of Things might confound his Memory; and having Leave granted him, he ſaid in this Manner:

Ridley. My Lord, I moſt heartily thank your Lordſhip as well for your Gentleneſs, as alſo for your Sobriety in Talk, and for your good and favourable Zeal in this learned Exhortation, in which I have marked eſpecially three Points, which you uſed to perſuade me to leave my Doctrine and Religion, which I perfectly know and am throughly perſuaded to be grounded not upon Man's Imagination and Decrees, but upon the infallible Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel, and not to look back and to return to the *Romiſh* See, contrary to mine Oath, contrary to the Prerogative and Crown of this Realm, and eſpecially (which moveth me moſt) contrary to the expreſſed Word of God.

The firſt Point is this, that the See of *Rome* taking his Beginning from *Peter*, upon whom you ſay Chriſt hath built his Church, hath in all Ages lineally from Biſhop to Biſhop been brought to this Time.

Secondly, That even the holy Fathers from Time to Time have confeſſed the ſame.

Thirdly, That in that I was once of the ſame Opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

Firſt, As touching the Saying of Chriſt, from whence your Lordſhip gathereth the Foundation of the Church upon *Peter*, truly the Place is not to be underſtood as you take it, as the Circumſtance of the Place will declare. For after that Chriſt had asked his Diſciples whom Men judged him to be, and they had anſwered, that ſome had ſaid he was a Prophet, ſome *Elias*, ſome one Thing, ſome another, then he ſaid, Whom ſay ye that I am! Then *Peter* ſaid, I ſay that thou art Chriſt the Son of God. To whom Chriſt anſwered, I ſay, Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Stone I will build my Church; that is to ſay, Upon this Stone, not meaning *Peter* himſelf, as tho' he would have conſtituted a mortal Man, ſo frail and brittle a Foundation of his ſtable and infallible Church; but upon this Rock-ſtone, that is, this Confeſſion of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my Church. For this is the Foundation and Beginning of all Chriſtianity, with Word, Heart and Mind to confeſs that Chriſt is the Son of God. Whoſoever believeth not this, Chriſt is not in him; and he cannot have the Mark of Chriſt printed in his Forehead, which confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the Son of God.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid unto *Peter*, that upon this Rock, that is, upon this his Confeſſion, that he was Chriſt the Son of God, he would build his Church; to declare, that without this Faith no Man can come to Chriſt: So that this Belief, that Chriſt is the Son of God, is the Foundation of our Chriſtianity, and the Support of our Church. Here you ſee upon what Foundation Chriſt's Church is built, not upon the Frailty of Man, but upon the ſtable and infallible Word of God.

Now as touching the lineal Deſcent of the Biſhops in the See of *Rome*, true it is, that the Patriarchs of *Rome* in the Apoſtles Time, and long after, were great Maintainers and Setters forth of Chriſt's Glory, in which, above all other Countries and Regions, there eſpecially was preached the true Goſpel, the Sacraments were moſt duly adminiſtred; and as before Chriſt's coming it was a City ſo valiant in Power, and martial Affairs, that all the World was in a Manner ſubject to it, and after Chriſt's Paſſion divers of the Apoſtles there ſuffered Perſecution for the Goſpel's ſake: So after that

the Emperors, their Hearts being illuminated, received the Goſpel, and became Chriſtians, the Goſpel there, as well for the great Power and Dominion, as for the Fame of the Place, flouriſhed moſt, whereby the Biſhops of that Place were had in more Reverence and Honour, moſt eſteemed in all Councils and Aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to be their Head, but becauſe the Place was moſt reverenced and ſpoken of, for the great Power and Strength of the ſame. As now here in *England*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in Seſſions and Settings hath the Preheminence of the other Biſhops, not that he is the Head and Ruler of them; but for the Dignity of the Biſhoprick (and therewith the People ſmiled). Wherefore the Doctors in their Writings have ſpoken moſt reverently of this See of *Rome*, and in their Writings preferred it; and this is the Prerogative which your Lordſhip did rehearſe the ancient Doctors to give to the See of *Rome*.

The See of *Rome*, ſo long as it continued in ſound Doctrine, was worthy to be reverenced.

Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the See of *Rome*, as long as it continued in the Promotion and ſetting forth of God's Glory, and in due preaching of the Goſpel, as it did many Years after Chriſt. But after that the Biſhops of that See, ſeeking their own Pride, and not God's Honour, began to ſet themſelves above Kings and Emperors, challenging to them the Title of God's Vicars, the Dominon and Supremacy over all the World, I cannot but with St. *Gregory*, a Biſhop of *Rome* alſo, confeſs that the Biſhop of that Place is the very true Antichriſt, whereof St. *John* ſpeaketh by the Name of the Whore of *Babylon*; and ſay with the ſaid St. *Gregory*, He that maketh himſelf a Biſhop over all the World, is worſe than Antichriſt.

Now whereas you ſay St. *Auguſtine* ſhould ſeem not only to give ſuch a Prerogative, but alſo Supremacy to the See of *Rome*, in that he ſaith all the Chriſtian World is ſubject to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore ſhould give to that See a certain Kind of Subjection: I am ſure that your Lordſhip knoweth, that in St. *Auſtin*'s Time there were four Patriarchs, of *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, *Anticch*, and *Rome*, which Patriarchs had under them certain Countries; as in *England* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath under him divers Biſhopricks in *England* and *Wales*, to whom he may be ſaid to be their Patriarch. Alſo your Lordſhip knoweth right well, that at what Time St. *Auſtin* wrote that Book, he was then Biſhop in *Africa*. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between *Europe* and *Africa* lieth the Sea called the *Mediterranean* Sea, ſo that all the Countries in *Europe* to him which is in *Africa*, may be called Countries beyond the Sea. Hereof St. *Auſtin* ſaith, All the Chriſtian Countries beyond the Seas and remote Regions, are ſubject to the See of *Rome*. If I ſhould ſay all Countries beyond the Sea, I do except *England*, which to me now being in *England*, is not beyond the Sea. In this Senſe St. *Auſtin*, ſaith, All the Countries beyond the Sea are ſubject to the See of *Rome*; declaring thereby that *Rome* was one of the Sees of the four Patriarchs, and under it *Europe*, by what Subjection I pray you? Only for a Preheminence; as we here in *England* ſay, that all the Biſhopricks in *England* are ſubject to the Archbiſhopricks of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Rome may be Mother of Churches, and yet not ſupream Head of Churches.

For this Preheminence alſo the other Doctors (as you recited) ſay, that *Rome* is the Mother of Churches, as the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* is Mother to the Biſhoprick of *Oxford*, becauſe the Biſhoprick of *Oxford* came from the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, and they were once both one; and ſo is the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* Mother to the other Biſhopricks which are in her Province. In like Manner the Archbiſhoprick of *York* is Mother to the *North* Biſhopricks; and yet no Man will ſay, that *Lincoln*, *Canterbury*, or *York*, is ſupream Head to other Biſhopricks; neither then ought we to confeſs the See of *Rome* to be ſupream Head, becauſe the Doctors in their Writings confeſs the See of *Rome* to be Mother of Churches. Anno 1555.

Now where you ſay, I was once of the ſame Religion which you are of, the Truth is I cannot but confeſs the ſame. Yet ſo was St. *Paul* a Perſecutor of Chriſt. But in that you ſay that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my Meſſage to my Lord of *Wincheſter*, ſhould deſire him to ſtand ſtout in that groſs Opinion of the Supper of the Lord; in very Deed I was ſent (as your Lordſhip ſaid) from the Council to my Lord of *Wincheſter*, to exhort him to receive alſo the true Confeſſion of Juſtification; and becauſe he was very refractory, I ſaid to him, Why my Lord, what make you ſo great a Matter herein? You ſee many Anabaptiſts riſe againſt the Sacrament of Altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them: For at that Time my Lord of *Wincheſter* and I had to do with two Anabaptiſts in *Kent*. In this Senſe I willed my Lord to be ſtiff in the Defence of the Sacrament againſt the deteſtable Errors of Anabaptiſts, and not in the Confirmation of that groſs and carnal Opinion now maintained.

In like Sort as touching the Sermon which I made at *Paul*'s Croſs, you ſhall underſtand that there were at *Paul*'s, and divers other Places, fixed railing Bills againſt the Sacrament, terming it *Jack of the Box*, The Sacramenr of the Halter, *Round Robin*, with ſuch unſeemly Terms, for which Cauſes, I to rebuke the unreverend Behaviour of certain evil diſpoſed Perſons, preached as reverendly of that Matter as I might, declaring what Eſtimation and Reverence ought to be given to it, what Danger inſued the miſhandling thereof, affirming in that Sacrament to be truly and verily the Body and Blood of Chriſt, effectually by Grace and Spirit: Which Words the Unlearned underſtanding not, ſuppoſed that I had meant of the groſs and carnal Being which the *Romiſh* Decrees ſet forth, that a Body having Life and Motion, ſhould be indeed under the Shapes of Bread and Wine.

Here the Biſhop of *Lincoln* interrupting ſaid:

Lincoln. Well, Mr. *Ridley*, thus you wreſt Places to your own Pleaſure; for whereas St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, That the whole Chriſtian World is ſubject to the See of *Rome* without any Limitation, and uſeth theſe Words, Beyond the Seas, and remote Regions, only to expreſs the Latitude of the Dominion of the Sea of *Rome*, willing thereby to declare that all the World, yea Countries far diſtant from *Rome*, yet nevertheleſs are ſubject to that See, yet you would wreſt it, and leave it only to *Europe*. I am ſure you will not deny, but all the Countries is more than *Europe*.

Ridley. Indeed, my Lord, if St. *Auguſtine* had ſaid ſimply, All the Countries, and not added, Beyond the Seas, it had been without Limitation; but in that he ſaid, All the Countries beyond the Seas, he himſelf doth limit

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the universal Proposition, declaring how far he meant by All the Countries.

The Bishop not staying for his Answer; proceeded, saying:

Lincoln. Well, if I should stay upon this Place, I could bring many more Places of the Fathers for the Confirmation thereof; but we have certain Instructions according to which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the Matter with you, but only to take your Answers to certain Articles, and used this in the Way of Disputation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

Ye must consider that the Church of Christ lieth not hid, but is a City on the Mountain, and a Candle on the Candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the Church of Christ is Catholick, and universally spread throughout the World, not contained in the * Alligation of Places, not comprehended in the Circuit of *England*, not contained in the Compass of *Germany* and *Saxony* as your Church is.

* And why then do you alligate it to the City of *Rome?*

Wherefore, Mr. *Ridley*, for God's Love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the Realm the Truth, it shall not be (as you alledge) prejudicial to the Crown; for the King and Queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped Power taken of their Predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know there are two Powers, the one declared by the Sword, the other by the Keys. The Sword is given to Kings and Rulers of Countries; the Keys were delivered by Christ to *Peter*, and of him left to all the Successors. As touching our Goods, Possessions, and Lives, we with you acknowledge us Subjects to the King and Queen, who hath the temporal Sword; but as concerning Matters of Religion, as touching God's Quarrel and his Word, we acknowledge another Head: And as the King and the Queen their Highness do in all worldly Affairs justly challenge the Prerogative and Primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical Matters they acknowledge themselves not to be Heads and Rulers, but Members of Christ's Body. Why therefore should you stick at that Matter, which their Majesties have forsaken, and yielded.

Wherefore, Mr. *Ridley*, you shall not only not do Injury to the Crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties Honour, in acknowledging with all *Christendom* the Pope's Holiness to be supreme Head of Christ's Church Militant here on Earth, but do a Thing most agreeable to them, and most desired of his Holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your Errors, acknowledging with the Residue of the Realm the common and publick Fault, you will do what all Men most heartily desire; you will bring Quietness to your Conscience, and Health to your Soul; then shall we with great Joy, by the Authority committed to us from the Cardinal's Grace, receive you into the Church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively Member of the same; but if you shall still be singular, if you shall still obstinately persevere in your Errors, stubbornly maintaining your former Heresies, then we must against our Will, according to our Commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the Church, lest the Rottenness of one Part in Process of Time putrify and corrupt the whole Body, then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal Judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the King and Queen's Highness, you must receive Punishment by the Laws of this Realm; due for Hereticks.

Wherefore, Mr. *Ridley*, consider your State; remember your former Degrees, spare your Body, especially consider your Soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious Blood, do not you rathly cast away that which was precious in God's Sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the Church: We do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us) but that is the Office of the temporal Judges*; we only declare you to be none of the Church, and then you must, according to the Tenor of them, and Pleasure of the Rulers, abide their Determination, so that we, after we have given you up to the temporal Rulers, have no further to do with you.

* But that Office you yourselves have assigned unto them.

But I trust, Mr. *Ridley*, we shall not have Occasion to do what we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that Point of our Commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon Recantation and Repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the Unity of the Church.

Then Dr. *Ridley*, with often Interruption, at length spake.

Ridley. My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted Church of Christ, in which no Man can err †, without which no Man can be saved, which is spread throughout all the World, that is, the Congregation of the Faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one Place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the World; and where Christ's Sacraments are daily administred, his Gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's Church shine as a City upon an Hill and as a Candle in the Candlestick: But rather it is such as you that would have the Church of Christ bound to a Place, who appoint the same to *Rome*, that there and no where else is the Foundation of Christ's Church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's Church is every were founded, in every Place where his Gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the Church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise Counsel of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving Precepts how the catholick Church may be in all Schisms and Heresies known, writeth in this Manner: When *(saith he)* one Part is corrupted with Heresies, then prefer the whole World before that one Part; but if the greatest Part be infected, then prefer Antiquity.

† He meaneth, in which general Error can be finally.

In like Manner now when I perceive the greatest Part of Christianity to be infected with the Poison of the See of *Rome*, I repair to the Usage of the primitive Church, which I find clean contrary to the Pope's Decrees; as in that the Priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the Laity to receive in both Kinds, and such like: Wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the Antiquity of the primitive Church, before the Novelty of the *Romish* Church.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, these Faults which you charge the See of *Rome* withal, are indeed no Faults. For first it was never forbid the Laity, but that they might, if * they demanded, receive under both Kinds. You know also, that

* The *Bohemians* required that, but were deny'd it.

Christ after his Resurrection, at what Time he went with his Apostles to *Galilee*, opened himself by breaking of Bread. You know that St. *Paul* after his long sailing towards *Rome* brake Bread, and that the Apostles came together in breaking of Bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to administer the Sacrament under the Form of Bread only: And yet the Church had just Occasion to decree, that the Laity should receive in one Kind only, thereby to take away an Opinion of the Unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both Flesh and Blood under the Form of Bread. Therefore to take away their Opinion, and to establish better the Peoples Faith, the Holy Ghost in the Church thought fit to decree, that the Laity should receive only in one Kind; and it is no News for the Church upon just Consideration to alter Rites and Ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. *Paul* writing to certain of the *Gentiles*, who had received the Gospel, biddeth them to abstain from Things stifled, and from Blood, so that this seemeth to be an express Commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat Bloodings? How is it lawful but by the Permission of the Church.

Argument. The Church did abrogate the Precept of the Apostles of strangled and bloodings: *Ergo*, the Church likewise hath Authority touching the Ministration of the Sacrament under both Kinds.

Ridley. My Lord such Things as St *Paul* enjoyned to the *Gentiles* for a Sufferance, by a little and little to win the *Jews* to Christ, were only Commandments of Time, and respected not the Successors: But Christ's Commandment, Do this (that is, that which he did in Remembrance, which was not to administer in one Kind only) was not a Commandment for a Time, but to persevere to the World's End.

Answer. The Precept of the Apostles was but for a Time, and for a Purpose, by little and little to win the *Jews*.

But the Bishop of *Lincoln*, not attending to this Answer, without any Stay proceeded in this Oration.

So that the Church seemeth to have Authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his Ascension, which should teach the Apostles all Truth, to have Power and Jurisdiction to alter such Points of the Scripture, ever reserving the Foundation: But we came not, as I said before, in this Sort to reason the Matter with you, but have certain Instructions ministred unto us, according to the Tenor of which we must proceed, proposing certain Articles, unto which we require your Answer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without farther Disputations or Reasoning; for we have already stretch'd our Instructions, in that we suffer'd you to debate and reason the Matter, in such Sort as we have done: Which Articles you shall hear now, and to morrow at Eight of the Clock in St. *Mary*'s Church we will require and take your Answers; and then according to the same proceed: And if you require a Copy of them, you shall have it, Pen, Ink, and Paper, also such Books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the University.

The Articles.

IN the Name of God Amen. *We* John *of* Lincoln, James *of* Gloucester, *and* John of Bristol, *Bishops*, &c.

1. *We do object to thee* Nicholas Ridley, *and to thee* Hugh Latimer, *jointly and severally, First, that thou* Nicholas Ridley *in this high University of* Oxford, *in the Year* 1554, *in the Months of* April, May, June, July, *or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed and openly defended and maintained, and in many other Times and Places besides, that the true and natural Body of Christ, after the Consecration of the Priest, is not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar.* Anno 1555.

2. Item, *That in the Year and Months aforesaid thou hast publickly affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the Altar remaineth still the Substance of Bread and Wine.*

3. Item, *that in the said Year and Months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the Mass is no propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead.*

4. Item, *That in the Year, Place, and Months aforesaid, these the aforesaid Assertions solemnly had been condemned, by the scholastical Censure of this School, as heretical and contrary to the catholick Faith, by the worshipful Dr.* Weston, *Prolocutor then of the Convocation-house, as also by other learned Men of both the Universities.*

5. Item, *That all and singular the Premisses be true, notorious, and famous, and openly known by publick Fame, as well to them near Hand, and also to them in distant Places far off.*

All these Articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter Rehearsal shall be of any of them, the Reader may have Recourse hither and peruse the same, and not to trouble the Story with several Repetitions thereof.

Examination upon the said Articles.

AFTER these Articles were read, the Bishops took Counsel together. At last the Bishop of *Lincoln* said, These are the very same Articles you in open Disputation here in the University did maintain and defend. What say you unto the First? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively.

Dr. *Ridley* examined upon the Articles aforesaid.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I supposed your Gentleness had been such, that you would have given me Space until to morrow, that upon good Advice I might bring a determinate Answer.

Lincoln. Yea, Mr. *Ridley*, I mean not that your Answers now shall be prejudicial to your Answers to-morrow. I will take your Answers at this Time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change these Answers to morrow what you will.

Ridley. Indeed, in like Manner at our last Disputations I had many Things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after Disputations I should have a Copy thereof, and License to change mine Answers, as I should think good. It was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the Notaries at that Time. So your Lordship pretended great Gentleness in giving me a Time; but this Gentleness is the same that Christ had of the High-priest. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no Power to condemn me, neither at any Time to put a Man to Death: So in like Sort the High-priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any Man to Death, but committed Christ to *Pilate*, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, altho' he sought all the Means for it that he might.

The Catholicks promise fair, but they perform nothing.

Then spake Dr. *Weston*, one of the Audience, What, do you make the King *Pilate?*

Ridley.

Anno 1555. *Ridley.* No, Mr. Doctor, I do but compare your Deeds with *Caiaphas* his Deeds and the High-priests, which would condemn no Man to Death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer *Pilate* to absolve and deliver Christ.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the Benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your Answers now as now, to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean Season we require you to answer directly to every Article, either affirmatively or negatively.

Dr. *Ridley's* Protestation. *Ridley.* Seeing you appoint me a Time to answer to morrow, and yet will take mine Answers out of Hand: First, I require the Notaries to take and write my Protestation, that in no Point I acknowledge your Authority, or admit you to be my Judges, in that Point you are authorized from the Pope. Therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the Authority of the Pope; and if your Lordship will give me Leave, I will shew the Causes which move me thereunto.

Lincoln. No Mr. *Ridley*, we have Instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you.

Ridley. I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak in few Words.

Dr. *Ridley* cannot be suffered to speak. *Lincoln.* No Mr. *Ridley*, we may not abuse the Hearers Ears.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three Words.

Lincoln. Well Mr. *Ridley*, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The Time is far past; therefore we require your Answer determinately. What say you to the first Article? and thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley. My Protestation always saved, that by this mine Answer, I do not condescend to your Authority, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I answer thus: In a Sense the first Article is true, and in a Sense it is false; for if you take really for truly, for spiritually by Grace and Efficacy, then it is true that the natural Body and Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament really and truly; but if you take these Terms so grosly, that you would conclude thereby a natural Body having Motion, to be contained under the Forms of Bread and Wine, really and truly, then really is not the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the Element of Water in our Baptism. Because this Answer was not understood, the Notaries knew not how to note it; wherefore the Bishop of *Lincoln* desired him to answer affirmatively or negatively, either to grant to the Article, or deny it.

Ridley. My Lord, you know that where any Equivocation (which is a Word having two Significations) is, except Distinction be given, no direct Answer can be made; for it is one of *Aristotle*'s Fallacies, containing two Questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one Answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which ascended into Heaven, which sitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the Quick and the Dead, only we differ in the Way and Manner of Being; we confess all one Thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the Manner of being there. I being fully by God's Word thereunto perswaded, confess Christ's natural Body to be in the Sacrament indeed by Spirit and Grace, because that whosoever worthily receiveth that Bread and Wine, receiveth effectually Christ's Body, and drinketh his Blood, that is, he is made effectually Partaker of his Passion; and you make a grosser Kind of Being, inclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving Body, under the Shape or Form of Bread and Wine.

Now, this Difference considered, to the Question thus I answer, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Christ really and truly, for spiritually by Grace and Efficacy; for so every worthy Receiver receiveth the very true Body of Christ; but if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable Body under the Forms of Bread and Wine, then in that Sense is not Christ's Body in the Sacrament really and indeed.

This Answer taken and penned of the Notaries, the Bishop of *Lincoln* proposed the second Question or Article. To whom he answered:

Ridley. Always my Protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the Sacrament is a certain Change in that Bread, which was before common Bread, is now made a lively Representation of Christ's Body, and not only a Figure, but effectually representeth his Body, that even as the mortal Body was nourished by that visible Bread, so is the internal Soul fed with the heavenly Food of Christ's Body, which the Eyes of Faith seeth, as the bodily Eyes seeth only Bread. Such a Sacramental Mutation I grant to be in the Bread and Wine, which truly is no small Change, but such a Change as no mortal Man can make, but only that Omnipotency of Christ's Word.

Then the Bishop of *Lincoln* desired him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further Declaration of the Matter. Then he answered:

Ridley. That notwithstanding the sacramental Mutation of the which he spake, and all the Doctors confessed, the true Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine remaineth: With which the Body is in like Sort nourished, as the Soul is by Grace and Spirit with the Body of Christ. Even so in Baptism the Body is washed with the visible Water, and the Soul is cleansed from all Filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the Water ceaseth not to be Water, but keepeth the Nature of Water still: In like Manner in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the Bread ceaseth not to be Bread.

Then the Notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second Article. The Bishop of *Lincoln* declared a Difference between the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptism, because that Christ did not say by the Water, This is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the Bread, This is my Body.

Then Dr. *Ridley* cited St. *Augustine*, which conferred both the Sacraments one with the other: But the Bishop of *Lincoln* notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third Article, and required a direct Answer. To whom *Ridley* said:

Ridley. Christ, as St. *Paul* writeth, made one perfect Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, neither can any Man reiterate that Sacrifice of his, and yet is the Communion an acceptable Sacrifice to God of Praise and Thanksgiving;

Thanksgiving; but to say that thereby Sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's Passion, of which the Communion is only a Memory) that is a great Derogation from the Merits of Christ's Passion: For the Sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembring his Passion, should be Partakers of the Merits of the same. For otherwise doth this Sacrament take upon it the Office of Christ's Passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain.

The Notaries penned this his Answer to be affirmative.

Lincoln. Indeed as you alledge out of St. *Paul*, Christ made one perfect Oblation for all the whole World, that is, that bloody Sacrifice upon the Cross; yet nevertheless he hath left this Sacrifice, but not bloody, in the Remembrance of that by which Sins are forgiven; which is no Derogation of Christ's Passion.

Then the Bishop of *Lincoln* recited the fourth Article. To which Dr. *Ridley* answered:

Ridley. That in some Part the fourth was true, and in some Part false; true, in that those his Assertions were condemned as Heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said, they were condemned *Scientia Scholastica*, in that the Disputations were in such Sort ordered, that it was far from any School Act.

This Answer being penned by the Notaries, the Bishop of *Lincoln* rehearsed the fifth Article. To which Dr. *Ridley* answered:

Ridley. That the Premisses were in such Sort true, as in these Answers he had declared. Whether that all Men spake Evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every Man reported.

When this Answer also was taken by the Notaries, the Bishop of *Lincoln* said:

Lincoln. To-morrow, at eight of the Clock, you shall appear before us in St. *Mary*'s Church, and then because we cannot well agree upon your Answer to the first Article (for it was long before he was understood) if it will please you to write your Answer, you shall have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and Books, such as you shall require; but if you write any thing more than your Answers to these Articles, we will not receive it: So he charging the Mayor with him, declaring also to the Mayor, that he should suffer him to have a Pen and Ink, dismissed Dr. *Ridley*, and sent for Mr. *Latimer*, who being brought to the Divinity-School, there tarried till they called for him.

Mr. Latimer *appeareth before the Commissioners.*

NOW after Dr. *Ridley* was committed to the Mayor, then the Bishop of *Lincoln* commanded the Bayliffs to bring in the other Prisoner, who as soon as he was placed, said to the Lords.

Latimer. My Lords, If I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old Man, and it is great Hurt to mine old Age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold Walls. Then said the Bishop of *Lincoln*:

Lincoln. Mr. *Latimer*, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the Bayliff's Fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended.

The Order of Mr *Latimer*'s Apparel.

Then Mr. *Latimer* bowed his Knee down to the Ground, holding his Hat in his Hand, having a Kerchief on his Head, and upon it a Night-cap or two, and a great Cap (such as Townsmen use, with two broad Flaps to button under the Chin) wearing an old thread-bare *Bristow* Frize Gown girded to his Body with a Penny Leather Girdle, at which hanged by a long String of Leather his Testament, and his Spectacles without a Case, depending about his Neck upon his Breast. After this the Bishop of *Lincoln* began on this Manner. Anno 1555.

The Bishop of *Lincoln*'s Oration to Mr. *Latimer*.

Lincoln. Mr. *Latimer*, you shall understand, that I and my Lords here have a Commission from my Lord Cardinal *Pool*'s Grace, *Legate a latere*, to this Realm of *England*, from our most reverend Father in God, the Pope's Holiness, to examine you upon certain Opinions and Assertions of yours, which you as well here openly in Disputations in the Year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other Times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In which Commission be specially two Points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your Errors, and together with all this Realm, yea, all the World confess the Truth, we, upon due Repentance on your Part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a stray'd Sheep, but adjoin you again to the Unity of Christ's Church, from which you in the Time of Schism, fell. So that it is no new Place to which I exhort you; I desire you to return thither from whence you went.

But this Church then standeth upon the Truth of God's Word, and not upon the Fantasies of Man.

Consider, Mr. *Latimer*, that without the Unity of the Church there is no Salvation, and in the Church can be no Errors. Therefore what should hinder you to confess that which all the Realm confesseth, to forsake that which the King and Queen their Majesties have renounced, and all the Realm recanted: It was a common Error, and it is now of all confessed; it will be no more Shame to you than it was to us all. Consider, Mr. *Latimer*, that within these twenty Years this Realm also with all the World confessed one Church, acknowledged in Christ's Church an Head, and by what Means, and for what Occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all Times and Ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good Foundation the See of *Rome* was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the Rehearsal would be opprobrious; it is no usurped Power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon *Peter* by Christ, a sure Foundation, a perfect Builder, as by divers Places, as well of the ancient Fathers, as by the express Word of God may be proved.

How you spared the Dead, your own Acts can bear Witness.

With that Mr. *Latimer*, who before leaned his Head on his Hand, began to remove his Cap and Kerchief from his Ears. The Bishop proceeded, saying,

For Christ spake expressly to *Peter*, saying, *Feed my Sheep*, and *rule my Sheep*, which Word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's Flock, but includeth also a certain Preheminence and Government; and therefore is the King called a King from Ruling: So that in saying Rule, Christ declared a Power which he gave to *Peter*, which Jurisdiction and Power *Peter* by Hand delivered to *Clement*, and so in all Ages hath it remained in the See of *Rome*. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the Realm your Errors and false Assertions, then will you do what we

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most desire, then shall we rest upon the first Part of our Commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the Church, and according to the Authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due Repentance, the Benefit of Absolution, to which the King and Queen their Majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and needed no Reconciliation: Yet lest the Putrifaction and Rottenness of all the Body might be noisome, and do Damage to the Head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, by him, as a Legate to the Pope's Holiness, to be Partakers of the Reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your Blindness, if you will not acknowledge your Errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your Opinions, if by Schism and Heresy you will divide your self from your Church, then must we proceed to the second Part of the Commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal Sword of the Realm, and not we*, will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no Member of the Church, to declare that you are the Son of Perdition, a lost Child, and as you are a rotten Member of the Church, so to cut you off from the Church, and so to commit you to the temporal Judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the Tenor of their Laws.

* He that delivereth me unto thee hath the greater Sin, saith Christ.

Therefore, Mr. *Latimer*, for God's Love consider your Estate, remember you are a learned Man, you have taken Degrees in the Schools, born the Office of a Bishop; remember you are an old Man, spare your Body, accelerate not your Death, and especially remember your Soul's Health, and the Peace of your Conscience; consider that if you should die in this State, you shall be a stinking Sacrifice to God; for it is the Cause that maketh the Martyr, and not the Death: Consider that if you die in this Sate, you die without Grace, for without the Church can be no Salvation. Let not Vain-glory have the upper Hand, humble yourself, captivate your Understanding, subdue your Reason, submit yourself to the Determination of the Church; do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that Part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my Part (then the Bishop put off his Cap) again with all my Heart exhort you.

These Reasons may perswade the Flesh, but cannot satisfy the Conscience.

After the Bishop had somewhat paused, then Mr. *Latimer* lift up his Head (for before he leaned on his Elbow) and asked whether his Lordship had done speaking; and the Bishop answered, Yea.

Latimer. Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a Word or two?

Lincoln. Yea, Mr. *Latimer*, so that you use a modest kind of Talk, without Railing or Taunts.

Mr. *Latimer* hath leave to sit down.

Latimer. I beseech your Lordship, license me to sit down.

Lincoln. At your Pleasure, Mr. *Latimer*, take as much Ease as you will.

Answer of Mr. *Latimer* to the Bishop of *Lincoln.*

Latimer. Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many Words to come to the Unity of the Church. I confess (my Lord) a Catholick Church, spread throughout all the World, in which no Man can err, without which Unity of the Church no Man can be saved, but I know perfectly by God's Word, that this Church is in all the World, and hath not its Foundation in *Rome* only, as you say; and methought your Lordship brought a Place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a Jurisdiction given to *Peter*, in that Christ bade him govern his People. Indeed, my Lord, St. *Peter* did his Office well and truly, in that he was bid to govern; but since the Bishops of *Rome* have taken a new Kind of Government. Indeed they ought to govern, but how my Lord? not as they will themselves: But this Government must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the Word of God.

The universal Church hath not its Foundation only in *Rome.* Argument. Christ bade *Peter* govern his People: *Ergo*, the Pope must reign over Kings and Emperors.

But the Bishops of *Rome* have turned the Rule according to the Word of God, into the Rule according to their own Pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: As there is a Book set forth which hath divers Points in it, and amongst others, this Point is one which your Lordship went about to prove by this Word, Rule, and the Argument which he bringeth forth for the Proof of that Matter, is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said, If there ariseth any Controversy among the People, the Priests of the Order of *Levi* shall decide the Matter, according to the Law of God; so it must be taken. This Book perceiving this Authority to be given to the Priests of the old Law, taketh Occasion to prove the same to be given to the Bishops and other the Clergy of the new Law: But in proving this Matter, whereas it was said there, as the Priests of the Order of *Levi* should determine the Matter according to God's Law, that (according to God's Law) is left out, and only is recited, as the Priests of the Order of *Levi* shall decide the Matter, so it ought to be taken of the People; a large Authority, I ensure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's Coin? with which Terms the Audience smiled. This is much like the Ruling which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give such Authority to the Clergy, to Rule all Things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their Commission. Now, I trust, my Lord, I do not rail yet.

Deut. 21. Clipping of God's Scriptures by the Papists.

Lincoln. No, Mr. *Latimer*, your Talk is more like Taunts than Railing: But in that I have not read the Book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein.

Latimer. Yes, my Lord, the Book is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is Bishop of *Glouceſter*, whom I never knew, neither did at any Time see him to my Knowledge. With that the People laughed, because the Bishop of *Glouceſter* sate there in Commission.

Then the Bishop of *Glouceſter* stood up, and said it was his Book.

Latimer. Was it yours, my Lord? Indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the Brightness of the Sun shining betwixt you and me. Then the Audience laughed again; and Mr. *Latimer* spake unto them, saying, Why my Masters, this is no laughing Matter. I answer upon Life and Death. *Wo unto you that laugh now, for ye shall weep.*

The Bishop of *Lincoln* commanded Silence, and then said: Mr. *Latimer*, if you had kept yourself within your Bounds, if you had not

uſed ſuch Scoffs and Taunts this had not been done.

Brooks Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſpeaketh.

After this the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſaid in excuſing of his Book: Mr. *Latimer*, hereby every Man may ſee what Learning you have.

Then Mr. *Latimer* interrupted him ſaying: Do you look for Learning at my Hands who have gone ſo long to the School of Oblivion, making the bare Walls my Library, keeping me ſo long in Priſon without Book, or Pen and Ink; and now you let me looſe to come and anſwer to Articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for Life and Death, and over-night the one thro' Friends and Favour, is cheriſhed, and hath good Counſel given him how to encounter with his Enemy. The other, for Envy or lack of Friends, all the whole Night is ſet in the Stocks. In the Morning when they ſhall meet, the one is in Strength and luſty; the other is ſtiff in his Limbs, and almoſt dead for Feebleneſs. Think you, that to run thorough this Man with a Spear is not a goodly Victory?

But the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* interrupting his Anſwer, proceeded, ſaying: I went not about to recite any Places of Scripture in that Place of my Book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had juſt Occaſion of Reprehenſion: But I only in that Place formed an Argument *a Majore*, in this Senſe; that if in the old Law the Prieſts had Power to decide Matters of Controverſy, much more then ought the Authority to be given to the Clergy in the new Law: And I pray you in this Point what availeth their Rehearſal, According to the Law of God?

Latimer. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge Authority to be given to the Spirituality to decide Matters of Religion, and as my Lord ſaid even now, to Rule; but they muſt do it according to the Word and Law of God, and not after their own Will, after their own Imaginations and Fancies.

The Biſhop of *Glouceſter* would have ſpoke more, ſaving that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with Mr. *Latimer*, but to take his determinate Anſwers to their Articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame Articles which were propoſed to Dr. *Ridley*. But Mr. *Latimer* interrupted him, ſpeaking to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Well, my Lord, I could wiſh more faithful dealing with God's Word, and not to leave out a Part, and ſnatch a Part here, and another there, but to rehearſe the whole faithfully.

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, not attending to this Saying of Mr. *Latimer*, proceeded in rehearſing the Articles in Form and Senſe as I declared before in the Examination of the Articles, propoſed to Dr. *Ridley*, and required Mr. *Latimer*'s Anſwer to the Firſt. Then Mr. *Latimer* making his Proteſtation, that notwithſtanding theſe his Anſwers it ſhould not be taken that thereby he ſhould acknowledge any Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſaying, that he was the King and Queen's Majeſty's Subject, and not the Pope's, neither could ſerve two Maſters at one Time, except he ſhould now renounce one of them; required the Notaries ſo to take his Proteſtation, that whatſoever he ſhould ſay or do, it ſhould not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any Authority that came from the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Proteſtation of Mr. *Latimer*.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that his Proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken; he required him to anſwer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the firſt Article, and ſo recited the ſame again: And Mr. *Latimer* anſwered as followeth:

Mr. *Latimer's* Anſwer to the firſt Article.

Latimer. I do not deny, my Lord, that in the Sacrament by Spirit and Grace is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, becauſe that every Man by receiving bodily that Bread and Wine, ſpiritually receiveth the Body and Blood, and is made Partaker thereby of the Merits of Chriſt's Paſſion: But I deny that the Body and Chriſt is in ſuch a Manner in the Sacrament as you would have it.

Lincoln. Then Mr. *Latimer* you anſwer affirmatively.

Latimer. Yea, if you mean of that groſs and carnal Being which you do take.

The Notaries took his Anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. *Latimer*, to the ſecond Article? and recited the ſame.

Mr. *Latimer's* Anſwer to the ſecond Article.

What Change is in the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, not in the Nature, but in the Dignity of repreſenting.

Latimer. There is, my Lord, a Change in the Bread and Wine, and ſuch a Change as no Power, but the Omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was Bread, ſhould now have the Dignity to exhibit Chriſt's Body, and yet the Bread is ſtill Bread, and the Wine ſtill Wine: For the Change is not in the Nature, but in the Dignity, becauſe now that which was common Bread hath the Dignity to exhibit Chriſt's Body: For whereas it was common Bread, it is now no more common Bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy Bread ſanctify'd by God's Word.

With that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſmiled, ſaying: Lo, Mr. *Latimer*, ſee what Steadfaſtneſs is in your Doctrine. That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſh: For whereas you moſt railed at Holy Bread, you now make your Communion Holy Bread.

Latimer. Tuſh, a Ruſh for your Holy Bread. I ſay the Bread in the Communion is an Holy Bread indeed.

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* interrupted him, and ſaid: O, you make a Difference betwixt Holy Bread and Holy Bread (with that the Audience laughed). Well, Mr. *Latimer*, is not this your Anſwer, that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after the Words of Conſecration?

Latimer. Yes verily, it muſt needs be ſo. For Chriſt himſelf calleth it Bread, St. *Paul* calleth it Bread, the Doctors confeſs the ſame, the Nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I call it Holy Bread, not in that I make no Difference between your Holy Bread and this, but for the Holy Office which it beareth, that is, to be a Figure of Chriſt's Body, and not only a bare Figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the Notaries penned his Anſwer in the Affirmative.

Lincoln. What ſay you to the third Queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Latimer. No, no, my Lord, Chriſt made one perfect Sacrifice for all the whole World, neither can any Man offer him again, neither can the Prieſt offer up Chriſt again for the Sins of Man, which he took away by offering himſelf once for all (as St. *Paul* ſaith) upon the Croſs, neither is there any Propitiation for our Sins ſaving his Croſs only.

So the Notaries penned his Anſwer to this Article alſo affirmatively.

Lincoln.

Anno 1555. *Lincoln.* What ſay you to the fourth, Mr. *Latimer?* and then recited it. After the Recital whereof, when Mr. *Latimer* anſwered not, the Biſhop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Latimer. Yes, but I do not underſtand what you mean thereby.

Lincoln. Marry, only this, that theſe your Aſſertions were condemned by Dr. *Weſton* as Hereſies: Is it not ſo, Mr. *Latimer?*

Mr. *Latimer's* Anſwer to the fourth Article. *Latimer.* Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjuſtly, he that ſhall be Judge of all, knoweth.

The Notaries alſo took this Anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. *Latimer*, to the fifth Article? and recited it.

Latimer. I know not what you mean by theſe Terms. I am no Lawyer, I wiſh you would propoſe the Matter plainly.

Lincoln. In that we proceed according to the Law, we muſt uſe their Terms alſo. The Meaning only is this, that theſe your Aſſertions are notorious, evil-ſpoken of, and yet common and frequent in the Mouths of the People.

Mr. *Latimer's* Anſwer to the fifth Article. *Latimer.* I cannot tell how much, nor what Men talk of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I have been ſecluded a long Time. What Men report of them I know not, not care not.

This Anſwer taken, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, Mr. *Latimer*, we mean not that theſe your Anſwers ſhall be prejudicial to you. To Morrow you ſhall appear before us again, and then it ſhall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you Reſpite till to Morrow, truſting that after you have pondered well all Things againſt to Morrow, you will not be aſhamed to confeſs the Truth.

Latimer. Now, my Lord, I pray you give me Licence in three Words, to declare the Cauſes why I have refuſed the Authority of the Pope.

Lincoln. Nay, Mr. *Latimer*, to Morrow you ſhall have Licence to ſpeak forty Words.

Latimer. Nay, my Lords, I beſeech you to do with me now as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to Morrow again.

Lincoln. Yes, Mr. *Latimer*, you muſt needs appear again to Morrow.

Latimer. Truly, my Lord, as for my Part, I require no Reſpite, for I am at a Point; you ſhall give me Reſpite in vain: Therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to Morrow.

Lincoln. Yes, for we truſt, God will work with you againſt to Morrow. There is no Remedy, you muſt needs appear again to Morrow at eight of the Clock in St. *Mary's* Church. And forthwith the Biſhop charged the Mayor with Mr. *Latimer*, and diſmiſſed him, and then brake up their Seſſion for that Day, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The ſecond Seſſion.

THE next Day following (which was the Firſt of *October*) ſomewhat after eight of the Clock, the ſaid Lords repaired to St. *Mary's* Church, and after they were ſet in a high Throne well trimm'd with Cloth of Tiſſue and Silk, then appeared Dr. *Ridley*, who was ſet at a framed Table a good Space from the Biſhop's Feet, which Table had a Silk Cloth caſt over it, and the Place was encompaſſed about with framed Seats in quadrate Form, partly for Gentlemen who repaired thither (for this was Seſſion-Day of Gaol-Delivery) and Heads of the Univerſity to ſit, and partly to keep off the Preſs of the Audience: For the whole Body, as well of the Univerſity as of the Town, came hither to ſee the End of theſe two Perſons. After Dr. *Ridley's* Appearance, and the Silence of the Audience, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſpake in Manner following:

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, yeſterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your Head, you excuſed yourſelf of that whereof no Man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your Cap for any Obſtinacy towards us, who as touching our own Perſons deſired no ſuch Obedience of you, but only in reſpect of them whoſe Perſons we bear; neither (you ſaid) for any Contempt that you bear to this worſhipful Audience, which, although juſtly may, yet in this Caſe, require no ſuch Humility of you; neither for any Derogation of Honour to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, in that he is deſcended from the royal Blood, in that he is a Man moſt noble, both for his excellent Qualities and ſingular Learning: For as touching thoſe Points, you ſaid, you would with all Humility, honour, reverence and worſhip his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the moſt reverend Father in God the Pope's Holineſs (with that the Biſhop with all then preſent put off their Caps, but Dr. *Ridley* moved not his) you ſaid you neither could, nor would by any Means be induced to give him Honour: But foraſmuch as this is the Point we told you of yeſterday, why we require Honour and Reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the Pains to move your Bonnet, we will take care to cauſe your Bonnet to be taken from you, unleſs you pretend Sickneſs, as yeſterday you did not.

Ridley. I pretend now none other Cauſe, than I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear, that not only in Word and Confeſſion, but alſo by all my Geſture and Behaviour, in no Point I agree or admit any Authority or Power that ſhall come from the Pope, and not for any Pride of Mind (as God is my Judge) neither for Contempt of your Lordſhips, or of this worſhipful Audience, neither for Derogation of Honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, as concerning thoſe Points which your Lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble Parentage and ſingular Graces in Learning. And as for taking my Cap away, your Lordſhip may do as it ſhall pleaſe you, it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhall be content with your Ordinance in that Behalf.

Lincoln. Foraſmuch as you do now anſwer as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we did then, and forthwith one of the Beadles very haſtily ſnatched his Cap from his Head.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* began the Examination in the following Manner.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, yeſterday we took your Anſwer to certain Articles, which we then propoſed unto you: But becauſe we could not be thoroughly ſatisfy'd with your Anſwer then to the firſt Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate Anſwer of you, we (you requiring the ſame) granted you Licence to bring your Anſwer in writing, and thereupon commanded the Mayor that you ſhould have Pen, Paper, and Ink, yea, any Books alſo that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenſed you then alſo to alter your former

Anſwers

Answers this Day at your Pleasure: Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same Mind now that you were in Yesterday (which we would not wish) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former Assertions, and in all Points consent to submit yourself to the Determination of the universal Church, and I for my Part most earnestly exhort you (and therewith he put off his Cap) not because my Conscience pricketh me, as you said Yesterday, but because I see you a rotten Member, and in the Way of Perdition.

Yesterday I brought forth amongst others, St. *Augustine*, to prove that Authority hath always been given to the See of *Rome*, and you wrested the Words far contrary to St. *Augustin*'s Meaning, in that you would have all the World to be apply'd only to *Europe*, which is but a third Part of all the World; whereas indeed the Process of St. *Augustin*'s Words will not admit of your Interpretation. For he saith not, All the christian Countries beyond the Seas, *&c.* but First, All the christian Countries is subject to the Church of Rome, and afterward addeth, Beyond the Sea, but only to Augment the Dominion of the See of *Rome*.

But Dr. *Ridley* still persevered in his former Answer, saying; I am sure, my Lord, you have some Skill in Cosmography, in which you shall understand that there is a Sea called The *Mediterranean* Sea, cast between *Europe* and *Africa*, in which he meant *Europe* beyond the Sea, even as if I should say the whole World beyond the Sea, excepting *England* in which I stand: And here many Words were spent upon the Interpretation of the same Place of St. *Austin*.

After long Disceptation, the Bishop of *Lincoln* said, the Meaning of St. *Augustine* might be known by the Consent of the other Doctors, and rehearsed divers.

But Dr. *Ridley* required the Rehearsal of the Places, and to read the very Words of the Doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the Bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other Terms in the Doctors, would admit a contrary Meaning and Interpretation: But in that Book, out of which the Bishop rehearsed them, was none of the Doctors, but only the Sentences drawn out of the Doctors by some studious Man: He could not recite the very Words of the Doctors.

Then after the Bishop of *Lincoln* mentioned *Cyrill*, who (as he said) made against Mr. *Ridley* in the Sacrament, even by *Philip Melancthon* his own alledging in his common Places, and forthwith called for *Melancthon*, but in vain, because all such Books were burned a little before, where he passed it over.

Cyril also in another Place proving to the *Jews* that Christ was come, useth this Reason, Altars are erected in Christ's Name in *Britain*, and in far Countries: *Ergo*, Christ is come. But we may use the contrary, of that Reason; Altars are plucked down in *Britain*: *Ergo*, Christ is not come. A good Argument a *contrariis*. I will stand to it in the Schools by and by with any Man. Ye see what a good Argument this your Doctrine maketh for the *Jews*, to prove that Christ is not come.

Altars be erected in Christ's Remembrance in *Britain*, *Ergo*, Christ is come.

Altars be now pluckeddown in *Britain*: *Ergo*, Christ is not come.

Dr. *Ridley* smiling, answered: Your Lordship is not ignorant that this Word Altar, in the Scripture signifieth as well the Altar whereupon the *Jews* were wont to make their burnt Sacrifices, as the Table of the Lord's Supper. *Cyril* meaneth there by this Word Altars, not the *Jewish* Altar, but the Table of the Lord, and by that Saying (Altars are erected in Christ's Name: *Ergo*, Christ is come) he meaneth, that the Communion is administred in his Remembrance: *Ergo*, Christ is come: For the Strength of his Argument is, because the Remembrance of a Thing cannot be, except it self be past: Then could not all Countries celebrate the Communion in Remembrance of Christ's Passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the Altars, it was done upon just Considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the *Jewish* Usage. Neither was the Supper of the Lord at any Time better administred, or more duly received, than in those latter Days, when all Things were brought to the Rites and Usage of the primitive Church.

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Answer. This Argument is not *A sensu contrario*: For erecting of Altars in the Antecedent, and plucking down Altars in the Consequent, be not contrary. In the Antecedent, *Cyril* meaneth the Table, or else the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in his Remembrance. In the Consequent, by plucking down of Altars, is meant the taking away of Places and Monuments serving not to the Lord's Supper, but to Idolatry, whereby the true Table of the Lord's Supper, in his Remembrance may be erected again.

Lincoln. A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an Oyster-table instead of an Altar, and to come from Puddings at *Westminster* to receive; and yet when your Table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same, now East, now North, now one Way, then another, until it pleased God of his Goodness to place it clean out of the Church.

Ridley. Your Lordship's unreverend Terms do not elevate the Thing. Perhaps some Men came more devoutly from Puddings, than other Men do now from other Things.

Lincoln. As for that, Mr. *Ridley*, you ought to be judge of no Man: But by this your Reasoning you cause us to stretch and inlarge our Instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate Answers to our Articles, and then he read the first Article in Manner above specify'd.

Now, Mr. *Ridley*, what say you to the first Article? If you have brought your Answer in writing, we will receive it: But if you have written any other Matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. *Ridley* took a Sheet of Paper out of his Bosom, and began to read that which he had written, but the Bishop of *Lincoln* commanded the Beadle to take it from him. But he desired License to read it, saying, that it was nothing but his Answers, but the Bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, will you require my Answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my Lord, let the Audience bear witness in this Matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your Pleasure: Therefore let the Audience be witness to your Doings.

Lincoln. Well, Mr. *Ridley*, we will first see what you have written, and then if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.

With that Dr. *Ridley*, seeing no Remedy, deliver'd it to an Officer, who immediately delivered it to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who after he had secretly communicated it to the two Bishops, declared the Sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained Words of Blasphemy: Therefore he would not fill the Ears of the Audience therewithal, and so abuse their Patience: Notwithstanding Dr. *Ridley* desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a Line

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or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient Fathers Saying for the Confirmation of his Assertions.

After the said Bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the Bishop of *Lincoln* said: In the first Part, Mr. *Ridley*, is nothing contained but your Protestation, that you would not have these your Answers so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the Authority or Jurisdiction of the Pope's Holiness.

Ridley. No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the Audience may hear it: But the Bishop of *Lincoln* would in no wise, because (he said) there was contained Words of Blasphemy.

Then the Bishop of *Lincoln* recited the first Article, and required Dr. *Ridley*'s Answer to it. Then Dr. *Ridley* said, that his Answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: But the Bishop would not read the Whole, but here and there a Piece of it. So the Notaries took his Answer, that he referred him to his Answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the Time of Disputation, Dr. *Weston* being Prolocutor.

In like Manner the Bishop of *Lincoln* recited the second Article, and required an Answer, and Dr. *Ridley* referred him to his Answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the Time of Disputation: And like Answers were taken to all the rest of the Articles.

These Answers in this Manner rehearsed, taken and penned by the Notaries, the Bishop of *Gloucester* began an Exhortation to move Dr. *Ridley* to turn.

Gloucester. If you would once empty your Stomach, captivate your Senses, subdue your Reason, and together with us consider what a feeble Ground of your Religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be brought to acknowledge one Church with us, to confess one Faith with us, and to believe one Religion with us. For what a weak and feeble Stay in Religion is this I pray you? *Latimer* leaneth to *Cranmer*, *Cranmer* to *Ridley*, and *Ridley* to the Singularity of his own Wit: So that if you overthrow the Singularity of *Ridley*'s Wit, then must needs the Religion of *Cranmer* and *Latimer* fall also. You remember well, Mr. *Ridley*, that the Prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *Wo, wo be them which are singular and wise in their own Conceits.*

But you will say here, it is true that the Prophet saith: But how know you that I am wise in mine own Conceit? Yes, Mr. *Ridley*, you refuse the Determination of the Catholick Church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own Conceit, for you bring Scripture for the Proof of your Assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one Sense, and we in another. How will you know the Truth herein? If you stand to your own Interpretation, then you are singular in your own Conceit: But if you say you will follow the Minds of the Doctors and ancient Fathers, likely you understand them in one Meaning, and we take them in another; how will you know the Truth herein? If you stand to your own Judgment, then are you singular in your own Conceit, then can you not avoid the Wo which the Prophet speaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no Stay but the Catholick Church in Matters of Controversy, except you will rest upon the Singularity and Wisdom of your own Brain, if the Prophet most truly saith, Wo, wo be to them that are wise in their own Conceit: Then for God's Love, Dr. *Ridley*, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own Conceit, please not yourself overmuch. How were the *Arians*, the *Manichees*, *Eutychians*, with divers other Hereticks which have been in the Church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in Disputations? No truly, the *Arians* had no more Places for the Confirmation of their Heresy, than the Catholicks for the Defence of the Truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the Determination of the Church. And indeed except we do constitute the Church our Foundation, Stay, and Judge, we can have no End of Controversies, no End of Disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and Doctors for the Proof of our Assertions, who should be Judge of this our Controversy? If we ourselves then be singular and wise in our own Conceits, then cannot we avoid the Wo that the Prophet speaketh of.

The Determination of the Church is only that, whereupon our catholick Men do ground their Faith.

It remaineth therefore that we submit our selves to the Determination and Arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promised to remain to the World's End, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the Truth. Wherefore Mr. *Ridley*, if you will avoid the Wo that the Prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your own Judgment: If you will not be wise and singular in your own Judgment, captivate your own Understanding, subdue your Reason, and submit yourself to the Determination of the Church.

This is briefly the Sum of the Oration of the Bishop of *Gloucester*, by which he endeavoured in many more Words, amplifying and enlarging the Matter eloquently with sundry Points of Rhetorick to move Affections, to persuade Dr. *Ridley* to recant and forsake his Religion.

To whom Dr. *Ridley* answered in few Words, That he said most truly with the Prophet, Wo be to him that is wise in his own Conceit; but that he acknowledgeth no such Singularity in him, nor knew any Cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he said Dr. *Cranmer* leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young Scholar in Comparison of Dr. *Cranmer*; for when he was but a young Scholar, Mr. *Cranmer* was then a Doctor; so that he confessed Mr. *Cranmer* might have been his Schoolmaster for many Years. It seemed that he would have spoke more, but the Bishop of *Gloucester* interrupted him saying:

Bishop *Ridley*'s brief Answer to the Bishop of *Gloucester*'s Tale.

Why, Mr. *Ridley*, it is your own Confession, for Mr. *Latimer* at the Time of his Disputation, confessed his Learning to lie in Mr. *Cranmer*'s Books, and Mr. *Cranmer* also said that it was your Doing.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* likewise with many Words, and gently holding his Cap in his Hand, desired him to turn. But Dr. *Ridley* made an absolute Answer, That he was fully persuaded the Religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's Word, and therefore without great Offence towards God, great Peril and Damage of his Soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God; but desired the Bishop to perform his Grant, in that his Lordship said the Day before, that he should have License to shew his Cause, why he could not with a safe Conscience admit the Authority

of the Pope. But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that whereas then he had demanded Licence to ſpeak three Words, he was contented then that he ſhould ſpeak forty, and that Grant he would perform.

Then ſtepped forth Dr. *Weſton*, who ſate by, and ſaid, Why my Lord, he hath ſpoken four Hundred already.

Dr. *Ridley* confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed Number, neither of that Matter. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* bade him take his Licence; but he ſhould ſpeak but forty, and he would tell them upon his Fingers, and preſently Dr. *Ridley* began to ſpeak: But before he had ended half a Sentence, the Doctors ſitting by, cried out, and ſaid, that his Number was out; and with that he was put to Silence.

Mark the Cruelty of the Papiſts.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who ſat in the midſt, began to ſpeak as followeth:

Now I perceive, Mr. *Ridley*, you will not permit nor ſuffer us to ſtay in that Point of our Commiſſion which we moſt deſired: For indeed for my Part, I take God to witneſs, I am ſorry for you. Whereupon Dr. *Ridley* anſwered:

I believe it well, my Lord, foraſmuch as one Day it will be burdenſome to your Soul.

Lincoln. Nay, not ſo, Mr. *Ridley*, but becauſe I am ſorry to ſee ſuch Stubbornneſs in you, that by no Means you may be perſwaded to acknowledge your Errors, and receive the Truth: But ſeeing it is ſo, becauſe you will not ſuffer us to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of Neceſſity proceed to the other Part of our Commiſſion. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I ſhall ſay, and forthwith he read the Sentence of Condemnation, which was written in a long Proceſs: The Tenor of which, becauſe it is already ſufficiently expreſſed before, we thought meet in this Place to omit, foraſmuch as they are rather Words of Courſe, than Things deviſed upon Deliberation. Howbeit indeed the Effect was, that foraſmuch as the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley* did affirm, maintain, and ſtubbornly defend certain Opinions, Aſſertions and Hereſies, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Faith of the Church, as in denying the true and natural Body of Chriſt, and his natural Blood, to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondly, in affirming the Subſtance of Bread and Wine to remain after the Words of the Conſecration: Thirdly, in denying the Maſs to be a lively Sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no Means would be brought from theſe his Hereſies; they therefore, the ſaid *John* of *Lincoln*, *James* of *Glouceſter*, *John* of *Briſtol*, did judge and condemn the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley* as an Heretick, and ſo adjudged him preſently, both by Word and alſo in Deed to be degraded from the Degree of a Biſhop, from Prieſthood and all eccleſiaſtical Order; declaring moreover the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley* to be no Member of the Church, and therefore committed him to the ſecular Powers, of them to receive due Puniſhment according to the Tenor of the temporal Laws; and further excommunicating him by the great Excommunication.

The laſt Appearance and Examination of Mr. Latimer *before the Commiſſioners.*

THIS Sentence being publiſhed by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Ridley* was committed as a Priſoner to the Mayor, and immediately Mr. *Latimer* was ſent for: But in the mean time the Carpet or Cloth which lay upon the Table whereat Dr. *Ridley* ſtood was removed, becauſe (as Men reported) Mr. *Latimer* had never the Degree of a Doctor, as Dr. *Ridley* had. But as ſoon as Mr. *Latimer* appeared, as he did the Day before, perceiving no Cloth upon the Table, he laid his Hat, which was an old Felt, under his Elbows, and immediately ſpake to the Commiſſioners, ſaying: Anno 1555.

Latimer. My Lords, I beſeech your Lordſhips to ſet a better Order here at your Entrance; for I am an old Man, and have a very evil Back, ſo that the Preſs of the Multitude doth me much Harm.

Lincoln. I am ſorry, Mr. *Latimer*, for your Hurt. At your Departure we will ſee to better Order.

With that Mr. *Latimer* thanked his Lordſhip, making a very low Courteſy. After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* began on this Manner:

Mr. *Latimer*, although yeſterday after we had taken your Anſwers to thoſe Articles which we propoſed, we might have juſtly proceeded to Judgment againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame; yet we having a good Hope of your returning, deſiring not your Deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your Errors, and turn to the catholick Church, deferred farther Proceſs till this Day; and now according to the Appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical Aſſertions, and ſubmit yourſelf to the Determination of the Church, as we moſt heartily deſire, and I for my Part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly do exhort you, or to know whether you perſevere ſtill the Man that you were, for which we would be ſorry.

It ſeemed that the Biſhop would have farther proceeded, if Mr. *Latimer* had not interrupted him by ſaying:

Mr. *Latimer* ſhort with the Commiſſioners.

Your Lordſhip doth often repeat the catholick Church, as though I ſhould deny the ſame. No, my Lord, I confeſs there is a catholick Church, to the Determination of which I will ſtand, but not the Church which you call catholick, which ought rather to be termed diabolick. And whereas you join together the *Romiſh* and catholick Church, ſtay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to ſay *Romiſh* Church, and another thing to ſay Catholick Church: I muſt uſe here in this mine Anſwer the Counſel of *Cyprian*, who when cited before certain Biſhops, that gave him Leave to take Deliberation and Counſel, to try and examine his Opinion, he anſwereth them thus: In ſticking and perſevering in the Truth, there muſt no Counſel or Deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them ſitting in Judgment, which was moſt like to be of the Church of Chriſt, whether he who was perſecuted, or they who did perſecute? Chriſt, ſaid he, hath foreſhewed, that he that doth follow him, muſt take up his Croſs. Chriſt gave Knowledge that his Diſciples ſhould have Perſecution and Trouble. How think you then my Lords, is it like that the See of *Rome*, which hath been a continual Perſecutor, is rather the Church, or that ſmall Flock which hath continually been perſecuted by it, even to Death? Alſo the Flock of Chriſt hath been but few in Compariſon to the Reſidue, and ever in Subjection: Which he proved, beginning in *Noah*'s Time even to the Apoſtles.

Lincoln.

Anno 1555.

Lincoln. Your Cauſe and *Cyprian*'s is not one, but clean contrary: For he ſuffered Perſecution for the Sake of Chriſt and his Goſpel; but you are in Trouble for your Errors and falſe Aſſertions, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Truth of the Church.

Mr. *Latimer* interrupted him, ſaying, Yes verily, my Cauſe is as good as St. *Cyprian*'s: For his was for the Word of God, and ſo is mine.

Lincoln. Alſo at the Beginning and Foundation of the Church, it could not be but that the Apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great Perſecution. Further, before Chriſt's coming continually there were very few which truly ſerved God: But after his coming began the Time of Grace, then began the Church to increaſe, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this Perfection, and now hath juſtly that Juriſdiction, which the unchriſtian Princes before by Tyranny did reſiſt: There is a diverſe Conſideration of the State of the Church now in the Time of Grace, and before Chriſt's coming. But Mr. *Latimer*, altho' we had Inſtructions given us determinately to take your Anſwer to ſuch Articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any Reaſoning or Diſputations, yet we hoping by Talk ſomewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us Yeſterday in the Divinity-ſchool, a Place for Diſputations. And whereas then notwithſtanding you had Licenſe to ſpeak your Mind, and where anſwered to every Matter, yet you could not be brought from your Errors; we thinking that from that Time ye would with good Conſideration ponder your State, gave you Reſpite from that Time Yeſterday, when we diſmiſſed you, until this Time, and now have called you again here in this Place, by your Anſwers to learn, whether you are the ſame Man you were then or no? Therefore we will propoſe unto you the ſame Articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate Anſwer, without further reaſoning, and he immediately recited the firſt Article.

Latimer. Always my Proteſtation ſaved, that by theſe mine Anſwers it ſhould not be thought that I did condeſcend and agree to your Lordſhip's Authority, in that you are legaced by Authority of the Pope, ſo that thereby I might ſeem to conſent to his Juriſdiction: To the firſt Article I anſwer now as I did Yeſterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy Receiver receiveth the very Body of Chriſt, and drinketh his Blood by the Spirit and Grace. But after a corporal Being, which the *Romiſh* Church preſcribeth, Chriſt's Body and Blood is not in the Sacrament under the Forms of Bread and Wine.

The Notaries took his Anſwer affirmatively. For the ſecond Article he referred himſelf to his Anſwers made before.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* recited the third Article, and required a determinate Anſwer.

Latimer. Chriſt made one Oblation and Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and that a perfect Sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory Sacrifice.

The Notaries took his Anſwer affirmatively.

In like Manner did he anſwer to the other Articles, not varying from his Anſwers he made the Day before.

After his Anſwers were penned by the Notaries, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had exhorted him in like Sort to recant as he did Dr. *Ridley*, and revoke his Errors, and falſe Aſſertions, and Mr. *Latimer* had anſwered, that he neither would nor could deny his Maſter Chriſt, and his Verity, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* deſired Mr. *Latimer* to hearken to him: And then Mr. *Latimer* hearkening for ſome new Matter and other Talk, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* read his Condemnation, after which the ſaid three Biſhops brake up their Seſſions, and diſmiſſed the Audience.

Mr. *Latimer* will not deny his Maſter Chriſt.

Mr. *Latimer*'s Condemnation.

But Mr. *Latimer* required the Biſhop to perform his Promiſe, in ſaying the Day before that he ſhould have Licenſe briefly to declare the Cauſe why he refuſed the Pope's Authority.

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Mr. *Latimer* asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his Judgment. And the Biſhop asked him again, to whom he would appeal. To the next general Council, ſaid Mr. *Latimer*, which ſhall be truly called in God's Name. With that Appellation the Biſhop was content: But he ſaid it would be a long † Seaſon before ſuch a Convocation as he meant would be called.

† Long indeed before ſuch a Council will be called by the Papiſts.

Then the Biſhop committed Mr. *Latimer* to the Mayor, ſaying, Now he is your Priſoner, Mr. Mayor. Becauſe the Preſs of the People was not diminiſhed, each Man looking for farther Proceſs, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* commanded Avoidance, and deſired Mr. *Latimer* to tarry till the Preſs was diminiſhed, leſt he ſhould take Hurt at his going out, as he did at his Entrance. And ſo Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* continued in durance till the 16th Day of the ſaid Month of *October*.

A Communication between Dr. Brooks *Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *and Dr.* Ridley, *in the Houſe of Mr.* Iriſh, *Mayor of* Oxford, October 15. 1555. *at which Time he was degraded.*

ON the 15th Day in the Morning, Dr. *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and the Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, Dr. *Marſhal*, with divers others of the Chief, and Heads of the ſame Univerſity, and many others accompanying them, came to the Houſe of Mr. *Iriſh* then Mayor of *Oxford*, where Dr. *Ridley* late Biſhop of *London* was cloſe Priſoner. And when the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* came into the Chamber where the ſaid Dr. *Ridley* did lie, he told him for what Purpoſe their coming was unto him, ſaying, That yet once again the Queen's Majeſty did offer unto him by them, her gracious Mercy, if that he would receive the ſame, and come Home again to the Faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous Doctrine, that he of late had taught Abroad to the Deſtruction of many. And further ſaid, That if he would not recant and become one of the catholick Church with them, then they muſt needs (againſt their Wills) proceed according to the Law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But, *ſaith he*, we have been oftentimes with you, and have requeſted that you would re-

No Mercy to be had without conſenting to Iniquity.

cant this your fantaſtical and deviliſh Opinion, which hitherto you have not, altho' you might in ſo doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. *Ridley*, conſider with yourſelf the Danger that ſhall enſue both of Body and Soul, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt yourſelf away in refuſing Mercy offered unto you at this Time.

My Lord, ſaid Dr. *Ridley*, you know my Mind fully herein; and as for the Doctrine which I have taught, my Conſcience aſſureth me that it was ſound, and according to God's Word; (to his Glory be it ſpoken) which Doctrine, the Lord God being my Helper, I will maintain ſo long as my Tongue ſhall wag, and Breath is within my Body, and in Confirmation thereof ſeal the ſame with my Blood.

O worthy Champion of Chriſt's Church.

Brooks. Well, you were beſt, Mr. *Ridley*, not to do ſo, but to become one of the Church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoſoever is out of the catholick Church cannot be ſaved: Therefore I ſay once again, that while you have Time and Mercy offered you, receive it, and confeſs with us the Pope's * Holineſs to be the chief Head of the ſame Church.

* With that their Caps went off, but Dr. *Ridley* held on his Cap.

Ridley. I marvel that you will trouble me with any ſuch vain and fooliſh Talk. You know my Mind concerning the uſurped Authority of that *Romiſh* Antichriſt. As I confeſſed openly in the Schools, ſo do I now, that both by my Behaviour and Talk I do no Obedience at all unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor to his uſurped Authority, and that for divers good and godly Conſiderations. And here Dr. *Ridley* would have reaſoned with the ſaid *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter* of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, but could not be ſuffered, and yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly againſt the Pope therein, that the Biſhop told him, if he would not hold his Peace, he ſhould be compelled againſt his Will. And ſeeing, *ſaith he*, that you will not receive the Queen's Mercy now offered unto you, but ſtubbornly refuſe the ſame, we muſt againſt our Wills, proceed according to our Commiſſion to degrading, taking from you the Dignity of Prieſthood. For we take you for no Biſhop, and therefore we will the ſooner have done with you: So committing you to the Secular Power, you know what doth follow.

Ridley. Do with me as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abide the ſame with all my Heart.

Brooks. Put off your Cap, and put upon you this Surplice.

Ridley. Not I truly.

Brooks. But you muſt.

Ridley. I will not.

Brooks. You muſt, therefore make no more ado but put this Surplice upon you.

Ridley. Truly if it come upon me, it ſhall be againſt my Will.

Brooks. Will you not put it upon you?

Ridley. No, that I will not.

Brooks. It ſhall be put upon you by one or other.

Ridley. Do therein as it ſhall pleaſe you, I am well content with that, and more than that; the Servant is not above his Maſter. If they dealt ſo cruelly with our Saviour Chriſt, as the Scripture maketh Mention, and he ſuffered the ſame patiently, how much more doth it become us his Servants? and in ſaying theſe Words they put upon the ſaid *Ridley* a Surplice, with all the Trinkets appertaining to the Maſs. And as they were putting on the ſame, Dr. *Ridley* did vehemently inveigh againſt the *Romiſh* Biſhop, and all that fooliſh Apparel, calling him Antichriſt, and the Apparel fooliſh and abominable, yea too fooliſh for a Vice in a Play; inſomuch that *Brooks* was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his Peace, for he did but rail. Dr. *Ridley* anſwered him again, and ſaid, So long as his Tongue and Breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeak againſt their abominable Doings, whatſoever happened unto him for ſo doing. Anno 1555.

Brooks. Well, you had beſt hold your Peace, leſt your Mouth be ſtopped. At which Words one *Edrige*, the Reader then of the *Greek* Lecture, ſtanding by, ſaid to Dr. *Brooks*; Sir, the Law is, that he ſhould be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which Words Dr. *Ridley* looking earneſtly upon him that ſo ſaid, ſhook his Head at him, and made no Anſwer; but ſaid with a Sigh, Oh well, well, well.

So they proceeded in their Doings, yet nevertheleſs Dr. *Ridley* was ever ſpeaking Things not pleaſant to their Ears, although one or other bade him hold his Peace, leſt he ſhould be cauſed againſt his Will.

But when they came to that Place were Dr. *Ridley* ſhould hold the Chalice and the Wafer Cake (called the Singing-bread) they bade him hold the ſame in his Hands: Said Dr. *Ridley*, They ſhall not come in my Hands; for if they do, they ſhall fall to the Ground for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his Hand, while Biſhop *Brooks* read a certain Thing in *Latin*, touching the Degradation of ſpiritual Perſons, according to the Pope's Law.

Then they put a Book in his Hand, and read another Thing in *Latin*, the Effect whereof was, *We do take from thee the Office of preaching the Goſpel*, &c. At which Words Dr. *Ridley* gave a great Sigh, looking up towards Heaven, ſaying, *O Lord God forgive them this their Wickedneſs.*

Having put on him the Maſs-gear, they began to take it away (beginning with the uppermoſt Garment) again reading a Thing in *Latin*, according to the Order contained in the Pope's Law. Now when all was taken from him, ſaving only the Surplice left on his Back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. *Ridley* ſaid unto them, Lord God, what Power be you of, that you can take from a Man that which he never had? I was never Singer in all my Life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.

So when this their Degradation was ended, Dr. *Ridley* ſaid unto Dr. *Brooks*, Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning theſe Matters. *Brooks* anſwered and ſaid, Mr. *Ridley* we may not talk with you, you be out of the Church, and our Law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church. Then Dr. *Ridley* ſaid; Seeing that you will not ſuffer me to talk, neither will vouchſafe to hear me, what Remedy but Patience? I refer my Cauſe to my heavenly Father, who will reform Things that be amiſs, when it ſhall pleaſe him.

At which Words they would have been gone, but Mr. *Ridley* ſaid, My Lord, I would wiſh that your Lordſhip would vouchſafe to read over and peruſe a little Book of *Bertram*'s

writing,

Anno 1555.

writing, concerning the Sacrament. I promiſe you, you ſhall find much good Learning therein, if you will read the ſame with an indifferent Judgment. To which Dr. *Brooks* made no Anſwer, but was going away. Then ſaid Dr. *Ridley*, Oh, I perceive you cannot away with this Manner of Talk. Well, as it is to no Purpoſe, I will ſay no more; I will ſpeak of worldly Affairs. I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and be a Means to the Queen's Majeſty, in Behalf of a great many poor Men, and eſpecially my poor Siſter and her Husband who ſtandeth there. They had a poor Living granted unto them by me, when I was in the See of *London*, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the ſame Room, without all Law or Conſcience.

Here I have a Supplication to the Queen's Majeſty in their Behalf. You ſhall hear the ſame read, ſo ſhall you perceive the Matter the better. Then he read the ſame, and when he came to the Place in the Supplication that touched his Siſter by Name, he wept, ſo that for a little Time he could not ſpeak for weeping. But recovering himſelf, he ſaid, This is Nature that moveth me, but I have now done; and with that read out the reſt, and delivered the ſame unto his Brother, commanding him to put it up to the Queen's Majeſty, and to ſue not only for himſelf, but alſo for ſuch as had any Leaſes or Grants by him, and were put from the ſame by Dr. *Bonner* then Biſhop of *London*. Whereunto *Brooks* ſaid, Indeed, Mr. *Ridley*, your Requeſt in this Supplication is very lawful and honeſt; therefore I muſt needs in Conſcience ſpeak to the Queen's Majeſty for them.

Ridley. I pray you for God's Sake do ſo.

Brooks. I think your Requeſt will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is (I fear) becauſe you do not allow the Queen's Proceedings, but obſtinately withſtand the ſame, that it will hardly be granted.

Ridley. What Remedy? I can do no more but ſpeak and write. I truſt I have diſcharged my Conſcience therein, and God's Will be done.

Brooks. I will do what lieth in me.

A Copy of the Supplication written to the Queen.

Dr. *Ridley* to the Queen's Majeſty,

MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty for Chriſt our Saviour's Sake in a Matter of Conſcience (and not for myſelf, but for other poor Men) to vouchſafe to hear and underſtand this humble Supplication. It is ſo (honourable Princeſs) that in the Time while I was in the Miniſtry of the See of London, *divers poor Men, Tenants thereof, have taken new Leaſes of their Tenantries and Holdings; and ſome have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid Fines and Sums of Money, both to me and to the Chapter of* Paul's, *for the Confirmation of the ſame.*

This Biſhop was Dr. Bonner.

Now I ſay, that the Biſhop who at preſent occupieth the ſame Room, will not allow the aforeſaid Leaſes, which muſt redound to many a poor Man's utter Ruin and Decay. Wherefore this is mine humble Supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may pleaſe the ſame for Chriſt's Sake to be unto the aforeſaid poor Men their gracious Patronneſs and Defender, either that they may enjoy their aforeſaid Leaſes and Years renewed, as I ſuppoſe when their Matter ſhall be heard with Conſcience, both Juſtice, Conſcience, and Equity ſhall require, for that their Leaſes ſhall be found (I truſt) made without Fraud or Cunning, either of their Part, or of mine, and always alſo the old Rents reſerved to the See without any kind of Damage thereof: Or if this will not be granted, then that it may pleaſe your gracious Highneſs, to command that the poor Men may be reſtored to their former Leaſes and Years, and to have rendred to them again ſuch Sums of Money as they paid to me, and to the Chapter-houſe for their Leaſes and Years, ſo now taken from them. Which Thing concerning the Fines paid to me, may be eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to command ſome Portion of thoſe Goods which I left in my Houſe when I fled in Hope of Pardon for my Treſpaſs towards your Grace, which Goods (as I have heard) be yet reſerved in the ſame Houſe. I ſuppoſe that half the Value of my Plate that I left in mine Offices, and eſpecially in an Iron Cheſt in my Bed-Chamber, will go nigh to reſtore all ſuch Fines received, the true Sums and Parcels whereof are not ſet in their Leaſes; and therefore if that Way ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs, they muſt be known by ſuch Ways and Means, as your Majeſty by the Advice of Men of Wiſdom and Conſcience ſhall appoint; but yet for Chriſt's Sake I crave and humbly beſeech your Majeſty of your gracious Pity and Mercy, that the former Way may take Place.

I have alſo a poor Siſter that came to me out of the North, with three fatherleſs Children, for Relief, whom I married after to a Servant of mine own Houſe: She is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beſeech your honourable Grace, that her Caſe may be mercifully conſidered, and that the rather, in Contemplation that I never had of him, which ſuffered Indurance at my Entrance into the See of London, *not one Penny of his moveable Goods, for it was almoſt half a Year after his Depoſition, before I entered into that Place: Yea, and alſo if any were left, known to be his, he had Licence to carry it away, or there for his Uſe it did lie ſafe, as his Officers do know. I paid for the Lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the Behoof of the Church, or of the Houſe. And moreover, I had not only no Part of his moveable Goods, but alſo (as his old Receiver, and then mine, called Mr.* Stanton, *can teſtify) I paid for them towards his Servants common Liveries and Wages, after his Depoſition, 53 or 55 Pounds, I cannot tell which.*

Notwithſtanding theſe goodly and juſt Requeſts, no Juſtice could be had, until that now of late ſome of theſe ſhameful Injuries have been redreſſed.

In all theſe Matters I beſeech your honourable Majeſty to hear the Advice of Men of Conſcience, and eſpecially the Archbiſhop of York; *which for that he was continually in my Houſe a Year and more, before mine Impriſonment, I ſuppoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome Part of theſe Things, and alſo his Grace doth know my Siſter, for whoſe Succour, and ſome Relief, now unto your Highneſs I make moſt humble Suit.*

October 16, 1555. N. R.

This Degradation being paſt, and all Things finiſhed, Dr. *Brooks* called the Bayliffs, delivering to them Dr. *Ridley*, with this Charge, to keep him ſafely from any Man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the Place of Execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. *Ridley* in praiſing God, burſt out in theſe Words, and ſaid: God I thank thee, and to thy Praiſe be it ſpoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my Charge any open or notorious Crime; for if you could, it ſhould ſurely be laid in my Lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto *Brooks* ſaid, he play'd the Part of a proud *Phariſee*, exalting and praiſing himſelf.

But Dr. *Ridley* ſaid, No, no, no, as I have ſaid before, to God's Glory be it ſpoken. I confeſs myſelf to be a miſerable wretched Sinner, and have great Need of God's Help and Mercy, and do daily call and cry for the ſame; therefore I pray you have no ſuch Opinion of me. Then they departed, and in going away a certain Warden of a College, of whoſe Name I am not ſure, adviſed Dr. *Ridley* to repent and forſake that erroneous Opinion. Whereunto Dr. *Ridley* ſaid; Sir, repent you, for you are out of the Truth: And I pray God (if it be his bleſſed Will) have Mercy upon you, and grant you the Underſtanding of his Word. Then the Warden being in a Paſſion thereat, ſaid; I truſt that I ſhall never be of your erroneous and deviliſh Opinion, either yet to be in that Place whither you ſhall go. He is, ſaith he, the moſt obſtinate and wilful Man that ever I heard talk ſince I was born.

The Behaviour of Dr. Ridley *at his Supper, the Night before his Suffering.*

THE Night before he ſuffered, his Beard was waſhed and his Legs, and as he ſate at Supper, the ſame Night at the Houſe of Mr. *Iriſh*, (who was his Keeper) he bade his Hoſteſs and the reſt at the Table to his Marriage: For, ſaith he, to-morrow I muſt be married, and ſo ſhewed himſelf to be as merry as ever he was at any Time before. And wiſhing his Siſter at his Marriage, he asked his Brother ſitting at the Table, whether ſhe could find in her Heart to be there or no: And he anſwered, Yea, I dare ſay, with all her Heart. At which Word he ſaid, He was glad to hear of her ſo much therein. At this Diſcourſe Mrs. *Iriſh* wept.

Mrs. *Iriſh* weepeth for Dr. *Ridley*.

But Dr. *Ridley* comforted her, and ſaid, O Mrs. *Iriſh*, you love me not now, I ſee well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my Marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not ſo much my Friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourſelf, though my Breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharp and painful, yet I am ſure my Supper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet.

When they aroſe from the Table, his Brother offered to watch all Night with him. But he ſaid, No, no, that you ſhall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to Bed, and to ſleep as quietly to Night, as ever I did in my Life. So his Brother departed, exhorting him to be of good Cheer, and to take his Croſs quietly, for the Reward was great, *&c.*

The Behaviour of Dr. Ridley *and Mr.* Latimer *at the Time of their Death,* October 16, 1555.

UPON the north Side of the Town, in the Ditch over-againſt *Baliol-College*, the Place of Execution was appointed: And for Fear of any Tumult that might ariſe to hinder the Burning of them, the Lord *Williams* was commanded by the Queen's Letters, and the Houſholders of the City to be there aſſiſtant, ſufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in a Readineſs, the Priſoners were brought forth by the Mayor and the Bayliffs.

Dr. *Ridley* had a fair black Gown furred, and faced with Foins, ſuch as he was wont to wear being Biſhop, and a Tippet of Velvet furred likewiſe about his Neck, a velvet Night Cap upon his Head, and a Corner Cap upon the ſame, going in a Pair of Slippers to the Stake, and going between the Mayor and an Alderman, *&c.* Anno 1555.

After him came Mr. *Latimer* in a poor *Briſtow* Frize Frock much worn, with his buttoned Cap, and a Kerchief on his Head, all ready to the Fire, a new long Shroud hanging over his Hoſe down to the Feet: Which at the firſt Sight ſtirred Mens Hearts to pity them, beholding on the one Side the Honour they ſometime had, and on the other the Calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. *Ridley*, as he paſſed toward *Bocardo*, looked up where Dr. *Cranmer* lay, hoping belike to have ſeen him at the Glaſs-window, and to have ſpoke unto him. But Dr. *Cranmer* was then buſy with Friar *Soto* and his Fellows diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that Occaſion. Then Dr. *Ridley* looking back, eſpied Mr. *Latimer* coming after. Unto whom he ſaid, Oh, be ye there? Yea, ſaid Mr. *Latimer*, Have after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they both came to the Stake, the one after the other, where firſt Dr. *Ridley* entering the Place, marvellouſly and earneſtly holding up both his Hands, looked towards Heaven: Then ſhortly after ſeeing Mr. *Latimer*, with a wondrous chearful Look he ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and as they that ſtood near reported, comforted him, ſaying, *Be of good Heart, Brother, for God will either aſſwage the Fury of the Flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it.* Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* going to the Stake.

The Behaviour of Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* at the Stake.

With that he went to the Stake, kneeled down by it, and earneſtly prayed, and behind him Mr. *Latimer* kneeled, as earneſtly calling upon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to ſee the Execution, removed themſelves out of the Sun. What they ſaid I can learn of no Man.

Then Dr. *Smith* began his Sermon to them upon this Text of St. *Paul*, in the 13th Chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*: *If I yield my Body to the Fire to be burnt, and have not Charity, I ſhall gain nothing thereby.* Wherein he alledged, that the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, and not the Order of Death, maketh the Holineſs of the Perſon; which he confirmed by the Examples of *Judas*, and of a Woman in *Oxford* that of late hanged herſelf, for that they and ſuch like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which deſperately ſundered their Lives from their Bodies, as he feared that thoſe Men that ſtood before him would do. But he cried ſtill to the People to beware of them, for they were Hereticks, and died out of the Church. And, on the other Side, he declared their Diverſities in Opinions, as *Lutherans*, *Oecolampadians*, *Zuinglians*, of which Sect they were he ſaid, and that was the worſt: But the old Church of Chriſt, and the catholick Faith believed far otherwiſe. At which Place they lifted up both their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, as it were calling God to witneſs of the Truth. Which Countenance they made in many other Places of his Sermon, where they thought he ſpake amiſs. He ended with a very ſhort Exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the Church, and ſave their Lives and Souls, which elſe were condemned.

BRITISH MUSEUM 8.0075

The Martyrdom of D.r Ridley and M.r Latimer at Oxford. D.r Smith Preaching at the time of their Suffering.

Anno 1555. condemned. His Sermon was ſcarce in all a Quarter of an Hour.

Dr. *Ridley* ſaid to Mr. *Latimer*, Will you begin to anſwer the Sermon, or ſhall I? Mr. *Latimer* ſaid, Begin you firſt I pray you. I will, ſaid Dr. *Ridley*.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Dr. *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* kneeled down on their Knees to my Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, the Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, and divers other Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe, who ſate upon a Form thereby. Unto whom Dr. *Ridley* ſaid, I beſeech you my Lord, even for Chriſt's ſake, that I may ſpeak but two or three Words: And whilſt my Lord bent his Head to the Mayor and Vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might have Leave to ſpeak, the Bailiffs and Dr. *Marſhal* the Vice-chancellor, ran haſtily unto him, and with their Hands ſtopped his Mouth, and ſaid, Mr. *Ridley* if you will revoke your erroneous Opinions, and recant the ſame, you ſhall not only have Liberty ſo to do, but alſo the Benefit of a Subject, that is, have your Life. Not otherwiſe, ſaid Dr. *Ridley*? No, quoth Dr. *Marſhal*: Therefore if you will not do ſo, then there is no Remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your Deſerts. Well, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, ſo long as the Breath is in my Body, I will never deny my Lord Chriſt, and his known Truth: God's Will be done in me. And with that he roſe up, and ſaid with a loud Voice, Well, then I commit our Cauſe to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.

Dr. *Ridley* not ſuffered to anſwer Dr. *Smith*'s Sermon.

To whoſe Saying, Mr. *Latimer* added his old Poſy, Well, there is nothing hid but it ſhall be opened: And he ſaid, he could anſwer *Smith* well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make themſelves ready, which they with all Meekneſs obeyed. Dr. *Ridley* took his Gown and his Tippet, and gave it to his Brother-in-law Mr. *Shipſide*, who all his Time of Impriſonment, altho' he might not be ſuffered to come to him, lay there at his own Charges to provide him Neceſſaries, which from Time to Time he ſent him by the Serjeant that kept him. Some other of his Apparel that was little worth, he gave away, the others the Bailiffs took.

He gave away divers other ſmall Things to Gentlemen ſtanding by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir *Henry Lea* he gave a new Groat, and to divers of my Lord *William*'s Gentlemen, ſome Napkins, ſome Nutmegs, and Races of Ginger, his Dial, and ſuch other Things as he had about him, to every one that ſtood next him. Some plucked the Points of his Hoſe. Happy was he that might get any Rag of him.

Mr. *Latimer* gave nothing, but very quietly ſuffered his Keeper to pull off his Hoſe, and his other Array, which to look unto was very ſimple: And being ſtripped into his Shrowd, he ſeemed as comely a Perſon to them that were there preſent, as one could well ſee; and whereas in his Cloaths he appeared a withered and crooked ſilly old Man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a Father as one might behold.

Then Dr. *Ridley*, ſtanding as yet in his Truſs, ſaid to his Brother, It were beſt for me to go in my Truſs ſtill. No, quoth his Brother, it will put you to more Pain: And the Truſs will do a poor Man good. Whereunto Dr. *Ridley* ſaid; Be it in the Name of God, and ſo unlaced himſelf. Then being in his Shirt, he ſtood upon the aforeſaid Stone, and held up his Hand and ſaid; *Oh heavenly Father, I give unto thee moſt hearty Thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a Profeſſor of thee, even unto Death; I beſeech thee Lord God take Mercy on this Realm of* England, *and deliver the ſame from all her Enemies.*

Then the Smith took a Chain of Iron, and brought the ſame about both their Middles: And as he was knocking in a Staple, Dr. *Ridley* took the Chain in his Hand and ſhaked it, for it did gird in his Belly; and looking aſide to the Smith, ſaid Good Fellow knock it in hard, for the Fleſh will have its courſe. Then his Brother brought him a Bag of Gun-powder, and ty'd it about his Neck. Dr. *Ridley* asked him what it was; his Brother ſaid Gunpowder. Then, *ſaid he*, I will take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent from him. And have you any, *ſaid he*, for my Brother? (meaning Mr. *Latimer*.) Yea Sir, that I have, quoth his Brother. Then give it unto him, *ſaid he*, betime, leſt you come too late. So his Brother went and carry'd ſome Gunpowder to Mr. *Latiuer*.

Gunpowder given to the Martyrs.

In the mean Time Dr. *Ridley* ſpake unto my Lord *Williams*, and ſaid, My Lord, I muſt be a Suter unto your Lordſhip in the Behalf of divers poor Men, and eſpecially in the Cauſe of my poor Siſter: I have made a Supplication to the Queen's Majeſty in their Behalfs. I beſeech your Lordſhip for Chriſt's ſake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My Brother here hath the Supplication, and will reſort to your Lordſhip to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the World that troubleth my Conſcience (I praiſe my God) this only excepted. Whilſt I was in the See of *London*, divers poor Men took Leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now I hear ſay, the Biſhop that now occupieth the ſame room, will not allow my Grants to them made, but contrary to all Law and Conſcience, hath taken from them their Livings, and will not ſuffer them to enjoy the ſame. I beſeech you, my Lord, be a Means for them: You ſhall do a good Deed, and God will reward you.

Bp. *Ridley*'s Sute to the Lord of *Tame*, for Leaſes of poor Men.

Then they brought a lighted Faggot, and laid it at Dr. *Ridley*'s Feet. Thereupon Mr. *Latimer* ſaid, *Be of good Comfort, Mr.* Ridley, *and play the Man, we ſhall this Day light ſuch a Candle by God's Grace in* England, *as I truſt ſhall never be put out.* When Dr. *Ridley* ſaw the Fire flaming up towards him, he cry'd with a wonderful loud Voice, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit; Lord receive my Spirit*; and after repeated this often, *Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit.* Mr. *Latimer* cry'd as vehemently on the other Side, *O Father of Heaven receive my Soul:* Who received the Flame as it were embracing of it: After he had ſtroaked his Face with his Hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the Fire, he ſoon died (as it appeareth) with very little or no Pain. And thus much concerning the End of this old and faithful Servant of God, Mr. *Latimer*, for whoſe laborious Travels, fruitful Life, and conſtant Death, the whole Realm hath Cauſe to give Thanks to Almighty God.

The Church enlightened by the Martyrdom of Saints.

But Dr. *Ridley* by the ill making of the Fire, the Faggots being green, and built too high about the Furz, ſo that the Fire being kept down by the green Wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to ſuch exquiſite Pain,

that

that he desired them for God's sake to let the Fire come unto him; which his Brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his Pain (for which Cause he gave Attendance) as one in such Sorrow, not well advised what he did, heaped Faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the Fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his neather Parts, before it touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the Faggots, and ofen desire them to let the Fire come to him, saying, I cannot burn. Which indeed plainly appeared: For after his Legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the Pain (whereof he had no Release, but only the Comfort he had from God) he shewed that Side towards us clean, Shirt and all untouched with Flame. Yet in all this Torment he forgot not to call upon God still, having in his Mouth, *Lord have Mercy upon me*; intermingling his Cry, *Let the Fire come unto me, I cannot burn.* In which Pains he laboured 'till one of the Standers by with his Bill pulled off the Faggots above, and where he saw the Fire flame up, he wrested himself to that Side. And when the Fire touched the Gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other Side, falling down at Mr. *Latimer*'s Feet: Which some said, happened by reason that the Chain loosed, others said, that he fell over the Chain by reason of the Poise of his Body, and the Weakness of his neather Limbs.

Dr. *Ridley* long in burning.

Some said that before he was like to fall from the Stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their Bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to Tears, in beholding the horrible Sight. For I think there were none that had not clean banished all Humanity and Mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the Fury of the Fire so to rage upon their Bodies. Signs there were of Sorrow on every Side. Some took it grievously to see their Deaths, whose Lives they held full dear. Some pitied their Persons, that thought their Souls had no need thereof. His Brother moved many Men, seeing his miserable Case, seeing him (I say) compelled to such Infelicity, that he thought then to do him best Service when he hastened his End. Some cried out of the Luck to see his Endeavour, who most dearly loved him, and sought his Release, turn to his greater Vexation, and increase of Pain. But whoso considered their Preferments in Time past, the Places of Honour that they sometime occupied in this Commonwealth, the Favour they were in with their Princes, and the Opinion of Learning they had, could not choose but grieve with Tears, to see so great Dignity, Honour and Estimation, so necessary Members sometime accounted, so many godly Virtues, the Study of so many Years, such excellent Learning, to be put into the Fire, and consumed in one Moment. Well, dead they are, and the Reward of this World, they have already. What Reward remaineth for them in Heaven, the Day of God's Glory, when he cometh with his Saints, shall shortly I trust, declare.

The lamenting Hearts of the People at the Martyrdom of these two Saints.

Anno 1555.

A Letter written by Dr. *Ridley*, instead of his last Farewel, to all his true and faithful Friends in God, with a sharp Admonition withal to the Papists.

AT the Name of Jesus let every Knee bow, both of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth, and let every Tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the Glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a Man intending to take a far Journey, and to depart from his familiar Friends, commonly and naturally hath a Desire to bid his Friends farewel before his Departure; so likewise now, I looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dealy beloved Brethren and Sisters in our Saviour Christ that dwell here in this World) having a like Mind towards you all, to bid you all, my dear Brethren and Sisters (I say in Christ) that dwell upon the Earth, after such Manner as I can, farewel.

Farewel my dear Brother George Shipside, *whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all States and Conditions, and now in the Time of my Cross over all others to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which pleased me best over all other Things, in God's Cause ever hearty.*

A Commendation of *George Shipside* his Brother-in-law.

Farewel my dear Sister Alice *his Wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's Cross which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy Back and mine, in good Part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving Husband: See thou honour him and obey him, according to God's Law. Honour thy Mother-in-law his Mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, bieng ready to do them good as it shall lye in thy Power. As for thy Children, I doubt not of thy Husband, but that he who hath given him an Heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy Children, even as if they had been begotten of his own Body.*

Farewel my dearly beloved Brother John Ridley *of the* Waltoun, *and you my gentle and loving Sister* Elizabeth: *Whom besides the natural League of Amity, your tender Love which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your Brethren, doth blind me to love. My Mind was to have acknowledged this your loving Affection, and to have acquitted with Deeds, and not with Words alone. Your Daughter* Eli abeth *I bid Farewel, whom I love for the meek and gentle Spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious Thing in the Sight of God.*

Farewel my beloved Sister of Unthank*, *with all your Children, Nephews and Nieces, since the departing of my Brother* Hugh, *my Mind was to have been unto them instead of their Father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live according to his Law.*

* The Wife of his Brother *Hugh*, dwelling at a Place called *Unthank*.

Farewel my welbeloved and worshipful Cousins, Mr. Nicholas Ridley *of* Willimounswike, *and your Wife, and I thank you for all your Kindness both shewed unto me, and also to all your own Kinsfolk and mine. Good Cousin, as God hath set you in our Stock and Kindred (not for any respect of your Person, but of his abundant Grace and Goodness) to be as it were the Bell-weather to Order and Conduct the Rest, and hath also endued you with his*

Anno 1555. *his manifold Gifts of Grace both heavenly and worldly above others; ſo I pray you, good Couſin, (as my Truſt and Hope is in you) continue and increaſe in the Maintenance of the Truth, Honeſty, Righteouſneſs, and all true Godlineſs, and to the uttermoſt of your Power, to withſtand Falſhood, Untruth, Unrighteouſneſs, and all Ungodlineſs which is forbidden and condemned by the Word and Laws of God.*

Farewel my young Couſin Ralph Whitfield. *Oh! your Time was very ſhort with me. My Mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little Time a Loſs, but I truſt it ſhall be recompenſed as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God.*

Farewel all my whole Kindred and Countrymen, farewel in Chriſt altogether. The Lord who is the Searcher of Secrets, knoweth that according to my Heart's deſire, my Hope was of late that I ſhould have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Chriſt's bleſſed Goſpel, according to the Duty of that Office and Miniſtry, whereunto among you I was choſen, named and appointed by the Mouth of that our late peerleſs Prince, King Edward, *and ſo denounced openly in his Court, by his privy Council.*

I warn you all my beloved Kinsfolk and Countrymen, that ye not amazed or aſtoniſhed at the Kind of my Departure or Diſſolution; for I aſſure you I think it the greateſt Honour that ever I was called to in all my Life: And therefore I heartily thank my Lord God for it, that it hath pleaſed him to call me of his great Mercy unto this high Honour, to ſuffer Death willingly for his Cauſe and for his Sake; unto which Honour he hath called the Holy Prophets, and dearly beloved Apoſtles, and his bleſſed choſen Martyrs.

Martyrdom God's ſingular and rare Promotion.

Ye know that be my Countrymen dwelling upon the Borders, where (alas) the true Man ſuffereth oftentimes much Wrong at the Thief's Hand, if it chance a Man be ſlain of a Thief (as it often doth there) which went out with his Neighbour to help him to reſerve his Goods again, that the more cruelly he be ſlain, and the more ſtedfaſtly he ſtuck by his Neighbour in the Fight againſt the Faith of the Thief, the more Favour and Friendſhip ſhall all his Poſterity have for the ſlain Man's Sake, of all them that be true, as long as the Memory of this Fact, and his Poſterity doth endure: Even ſo ye that be my Kinsfolk and Countrymen, know ye, I ſay, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know and follow the Laws of God, ye have, and ſhall have by God's Grace, ever Cauſe to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoyce of me your Fleſh and Blood, whom God of his Goodneſs hath vouchſafed to aſſociate unto the bleſſed Company of his holy Martyrs in Heaven.

Now alſo know ye, all my true Lovers in God, my Kinsfolk and Countrymen, that the Cauſe for which I am put to death, is even after the ſame Sort and Condition, but touching more near God's Cauſe, and in more weighty Matters, but in the general Kind all one: For both is God's Cauſe, both is in the Maintenance of Right, and both for the Common-wealth, and both for the Weal alſo of the chriſtian Brother, although yet there is in theſe two no ſmall Difference, both concerning the Enemies, the Goods ſtoln, and the Manner of the Fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor Man is robbed by the Thief of his Goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his Houſhold ſhould live) he is greatly wronged, and the Thief in ſtealing and robbing with violence the poor Man's Goods, doth offend God, doth tranſgreſs his Law, and is injurious both to the poor Man, and to the Common-wealth: So I ſay, know ye that even here in the Cauſe of my Death, it is with the Church of England, *I mean the Congregation of the true choſen Children of God in this Realm of* England, *which I acknowledge not only to be my Neighbours, but rather the Congregation of my ſpiritual Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt, yea, Members of one Body, wherein by God's Grace I am and have been grafted in Chriſt. This Church of* England *hath of late of the infinite Goodneſs and abundant Grace of Almighty God, great Subſtance, great Riches of heavenly Treaſure, great Plenty of God's true ſincere Word, the true and wholeſome Adminiſtration of Chriſt's Holy Sacraments, the whole Profeſſion of Chriſt's Religion truly and plainly ſet forth in Baptiſm, the plain Declaration and Underſtanding of the ſame, taught in the Holy Catechiſm, to have been learned of all true Chriſtians.*

The Church had alſo a true and ſincere Form and Manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein according to Jeſus Chriſt's own Ordinance and holy Inſtitution, Chriſt's Commandments were executed and done. For upon the Bread and Wine ſet upon the Lord's Table, Thanks were given, the Commemoration of the Lord's Death was had; the Bread, in the Remembrance of Chriſt's Body torn upon the Croſs, was broken, and the Cup in the Remembrance of Chriſt's Blood ſhed, was diſtributed, and both communicated unto all that were preſent, and would receive them, and alſo they were exhorted of the Miniſter ſo to do.

All was done openly in the vulgar Tongue, ſo that every Thing might be moſt eaſily heard, and plainly underſtood by all the People, to God's high Glory, and the Edification of the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole divine Services, all common and publick Prayers ordained to be ſaid and heard in the common Congregation, not only framed and faſhioned to the true Vein of Holy Scripture, but alſo ſet forth according to the Commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's *Doctrine, for the Peoples Edification, in their vulgar Tongue.*

It had alſo holy and wholeſome Homilies in Commendation of the principal Virtues, which are commended in Scripture: And likewiſe other Homilies againſt the moſt pernicious and capital Vices that uſe (alas) to reign in this Realm of England. *This Church had in Matters of Controverſy, Articles ſo penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true Underſtanding of God's Word, that in ſhort Time if they had been univerſally received they ſhould have been able to have ſet in Chriſt's true Religion, and to have expelled many falſe Errors and Hereſies, wherewith this Church, alas, was almoſt overgone.*

But alas, of late into this ſpiritual Poſſeſſion of the heavenly Treaſure of theſe godly Riches, are entered in Thieves, that have robbed and ſpoiled all this Treaſure away. I may well complain on theſe Things, and cry out upon them with the Prophet, ſaying, O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen Nations, are come into thy Heritage: They have defiled thy Holy Temple, and made *Jeruſalem* an Heap of Stones, that is, they have broken and beaten down to the Ground thy Holy City. *This heatheniſh Generation, theſe Thieves be of* Samaria, *theſe* Sabæi *and* Chaldæi, *theſe Robbers have ruſhed out of their Dens, and have robbed the Church of* England *of all the aforeſaid holy Treaſure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it, and inſtead of God's Holy Word, the true and right Adminiſtration of Chriſt's Holy Sacraments, as of Baptiſm and others, they mixt their Miniſtry with Man's fooliſh Fantaſies, and many wicked and ungodly Traditions withal.*

The Lord's Supper turned to the Maſs.

Inſtead of the Lord's Holy Table, they give the People with much ſolemn diſguiſing a Thing which they call their Maſs, but in Deed and in Truth,

Truth, it is a very maſking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord; or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby theſe falſe Thieves and Jugglers have bewitched the Minds of the ſimple People, that they have brought them from the true Worſhip of God unto pernicious Idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, which is neither God nor Man, nor hath any Life in it ſelf, but in Subſtances is the Creature of Bread and Wine, and in Uſe of the Lord's Table is the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood: And for this Holy Uſe, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his Table, to repreſent unto us his Bleſſed Body torn upon the Croſs for us, and his Blood there ſhed, it pleaſed him to call them his Body and Blood: Which underſtanding Chriſt declareth to be his true Meaning, when he ſaith, Do this in remembrance of me. *And again, St.* Paul *likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame Sacrament, after the Words of Conſecration, ſaying,* As often as ye ſhall eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſet forth (*he meaneth with the ſame*) the Lord's Death until his coming again. *And here again theſe Thieves have alſo robbed the People of the Lord's Cup, contrary to the plain Words of Chriſt written in his Goſpel.*

Luke 22. 1 *Cor.* 11.

Now for the Common publick Prayers which were in the vulgar Tongue, theſe Thieves have brought in again a ſtrange Tongue, whereof the People underſtand not one Word. Wherein what do they elſe, but rob the People of their divine Service, wherein they ought to pray together with the Miniſter? And to pray in a ſtrange Tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul *calleth it) Barbarouſneſs, Childiſhneſs, unprofitable Folly, yea, and plain Madneſs.*

For the godly Articles of Unity in Religion, and for the wholeſome Homilies, what do theſe Thieves place in the ſtead of them, but the Pope's Laws and Decrees, lying Legends, feigned Fables, and Miracles to delude and abuſe the Simplicity of the rude People? Thus this Robbery and Theft is not only committed, nay Sacrilege, and wicked Spoil of heavenly Things, but alſo in the ſtead of the ſame, is brought in and placed the abominable Deſolation of the Tyrant Antiochus, *of proud* Senacherib, *of the ſhameleſs faced King, and of the* Babylonical *Beaſt. Unto this Robbery, this Theft and Sacrilege, for that I cannot conſent, nor (God willing) ever ſhall ſo long as the Breath is in my Body, becauſe it is Blaſphemy againſt God, high Treaſon againſt Chriſt our heavenly King, Lord, Maſter, and not our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plainly contrary to God's Word, and to Chriſt's Goſpel, it is the Subverſion of all true Godlineſs, and againſt the Salvation of mine own Soul, and of all my Brethren and Siſters, whom Chriſt my Saviour hath ſo dearly bought, with no leſs Price than with the Effuſion and ſhedding forth of his moſt precious Blood: Therefore all ye my true Lovers in God, Kinsfolk and Countrymen, for this Cauſe, I ſay, know ye that I am put to Death, which by God's Grace I ſhall willingly take, with hearty Thanks to God therefore, in certain Hope without any doubting, to receive at God's Hand again, of his free Mercy and Grace, everlaſting Life.*

And thus much, dear Lovers and Friends in God, my Countrymen and Kinsfolk, I have ſpoke for your Comfort, leſt at my Death ye might be abaſhed, or think any Evil: whereas ye have rather cauſe to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater Honour and Dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rocheſter, *or in the See of* London, *or ever ſhould have had in the See of* Durham, *whereunto I was laſt laſt of all elected and named: Yea, I count it greater Honour before God indeed to die in his Cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal Promotion or Honour that can be given to a Man in this World. And who is he that knoweth the Cauſe to be God's, to be Chriſt's Quarrel, and of his Goſpel, to be the common Weal of all the Elect and choſen Children of God, of all the Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven; who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by God's Word, and the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience (as I through the infinite Goodneſs of God, not of myſelf, but by his Grace acknowledge myſelf to do) who is he, I ſay, that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in Deed and in Truth, loveth and believeth his Maſter Chriſt, and his bleſſed Goſpel; loveth his Brotherhood, the choſen Children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for everlaſting Life: Who is he, I ſay again, that would not or cannot find in his Heart in this Cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this Grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of Mercies, and Father of all Comfort through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this Mind, Will, and Affection by his Holy Spirit in my Heart, to ſtand againſt the Face of the Enemy in his Cauſe, and to chuſe rather the Loſs of all my worldly Subſtance, yea, and of my Life too, than to deny his known Truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and ſtrengthen me evermore even unto the End, and to the yielding up of my Spirit and Soul into his Holy Hands, whereof I moſt heartily beſeech his moſt Holy Sacred Majeſty of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord,* Amen.

Dr. *Ridley* named to the See of *Dnrham.*

Anno 1555.

Now that I have taken Leave of my Countrymen and Kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me Life, and giveth me Leiſure, I will bid my other good Friends in God of other Places alſo, farewel. And whom firſt or before other, than the Univerſity of Cambridge, *where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty Friends, received more Benefits (the Benefits of my natural Parents only excepted) than ever I did even in mine own Country wherein I was born.*

A farewel to the Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

Farewel therefore (Cambridge) *my loving Mother and tender Nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manifold Benefits, yea, if I ſhould not for thy Benefits at leaſt love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What Benefits hadſt thou ever, that thou uſeſt to give and beſtow upon thy beſt beloved Children, that thou thoughteſt too good for me? Thou didſt beſtow on me all thy School-degrees, the common Offices, the Chaplainſhip of the Univerſity, the Office of the Proctorſhip, and of a common Reader; and of thy private Advantages and Emoluments in Colleges; what was it that thou madeſt me not Partner of? Firſt to be Scholar, then to be Fellow, and after my Departure from thee, thou calledſt me again to a Maſterſhip of a right worſhipful College. I thank thee, my loving Mother, for all this thy Kindneſs, and I pray God that his Laws, and the ſincere Goſpel of Chriſt may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.*

Farewel Pembroke-Hall, *of late mine own College, my Cure and my Charge: What Caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt ever named ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty Years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great Promoter of Chriſt's Goſpel, and of God's true Word; ſo I found thee, and bleſſed be God ſo I*

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left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee mine own dear College, if ever thou ſuffer thyſelf by any Means to be brought from that Trade. In thy Orchard (the Walls, Buts, and Trees, if they could ſpeak, would bear me witneſs) I learned without Book almoſt all St. Paul's *Epiſtles, yea, and I think all the canonical Epiſtles, ſave only the* Apocalypſe. *Of which Study, although in Time a great Part did depart from me, yet the ſweet Smell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into Heaven: For the Profit thereof I think I have felt in all my Lifetime ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there were others that did the like. The Lord grant that this Zeal and Love toward that Part of God's Word, which is a Key and true Commentary to all the holy Scripture, may ever abide in that College ſo long as the World ſhall endure.*

Dr. *Ridley* called into *Kent* by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, to the Pariſh of *Herne* in *Kent*.

From Cambridge *I was called into* Kent *by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, *that moſt Reverend Father, and of him preferred to be Vicar of* Herne *in* Eaſt-Kent. *Wherefore farewel* Herne, *thou worſhipful and wealthy Pariſh, the firſt Cure whereunto I was called to preach God's Word. Thou haſt heard of my Mouth oftentimes the Word of God preached, not after the popiſh Trade, but after Chriſt's Goſpel: O that the Fruit had anſwered to the Seed. And yet I muſt acknowledge me to be thy Debtor for the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which at that Time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: But I bleſs God in all that godly Virtue and Zeal of God's Word, which the Lord by preaching of his Word did kindle manifeſtly both in the Heart and in the Life and Works of that godly Woman there, my Lady* Phines; *the Lord grant that his Word took like Effect there in many others.*

His farewel to the metropolick See of *Canterbury*.

Farewel thou cathedral Church of Canterbury, *the metropolick See, whereof once I was a Member. To ſpeak Things pleaſant unto thee I dare not for danger of Conſequence, and Diſpleaſure of my Lord God, to ſay what lieth in my Heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheleſs for the Friendſhip I have found in ſome there, and for Charity ſake, I wiſh thee to be waſhed clean of all Worldlineſs and Ungodlineſs, that thou mayſt be found of God after thy Name Chriſt's-church, in Deed and in Truth.*

To the See of *Rocheſter*.

Farewel Rocheſter, *ſometime my cathedral See, in whom (to ſay the Truth) I did find much Gentleneſs and Obedience, and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary, but I did uſe it to God's Glory, and into thine own Profit in God. O that thou hadſt and mighteſt have continued and gone forward in the Trade of God's Law wherein I did leave thee; then thy Charge and Burthen ſhould not have been ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verily it is like to be (alas) the latter Day.*

To *Weſtminſter*.

To Weſtminſter *other Advertiſement in God I have not now to ſay, than I have ſaid before to the cathedral Church of* Canterbury, *and ſo God give thee of his Grace, that thou mayſt learn in Deed and in Truth to pleaſe him after his own Laws: And thus fare you well.*

To the See of *London*.

O London, London, *to whom now may I ſpeak in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewel? Shall I ſpeak to the Prebendaries of St.* Paul's? *Alas, all that loved God's Word, and were the true Setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear ſay) ſome burnt and ſlain, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome confined in hard Priſon, and appointed daily to be put to moſt cruel Death for Chriſt's Goſpel ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.*

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Bp. *Ridley* unjuſtly depoſed from the See of *London*.

Shall I ſpeak to the See thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully the Space of three Years? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I hear ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by Judgment as an unjuſt Uſurper of that room. O Judgment, Judgment. Can this be juſt Judgment to condemn the chief Miniſter of God's Word, the Paſtor and Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and never bring him into Judgment, that he might have heard what Crimes were laid to his Charge, nor ever ſuffer him to have any Place or Time to anſwer for himſelf? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter when true Juſtice ſhall have Place, this Judgment can ever be allowed either of God or Man? Well, as for the Cauſe or whole Matter of my Depoſition, and the Spoil of my Goods which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I refer it unto God who is a juſt Judge; and I beſeech God, if it be his Pleaſure, that that which is but my perſonal wrong, be not laid to thy Charge in the latter Day, this only I can pray for.

The See of *London* worthily rebuked.

O thou now wicked and bloody See, why doſt thou ſet up again many Altars of Idolatry, which by the Word of God were juſtly taken away? Why doſt thou daily delude thy People, maſking in thy Maſſes inſtead of the Lord's Holy Supper, which ought to be common as well (ſaith Chryſoſtom, *yea the Lord himſelf) to the People as to the Prieſt? How dareſt thou deny to the People of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſs Commandment in the Goſpel, his Holy Cup? Why bableſt thou to the People the Common-Prayer in a ſtrange Tongue, wherein St.* Paul *commandeth in the Lord's Name, that no Man ſhould ſpeak before the Congregation, except it ſhould be by and by declared in their common Tongue, that all might be edify'd? Nay, hearken thou whoriſh Bawd of* Babylon, *thou wicked Limb of Antichriſt, thou bloody Wolf, why ſlayeſt thou down, and makeſt havock of the Prophets of God? Why murdereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſt's poor ſilly Sheep, which will not hear thy Voice, becauſe thou art a Stranger, and will follow none other but their own Paſtor Chriſt his Voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require the Blood of his Saints at thy Hands? Thy God which is the Work of thy Hands, and, whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt Power to make, that thy deaf and dumb God, I ſay, will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not aſhamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to eſcape the revenging Hand of the High and Almighty God. But be thou aſſured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, who ſitteth on the right Hand of his Father in Glory, he ſeeth all thy wicked Ways and Cruelty done to his dear Members, and he will not forget his holy Ones, and his Hands (O thou whoriſh Drab) ſhalt thou never eſcape. Inſtead of my farewel to thee, now I ſay, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee filthy Drab, and all thy falſe Prophets.*

Biſhop *Ridley*'s Prophecy upon the epiſcopal See of *London*.

Yet thou (O London*) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy epiſcopal See, now being joined in League with the Seat of* Satan, *thus hath now both handled me and the Saints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great City there be many private Mourners, who do daily mourn for that Miſchief, who never did nor ſhall conſent to that Wickedneſs, but do deteſt and abhor it as the Ways of* Satan. *But theſe privy Mourners here I will paſs by, and bid them farewel with their Fellows hereafter, when Place and Occaſion ſhall more conveniently require. Among the worſhipful of the City, and eſpecially which were in Office of mayoralty, yea, and*

To the City of *London*.

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in other Cities also (whom now to name is not necessary) in the Time of my Ministry, which was from the latter Part of Sir Rowland Hills's *Year, unto Sir* George Barnes's *Year, and a great Part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small Humanity and Gentleness as me thought: But (to say the Truth) that I do esteem above all other for true Christian Kindness, which is shewed in God's Cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O* Dobs, Dobs, *Alderman and Knight, thou in thy Year didst win my Heart for evermore, for that honourable Act, that most blessed Work of God, of the Erection and setting up of Christ's holy Hospitals, and truly religious Houses, which by thee and thro' thee were begun. For thou like a Man of God, when the Matter was moved for the Relief of Christ's poor silly Members to be holpen from extreme Misery, Hunger, and Famine, thy Heart, I say, was moved with Pity, and as Christ's high honourable Officer in that Cause, thou calledst together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the City, before whom thou breakest the Matter for the Poor; thou didst plead their Cause, yea, and not only in thine own Person thou didst set forth Christ's Cause, but to further the Matter, thou broughtest me into the Council-chamber of the City before the Aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an Advocate by Office and Duty, in the poor Men's Cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the Consent of thy Brethren; whereby the Matter was brought to the Common-council, and so to the whole Body of the City; by whom, with an uniform Consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain Number of the most witty Citizens and Politick, endued also with Godliness, and with ready Hearts to set forward such a noble Act, as could be chose in all the whole City: And they like true and faithful Ministers both to their City and their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the Matter, that thousands of silly poor Members of Christ which else for extreme Hunger and Misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the Aldermen of that Time, the Common-council, and the whole Body of the City, but especially thee, O* Dobs, *and those chosen Men, by whom this honourable Work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long throughout all Ages, as that godly Work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the World's End,* Amen.

The erecting of the Hospital by Bishop *Ridley* and Sir *Richard Dobs*, Lord Mayor of *London.*

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, *the Truth is to be confessed to God's Glory, and to the good Example of others, thou wast in thy Year not only a Furtherer and Continuer of that which before thee by thy Predecessor was well begun, but also didst labour so to have perfected the Work, that it should have been an absolute Thing, and perfect Spectacle of true Charity and Godliness unto all* Christendom. *Thine Endeavour was to have set up an House of Occupations, both that all kind of Poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own Relief, and to the Profit and Commodity of the Common-wealth of the City, and also to have retired thither the poor Babes brought up in the Hospitals, when they had come to a certain Age and Strength, and also all those which in the Hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their Diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great Diligence and Labour, both of thee and of thy Brethren, and of that godly King* Edward, *that christian and peerless Prince's Hand, his princely Palace of* Bridewel, *and what other Things to the Performance of the same, and under what Condition it is not unknown. That this thine Endeavour hath not had like Success, the Fault is not in thee, but in the Condition and State of the Time, which the Lord of his infinite Mercy vouchsafe to amend when it shall be his gracious Will and Pleasure.*

Commendation of Sir *George Barnes* Mayor of *London.*

Bridewel obtained of King *Edward* by Sir *George Barnes*, to set poor People on Work.

Anno 1555.

Farewel now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what State and Condition soever ye be. Undoubtedly in London *ye have heard God's Word truly preached. My Heart's Desire and daily Prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my Time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for Loss of Life nor worldly Goods, from God's Holy Word, and yield unto Antichrist: Whereupon must needs follow the extream Displeasure of God, and the Loss both of your Bodies and Souls into perpetual Damnation for evermore.*

To the Citizens of *London.*

Now that I have gone through the Places where I have dwelt any Space in the Time of my Pilgrimage here upon Earth, remembring that for the Space of King Edward's *Reign, which was for the Time of mine Office in the Sees of* London *and* Rochester, *I was a Member of the higher House of the Parliament; therefore seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the Remembrance thereof, I will bid my Lords of the temporality farewel. They shall have no just Cause, by God's Grace, to take in ill Part what I intend to say. As for the spiritual Prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great Part of that I have said before now already to the See of* London. *To you therefore my Lords of the Temporalty will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this I looked daily when I should be called to the Change of this Life, and thought that this my Writing should not come to your Knowledge before the Time of the Dissolution of my Body and Soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine Eyes only the Fear of God, and christian Charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this World, either for Pleasure or Displeasure. If my Talk shall do you never so much Pleasure or Profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me, for I shall be out of your Reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be content to hear the Talk of him that seeketh nothing at your Hands, but to serve God, and to do you good; hearken what I say. I say unto you as St.* Paul *saith to the* Galatians: *I wonder my Lords what hath bewitch'd you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ to Antichrist, from Christ's Gospel to Man's Traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the Bishop of* Rome. *I warn you of your Peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly Consenters unto your own Death. For if you think thus; if we are Laymen, this is a Matter of Religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our Teachers and Governours teach us and lead us amiss, the Fault is in them, they shall bear the Blame: My Lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the false Teachers and the corrupt Governour, shall be punished for the Death of their Subject, whom they have falsly taught and corruptly led, yea, and his Blood shall be required at their Hands: But yet nevertheless shall the Subject die the Death himself also; that is, he shall also be damned for his own Sin; for* if the Blind lead the Blind, *Christ saith, not the Leader only, but he saith,* both shall fall into the Ditch. *Shall the Synagogue and the Senate of the* Jews (*think ye*) *which forsook Christ, and consented to his Death, therefore be excused, because* Annas *and* Caiaphas, *with the* Scribes *and* Pharisees *and their Clergy, did teach them amiss? Yea, und also* Pilate *the Governour, and the Emperor's Lieu-*

To the temporal Lords of the Parliament.

Ezek. 3.

tenant,

Anno 1555.

tenant, by his Tyranny did without Cauſe put him Death: Forſooth no, my Lords, no. For notwithſtanding that corrupt Doctrine, or Pilate's *waſhing of his Hands, neither ſhall excuſe that Synagogue, or* Pilate; *but at the Lord's Hand, for the Effuſion of that innocent Blood, all ſhall drink of the deadly Whip. Ye are witty, and underſtand what I mean, therefore I will paſs over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his Adverſary the Biſhop of* Rome.

And leſt, my Lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Biſhop of Rome *Chriſt's Adverſary, or (to ſpeak in plain Terms) to call him Antichriſt, that it is done in mine Anguiſh, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate Man do not care what I ſay, or upon whom I rail; therefore that your Lordſhips may perceive my Mind, and thereby underſtand that I ſpeak the* Words of Truth and Sobriety, *(as St.* Paul *ſaid unto* Feſtus) *be it known unto your Lordſhips all, that as concerning the Biſhop of* Rome, *I neither hate the Perſon nor the Place. For I aſſure your Lordſhips (the living Lord beareth me witneſs, before whom I ſpeak) I do think many a good holy Man, many Martyrs and Saints of God have ſit and taught in that Place Chriſt's Goſpel truly, which therefore juſtly may be called* Apoſtolici, *that is, true Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and alſo that Church and Congregation of Chriſtians to be a right Apoſtolick Church: Yea, and that certain hundred Years after the ſame was firſt erected and built upon Chriſt, by the true apoſtolical Doctrine taught by the Mouths of the Apoſtles themſelves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred Years, to be curious in pointing the preciſe Number of the Years I will not be too bold, but thus I ſay; So long and ſo many hundred Years as that See did truly preach and teach that Goſpel, that Religion, exerciſed that Power, and ordered every Thing by thoſe Laws and Rules which that See received of the Apoſtles, and (as* Tertullian *ſaith) the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God; ſo long, I ſay, that See might well have been called* Peter *and* Paul's *Chair and See, or rather Chriſt's Chair, and the Biſhop thereof* Apoſtolicus, *or true Diſciple and Succeſſor of the Apoſtles, and a Miniſter of Chriſt.*

Acts 26.

So long as the See of *Rome* followed the Rules of the Apoſtles, it might be called *Peter's* or *Paul's* Chair.

But ſince the Time that that See hath degenerated from the Trade of Truth and true Religion, which it received of the Apoſtles at the Beginning, and hath preached another Goſpel, hath ſet up another Religion, and hath taken upon it to Order and Rule the Church of Chriſt by other ſtrange Laws, Canons, and Rules, than ever it received of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles of Chriſt, which Things it doth at this Day, and hath continued ſo doing (alas) too long a Time; ſince the Time, I ſay, that the State and Condition of that See hath thus been changed, in Truth it ought of Duty and of Right to have the Names changed both of the See and of the Sitter therein.

The See of *Rome* hath degenerated from the Apoſtles Rules, and hath ſet up another Religion, that is, hath exerciſed another Power.

I know my Lords, and foreſaw when I wrote this, that ſo many of you as ſhould ſee this my writing, not being before endued with the Spirit of Grace and the Light of God's Word, ſo many (I ſay) would at theſe my Words lordlike ſtamp and ſpurn, and ſpit thereat. But ſober yourſelves with Patience, and be ſtill, and know ye that in my writing of this, my Mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witneſs) both to do you Profit and Pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your Diſpleaſure, by that Time this ſhall come to your Knowledge, I truſt by God's Grace to be in the Hands and Protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John *ſaith) the greateſt of all, and then I ſhall not need, I ſuppoſe, to fear what any Lord, no nor what King or Prince can do unto me.*

He ſpeaketh to the Lords temporal.

My Lords, if in Times paſt ye have been contented to hear me ſometimes in Matters of Religion before the Prince in the Pulpit, and in the Parliament-houſe, and have not ſeemed to have deſpiſed what I have ſaid (when as elſe if ye had perceived juſt Occaſion, ye might then have ſuſpected me in my Talk, though it had been reaſonable, either deſire of worldly Gain, or fear of Diſpleaſure) how hath then your Lordſhips more Cauſe to hearken to my Word, and to hear me patiently, ſeeing now ye cannot juſtly think of me, being in this Caſe appointed to die, and looking daily when I ſhall be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwiſe but that I only ſtudy to ſerve my Lord God, and to ſay that Thing which I am perſuaded aſſuredly by God's Word ſhall and doth pleaſe him, and profit all them to whom God ſhall give Grace to hear and believe what I do ſay? And I do ſay even that I have ſaid heretofore both of the See of Rome *and of the Biſhop thereof, I mean after this their preſent State at this Day, wherein if ye will not believe the Miniſters of God, and true Preachers of his Word, verily I denounce unto you in the Word of the Lord, except ye do repent betime, it ſhall turn to your Confuſion, and to your Smart on the latter Day. Forget not what I ſay, my Lords, for God's ſake forget not, but remember it upon your Bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I muſt be accountable for this my Talk, and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiſs) ſo ſhall you be accountable of your Duty in hearing, and you ſhall be charged, if ye will not hearken to God's Word, for not obeying to the Truth. Alas my Lords, how chanceth this, that this Matter is now anew again to be perſwaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordſhips had been perſwaded indeed ſufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed ſo uniformly with one Conſent to the Aboliſhment of the Uſurpation of the Biſhop of* Rome? *If that Matter were then but a Matter of Policy wherein the Prince muſt be obeyed; How is it now made a Matter wherein (as your Clergy ſaith now, and ſo ſaith the Pope's Law indeed) ſtandeth the Unity of the catholick Church, and a Matter of Neceſſity of our Salvation? Hath the Time, being ſo ſhort ſince the Death of the two laſt Kings,* Henry *the Eighth and* Edward *his Son, altered the Nature of the Matter? If it have not, but was of the ſame Nature and Danger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is ſaid by the Pope's Laws, and the Inſtructions ſet forth in* Engliſh *to the Curates of the Dioceſs of* York) *indeed a Matter of Neceſſity to Salvation: How then chanced it that ye were all (O my Lords) ſo light, and ſo little paſſed upon the catholick Faith, and the Unity thereof, without which no Man can be ſaved, as for your Princes Pleaſure, who were but mortal Men, to forſake the Unity of your catholick Faith, that is, to forſake Chriſt and his Goſpel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is ſo neceſſary to Salvation, how chanced it alſo that ye, all the whole Body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not only aboliſh and expel the Biſhop of* Rome, *but alſo did abjure him in your own Perſons, and did decree in your Acts great Oaths, to be taken both of the ſpirituality and temporality, whoſoever ſhould enter into any weighty and chargeable Office in the Common-wealth? But on the other Side, if the Law and Decree which maketh the Supremacy of the See and Biſhop of* Rome *over the univerſal Church of Chriſt, be a Thing of Neceſſity required unto Salva-*

If the Unity of the Pope's Church ſtandeth upon Neceſſity of Salvation, why did the Lords of this Realm abjure this Unity in King *Henry* and King *Edward's* Days? If it be otherwiſe, why then do they perjure themſelves, turning to it again.

tion by an Antichriſtian Law (as it is indeed) and ſuch Inſtructions as are given to the Dioceſs of York, *be indeed a ſetting forth of the Power of the Beaſt of* Babylon, *by the Craft and Falſhood of his falſe Prophets, then my Lords never think other, but the Day ſhall come when ye ſhall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your Perjury and Breach of your Oath, which Oath was done in Judgment, Juſtice, and Truth agreeable to God's Law. The Whore of* Babylon *may well for a Time dally with you, and make you ſo drunken with the Wine of her filthy Stews and Whoredom (as with her Diſpenſations and Promiſes of Pardon for Puniſhment and Crime) that for Drunkenneſs and Blindneſs ye may think your ſelves ſafe. But be ye aſſured, when the living Lord ſhall try the Matter by the Fire, and judge it according to his Word, when all her Abominations ſhall appear what they be, then ye my Lords (I give your Lordſhips warning in Time) repent if ye will be happy, and love your own Souls Health; repent, I ſay, or elſe without all doubt, ye ſhall never eſcape the Hands of the living Lord, for the Guilt of your Perjury, and Breach of your Oath. As ye have banquetted and lain by the Whore in the Fornication of her whoriſh Diſpenſations, Pardons, Idolatry, and ſuch like Abominations; ſo ſhall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the Cup of the Lord's Indignation and everlaſting Wrath, which is prepared for the Beaſt, his falſe Prophets, and all their Partakers. For he that is Partner with them in their Whoredom and Abominations, muſt alſo be Partner with them of their Plagues, and in the latter Day ſhall be thrown with them into the Lake burning with Brimſtone and unquenchable Fire. Thus fare ye well, my Lords all. I pray God give you underſtanding of his bleſſed Will and Pleaſure, and make you to believe and embrace the Truth,* Amen.

Jerem. 6.

The Hiſtory of Stephen Gardiner *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

THE next Month after the Burning of Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, which was the Month of *November*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop and Chancellor, a Man hated of God and all good Men, ended his wretched Life. This Viper's Bird crept out of the Town of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, was brought up moſt Part of his Youth in *Cambridge*; his Wit, Capacity, Memory, and other Endowments of Nature were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed, and rightly apply'd the ſame; wherein there was no great want of God's Part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the Goodneſs of his Gifts. Through this Promptneſs, Activity, and Towardneſs of his, he profited not a little in ſuch Studies as he gave his Head unto, as firſt in the Civil Law, then in Languages, and ſuch other like, eſpecially in thoſe Arts and Faculties which had any Proſpect to Dignity and Preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other Ornaments or Helps of Nature, Memory chiefly ſeemed in him very beneficial, rather than Diligence of Study.

To theſe Gifts and Qualities were joined again his great or greater Vices, which not ſo much followed him, as overtook him, not ſo much burdened him, as made him burthenſome to the whole Realm. He was of a proud Stomach and high-minded, in his own Opinion and Conceit flattering himſelf too much; in Wit, crafty and ſubtil; toward his Superiors, flattering and fair ſpoken; to his Inferiors, fierce; againſt his Equals, ſtout and envious, eſpecially if in Judgment and Sentence he any Thing withſtood him, as appeared between the good Lord *Cromwel* and him in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eigth. Who, although he would give no Place to Men, yet notwithſtanding I wiſh he would have given Place to Truth, according as he ſeemed not altogether ignorant of that Truth. What his Knowledge was therein is evident, partly by his Book *De vera Obedientia*, as alſo by his Sermon before King *Edward*; alſo by his Anſwers to the Council the ſame Time, and moreover by his own Words it may be gathered in ſundry Places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth. Anno 1555.

Upon his Eſtimation and Fame he ſtood too too much, more than was meet for a Man of his Coat and Calling, whoſe Profeſſion was to be crucified unto the World, which Thing made him ſo ſtiff in maintaining that which he once begun to take upon him.

What his Learning was in the Civil and Canon Law I have not to ſay: What it was in other liberal Arts and Sciences, this I ſuppoſe, that neither his Continuance in Study, nor Diligence of reading was ſuch (by reaſon of his too much intermeddling in Prince's Matters) as could truly well merit unto him the Title of a deep learned Man. But what learning or cunning ſoever it was he had, ſo it fared in him, as it doth in Butchers, which uſe to blow up their Fleſh: Even ſo he with Boldneſs and Stoutneſs, and eſpecially with Authority, made thoſe Gifts that he had, to appear much greater than they really were. Whereunto Ule peradventure, and Experience Abroad made no little Helps, rather than either Quickneſs of Wit, or Happineſs of Education.

And as touching Divinity, he was ſo variable, wavering with Time, that no conſtant Cenſure can be given what to make of him. If his Doings and Writings were according to his Conſcience, no Man can rightly ſay whether he was a right Proteſtant or Papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe than he thought, for fear, or to bear with Time, then was he a double deep Diſſembler before God and Man, to ſay and unſay, to write and unwrite, to ſwear and forſwear ſo as he did. For firſt in the Beginning of Queen *Anne Bullen*'s Time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſy in the Matter of the King's Divorce as *Stephen Gardiner*, who was firſt ſent to *Rome*, and then to the Emperor with *Edward Fox*, as chief Agent in the Behalf of the Lady *Anne?* By whom alſo he was preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and *Edmund Bonner* was preferred to the Biſhoprick of *London*. Again, at the aboliſhing of the Pope, who ſo ready to ſwear, or ſo vehement to write againſt the Pope as he, as not only by his Sermons, but alſo by his Book *De Obedientia* may appear? In which Book, leſt any ſhould think him drawn thereunto otherwiſe than by his own Conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor on a ſudden, but upon a long Deliberation and Advertiſemnt in himſelf about the Matter, heat length uttered his Judgment: And more over, ſo he uttered his Judgment in writing againſt the uſurped Supremacy of the Pope, that coming to *Lovain* afterward, he was there accounted

Anno 1555. accounted for a Perſon excommunicate and a Schiſmatick, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their Church to ſay Maſs; and moreover, in their publick Sermons, they openly cry'd out againſt him. Whereof read hereafter.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, ſo that who but *Wincheſter* during all the Reign of Queen *Anne*? After her Deceaſe, that Time by little and little carry'd him away, till at length the Emulation of the Lord *Cromwell*'s Eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much favouring of *Bonner* (whom *Wincheſter* at that time in no Caſe could abide) made him an utter Enemy both againſt him, and alſo his Religion: Till again in King *Edward*'s Days, he began a little to rebate from certain Points of Popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the Goſpel, as both by his Sermon before King *Edward*, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain Articles, may appear; and this was an half Turn of *Stephen Gardiner* from Popery again to the Goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have farther turned, had not the unlucky Decay of the Duke of *Somerſet* clean turned him away from true Divinity to plain Popery; wherein he continued a cruel Perſecutor to his dying Day.

And thus much concerning the Trade and Profeſſion of *Stephen Gardiner*'s Popiſh Divinity. In which his Popiſh Trade, whether he followed more true Judgment, or elſe Time, or rather the Spirit of Ambition and Vain-glory, it is doubtful to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtful, becauſe in his Doings and Writings a Man may ſee him not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome Points contrary to other Papiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own Senſe, as the Mind and Meaning of *Pereſeus*; out of whoſe Book the greateſt Part of *Wincheſter*'s Divinity ſeemeth to be borrow'd.

Wincheſter never conſtant in himſelf, nor agreeing with other Papiſts.

And therefore as in the true Knowledge of God's holy Word and Scripture he appeareth no Body; ſo in his Pen and Style of Writing no leſs far is he from Commendation, than he is from all Plainneſs and Perſpicuity. In whoſe obſcure and perplex'd kind of Writing, altho' peradventure ſome Senſe may be found with ſome ſearching, yet ſhall no Reader find any Sweetneſs in his Reading.

What moved him to be ſo ſturdy againſt Mr. *Cheek*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, for the *Greek* Pronunciation, others may think what they pleaſe; I ſpeak but what I think, that ſo he did, for that he ſaw it a Thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the Diſpoſition of that Man (as it ſeemeth) that of Purpoſe he ever affected to ſeem to be a Patron of old Cuſtoms, tho' they were never ſo rotten with Age. Amongſt other Matters, this one Thing I cannot but marvel at in my Mind, when I ſee how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himſelf (as well in his Letters to the Lord Protector, and others of King *Edward*'s Council, as alſo in his long Matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other the King's Commiſſioners) of the high Favour he had of the noble King of famous Memory, King *Henry* the Eighth, when indeed nothing was leſs true; neither did the King leſs favour any of his Council, than him, affirming very often, that he greatly ſuſpected the ſaid Biſhop to be a ſecret Maintainer of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority, and a ſtout Diſturber and Hinderer of his Proceedings in Reformation of Religion. And therefore he did ſo much diſlike him, that he did not only mind (if it had pleaſed God to grant his Highneſs longer Life) to have uſed the Extremity of the Law againſt him, upon very ſore and juſt Matter of old committed by him (and yet not taken away by any Pardon) thereupon often commanding the Lord *Paget*, then his Secretary, to keep ſafe certain Writings which he had againſt him; but alſo commanded that he ſhould be put clean out of his laſt Will and Teſtament, not ſuffering him either to be one of his Executors, or elſe in any Caſe of his Son's Council, no, altho' he were earneſtly intreated to the contrary by ſundry of the Lords, and others of his Highneſs's Council, ſaying, he was a wilful, troubleſome, and headſtrong Man, and not meet to be about his Son, or to have any thing to do by his Will. Now amongſt other Cauſes that moved the King thus to ſuſpect his Fidelity towards his godly Proceedings in Religion, I find this to be one. It pleaſed his Majeſty after his aboliſhing of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority (amongſt other Embaſſages to foreign Princes) to ſend the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Henry Knevet* Knight, as joint Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, being then at a Diet or Council at *Ratisbon*, appointing alſo Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *William Blunt*, Knights, and *Andrew Bainton* Eſquire (his Highneſs's Servants) to give their Attendance upon the ſaid Sir *Henry Knevet*, for the more honouring of his Embaſſage. It happened alſo at that Time, that Sir *Henry Knevet* entertained into his Service (as Steward of his Houſhold) one *William Wolfe*, who had in the ſame Capacity before ſerved Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight, the King's former Ambaſſador there, and by that Means had good Acquaintance in thoſe Parts, as well in the Emperor's Court, as elſewhere. This *Wolfe*, towards the latter End of the Diet or Council, happened to walk, as often he did, towards the Emperor's Palace to hear ſome News, where he met with one *Ludovico*, an *Italian* Merchant, one of his old Acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid *Wolfe* to have attended upon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (not knowing of any other joint Ambaſſador) required *Wolfe* for old Acquaintance to do him a Pleaſure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon *Ludovico* ſhewed him, that the Pope's Legate, or Ambaſſador to the Emperor (which was Cardinal *Contarene*) departing the Day before towards *Rome*, and having no Leiſure to end his Buſineſs himſelf, had put the ſaid *Ludovico* in Truſt for the accompliſhing of them: And amongſt all other Things he had eſpecially charged him that he ſhould repair to the Ambaſſador of *England*, and require of him an Anſwer of the Pope's Letters, which the Legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from *Rome*, and that upon the Receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with all Speed; and therefore if his Lord Ambaſſador would write by that Courier, he pray'd *Wolfe* to tell him that it was Time to write, for the Courier went away within a Day or two. At this Tale *Wolfe* being abaſhed, and yet partly gueſſing which Ambaſſador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe Servant he was, but by other ſoothing Talk perceived that he meant the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And to the end that *Ludovico* ſhould ſuſpect nothing, he anſwered him, that he being not the Ambaſ-

ſador's Secretary, could ſay little therein; howbeit he would not fail to put his Secretary in Remembrance of it: Which Thing *Ludovico* alſo deſired him to do, for that he had no other Acquaintance with the Ambaſſador, and ſo for that Time they departed. This Matter ſeeming to *Wolfe* of ſome Importance, he immediately reveal'd it to Sir *Henry Knevet* his Maſter: Who weighing alſo the Greatneſs of the Caſe, and what Diſadvantage it were upon one Man's ſo bare a Report to attempt ought, in a Place and Time whereby ſuch a Perſon was to be touched, charged *Wolfe* well to adviſe himſelf, that no Hatred, Diſpleaſure, or other Paſſion, did move him to diſcloſe this, but Truth only. *Wolfe* reply'd, That he weighed well the Weightineſs of the Cauſe, meet, as to his own Reſpect, to be paſſed over in ſilence, for avoiding of his private Diſpleaſure, if Duty of Allegiance bound him not otherwiſe. But Sir (quoth he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be ſufficient, I warrant you to deviſe Means, that ſome others of your Servants ſhall hear the like Words from *Ludovico*'s own Mouth as well as I. Upon which talk Sir *Henry Knevet* deviſed which of his Servants he might uſe to that Purpoſe, and at laſt reſted upon Mr. *Thomas Chalenor* his Secretary, becauſe he had the *Italian* Tongue. Not making him privy to any Matter, but deſired *Wolfe* to take him Abroad with him, as of his own private Motion, for they were very familiar Friends. Whereupon the next Morning, being *Sunday*, *Wolfe* came to *Chalenor*'s Chamber, and pray'd him familiarly to take a Walk with him Abroad to the Piazza, or Market-ſtead, which he readily did, not knowing of any ſpecial Cauſe why. When they came to the Piazza, overagainſt the Emperor's Palace (near whereunto alſo the Pope's Legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the ſaid *Ludovico*, and eſpying *Wolfe*, ſaluted him very friendly, and enter'd into Talk about the Exchange, and ſundry other Matters, *Chalenor* being ſtill with them. At laſt upon Occaſion, they entered into like Talk about the former Letters that the Ambaſſador of *England* had received from *Rome* by the Pope's Legate, of which *Ludovico* had in Charge to receive an Anſwer, affirming, that the Poſt departed the next Day, and therefore pray'd *Wolfe* to put the Ambaſſador's Secretary in Remembrance of them. Whereunto *Wolfe* anſwered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which Ambaſſador he meant, for that there were two: One, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other, a Gentleman of the King's Privy-chamber. To whom *Ludovico* reply'd, That he meant not the Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, but the Biſhop. By which Talk, and much ſuch like (as upon the former Day) Mr. *Chalenor* being moved (and not knowing yet of his Maſter's and *Wolfe*'s Purpoſe) after the Departure of *Ludovico* from them, ſaid unto *Wolfe*, that *Ludovico* had had but homely Talk with him, not to be paſſed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his Maſter of it. To whom *Wolfe* anſwered, Do as you will, if you think any Matter therein. And therefore at his return Home, he told Sir *Henry Knevet* what Speech he had heard at *Ludovico*'s Mouth.

Sir *Henry Knevet* being thus farther aſcertained of the Matter, opened the whole to Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *William Blunt*, and to Mr. *Bainton*, who all agreed yet to make a farther Trial thereof. And therefore deviſed that *Wolfe* ſhould procure *Ludovico* to bring certain Velvet and other Silks, unto Sir *Henry Knevet*'s Lodging, as well for himſelf as for the other Gentlemen, which that Afternoon he did accompliſh, and brought *Ludovico* unto Sir *Henry*, where alſo were the other Gentlemen. After they had a while viewed the Silks, and had had ſome Talk about the Price, *Wolfe* took Occaſion again to ask *Ludovico*, if Sir *Henry* were the Ambaſſador of whom he was to demand an Anſwer of the Letters ſent by the Pope's Legate? To whom the Merchant anſwered, No, it was not his Seigniory, but it was a Biſhop, terming him *Reverendiſſimo*, whereby they eaſily perceived whom he meant. Sir *Henry Knevet* hereupon ſomewhat diſſembling the Matter, entered into further Talk about it, whereby *Ludovico* opened as much in Effect to them as he had done before to *Wolfe*; but yet at laſt perceiving, that as well Sir *Henry*, as alſo the other Gentlemen, beheld him ſomewhat angrily, he brake off his Talk. Wherewith Sir *Henry Knevet*, making as tho' he had noted nothing, did lovingly diſmiſs him, praying him, that when he had received the Biſhop's Letters, he would alſo repair to him for a Packet to an *Engliſh* Gentleman of his Acquaintance at *Milan*; which he promiſed to do, and ſo departed again. When Sir *Henry* had thus made ſufficient Trial of this Matter, he forthwith wrote his Letters unto the King's Majeſty, ſignifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while *Ludovico* the next Morning repaired to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Lodging, to demand an Anſwer of thoſe Letters the Legate had ſent unto him: But how he uſed himſelf, or whether he uttered the Diſcourſe he had with Sir *Henry Knevet* and with *Wolfe*, whom he ſuppoſed at the firſt to be the Biſhop's Man, it is not certainly known. But the Biſhop perceiving that by miſtaking one for another, (and in ſuppoſing *Wolfe* to be the Biſhop's Servant) *Ludovico* had uttered all his Meſſage from the Legate unto *Wolfe*, and that thereby his Practices would come to Light; in great Haſte and Rage he cauſed *Ludovico* to be ſtay'd in his own Houſe, while in the mean Time himſelf went to *Gravela*, one of the Emperor's Council, and ſo practiſed with him, that *Ludovico* was ſecretly committed to Priſon, in the Cuſtody of one of the Emperor's Marſhals, ſo as he could be no more talked with all the Time of their Abode there. And then ſending in great Haſte to Sir *Henry Knevet* to come and ſpeak with him, (which he did) he fell into very hot Speech with him, ſaying, that he had Poiſon in his Diſh, and that a Knave was ſuborned to be his Deſtruction; with many ſuch like Words. Sir *Henry* told him again how he underſtood it; and prayed him that *Ludovico* might be brought Face to Face, to be examined in both their Preſences. Which the Biſhop would in no Caſe agree unto, affirming, that he had ſo declared the Caſe to *Gravela*, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with *Ludovico*, nor ſpeak with him: But that the Emperor's Council ſhould examine him, and try what he was for him. To whom Sir *Henry Knevet* again very earneſtly objected, That he marvelled that the Biſhop in Matters touching the King's Majeſty their Maſter, would uſe the Aid or Means of

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Anno 1555. *Gravela* a foreign Prince's Minister, to make him privy of their Question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the Speech of *Ludovico* any more ever after. Whereupon there arose great and long Controversies between them (both writing Letters unto the King about that Matter) until at last the King's Majesty perceiving his Affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both that they should lay all those Things under Foot, and join together in his Service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this Matter was afterward salved here with the King's Majesty, as either by the Death of Sir *Henry Knevet*, which I think was not long after, or by other Friends the Bishop had here at home, I know not: Yet *Wolfe*, who within two Months after died of a long Cough of the Lungs, upon his Death-bed did again affirm the Premisses to be most true; and therefore in the Presence of Sir *Henry Knevet*, and divers of his Servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought or procured this at *Ludovico*'s Hands, for any Malice or Displeasure born to the Bishop, but only for Discharge of his Faith and Duty unto the King's Majesty, desiring that the same his Protestation might be inserted in the End of his last Will and Testament, which was then presently done, and thereunto he set his Hand.

Now, whether this was the Matter that the King moved so often Mr. Secretary *Paget* (being after Lord-Keeper) to keep safe as sore Matter against the Bishop, I know not, but yet it appears by some Depositions of the Nobility, and others, in the Process had against him in King *Edward*'s Days, that the King's Majesty *Henry* the Eighth, had this Matter ever in his Mind: For in every general Pardon that he granted by Parliament after this Practice, he did still except all Treasons committed beyond the Seas; meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the Bishop should not take any Benefit by any general Pardon, if at any Time his Majesty would call him to Account: And therefore, all Things well weighed, he had small Cause to vaunt of his great Favour he had with King *Henry* his Master. Howbeit it seemeth he was brought into this Fool's Paradise by the Lord *Paget*; who, as he himself reporteth in his Depositions, in his Messages from the King to the said Bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the King had spoke, and concealing always the King's hard Speeches against him, which Thing puffed up this vain-glorious *Thraso* not a little.

But whosoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his Death and Manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his Death happened so opportunely, that *England* hath a mighty Cause to give Thanks to the Lord for it: Not so much for the great Hurt he had done in Times past in perverting his Princes, in bringing in the six Articles, in murdering God's Saints, in defacing Christ's sincere Religion, *&c.* but also and especially for that he had thought to have brought to pass in murdering also the Lady *Elizabeth*. For whatsoever Danger it was of Death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from the bloody Bishop, who was the Cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highness being in the *Tower*, a Writ came down from certain of the Council for her Execution; it is out of Controversy that *Winchester* was the Framer of that Engine, who, no doubt, in that one Day had brought this whole Realm into woful Ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious Counsel, through Mr. *Bridges* then the Lieutenant, coming in Haste to the Queen, certified her of the Matter, and prevented his bloody Devices. For which Thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the Congregation of all *English* Churches, *Amen*.

The Lady *Elizabeth* preserved by Lieut. *Bridges*.

Of Things uncertain I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller Information, or else peradventure there are some in the Realm that can say more than I have here expressed. For as *Bonner*, *Story*, *Thornton*, *Harpsfield*, *Dunning*, with others, were occupied in putting the poor Branches of God's Saints to Death: So this Bishop for his Part bent all his Devices, and had spent all his Powder in assailing the Root, and in casting such a Platform, as he himself in Words at his Death is said to confess, to build his Popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever. But, as I said before, of Things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the Manner and Order of his Death, how rich he died, what Words he spake, what little Repentance he shewed, whether he died with his Tongue swoln and out of his Mouth, as did *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or whether he stunk before he died as Cardinal *Wolsey* did, or whether he died in Despair as *Latomus* and others did, *&c.* All this I refer either to their Reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the Knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the Way, touching the Death of this aforesaid Bishop, I thought not to over-pass a certain Hear-say, which not long since came to me by Information, of a certain worthy and credible Gentlewoman, and another Gentleman of the same Name and Kindred, which Mrs. *Munday*, the Wife of Mr. *Munday*, sometime Secretary to the old Lord *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, a present Witness of this that is testify'd, thus openly reported in the House of a worshipful Citizen, bearing yet Office in this City, in Words and Effect as followeth. The same Day as Bishop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* suffered at *Oxford*, being about the 19th Day of *October*, there came into the House of *Stephen Gardiner*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, with the aforesaid Mr. *Munday* his Secretary abovenamed, Reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting for his Dinner, the Bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the Time to three or four of the Clock in the Afternoon. At length about four of the Clock cometh his Servant posting in all possible Speed from *Oxford*, bringing Intelligence to the Bishop what he had heard and seen: Of whom the said Bishop diligently enquiring the Truth of the Matter, and hearing by his Man that Fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoycing to the Duke, Now, saith he, let us go to Dinner. Whereupon, they being set down, Meat immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody Tyrant had not eaten a few Bits, but the sudden Stroke of God's terrible Hand fell upon him in such Sort, as immediately he was taken from the Table,

Stephen Gardiner seeketh the Life of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

and so brought to his Bed, where he continued the Space of fifteen Days in such intolerable Anguish and Torments, that all that mean while during the fifteen Days, he could not avoid by Urine or otherwise, any Thing that he received: Whereby his Body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched End. And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his Tongue from his Mouth so swoln and black, with the Inflammation of his Body. A Spectacle worthy to be noted and beheld of all such Bloody burning Persecutors.

But to proceed farther in the Sequel of our Story: I could name the Man (but I abstain from Names) who being then present, and a great Doer about the said *Winchester*, reported to us concerning the said Bishop, that when Dr. *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, came to him, and began to comfort him with Words of God's Promise, and with the free Justification in the Blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him; *Winchester* hearing that, What my Lord [quoth he] will you open that Gap now? then farewel altogether. To me, and such others in my Case, you may speak it, but open this Window to the People, then farewel all together.

Moreover, what Dr. *Bonner* then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what Words passed between them about the Time of this Extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If *Bonner* did there behold any Thing which might turn to his good Example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in Time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous Epitaph that was made on his Death, devised by a Papist for a popish Bishop, but I omit it, and instead thereof I have here inserted certain Things gathered out of his Sermons, Words, and Writings, wherein may appear what an earnest and vehement Enemy he was to the Pope, if he would have been constant in himself; and how inconstantly he vary'd from himself; and also, how he standing upon a Singularity of his own Wit, varied from other Papists in certain Points. In the gathering whereof although there be some Pains, and Tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to omit the same, upon certain Considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this Day there be, who stick so much to *Gardiner*'s Wit, Learning and Religion, taking him for such a substantial Pillar of the Pope's Church. To the Intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own Works, Words, Sermons, Writings, Disputations; or else will be judged by his own Witnesses of his own Party produced, we have here collected such manifest Probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the Pope's Supremacy: And likewise afterward may declare the manifest Contrariety and Repugnancy of the said *Gardiner*, first with other Writers, and lastly with himself: First beginning with his Sermon preached before King *Edward*. The Sum and Effect of which Sermon briefly collected by Mr. *Udal*, hereunder followeth.

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The Sum and Effect of Bishop *Gardiner*'s Sermon preached before King *Edward*, *Anno* 1550.

MOST honourable Audience, I purpose, by the Grace of God, to declare some Part of the Gospel that is accustomably used to be read in the Church at this Day. And because that without the special Grace of God, neither can I speak any Thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all that we may jointly pray altogether for the Assistance of his Grace. In which Prayer I commend to Almighty God your most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord King of England, France *and* Ireland, *and of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *next and immediately under God here on Earth, the Supreme Head, Queen* Katherine *Dowager, my Lady* Mary's *Grace, my Lady* Elizabeth's *Grace, your Majesty's most dear Sisters, my Lord Protector's Grace, with all others of your most honourable Council, the Spiritualty and Temporalty, and I desire you to commend unto God with your Prayer, the Souls departed unto God in* Christ's *Faith, and amongst these most especially our late Sovereign Lord King* Henry VIII. *your Majesty's most noble Father. For these and for Grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Pater Noster, and so forth.*

Supreme Head.

The GOSPEL beginneth, MATTHEW XVI. 13, 14, 15, 16.

When JESUS *was come into the Parts of* Cesarea, *a City that* Philippus *builded, he asked his Disciples, and said, Whom do Men say that the Son of Man is? They said, Some say that thou art* John the Baptist, *some that thou art* Elias, *some that thou art* Jeremiah, *or some one of the Prophets. He said to them, But whom do ye say that I am? Then answered* Simon Peter, *and said, Thou art* CHRIST *the Son of the Living* GOD, *&c.*

I Cannot have Time, I think, to speak of the Gospel thoroughly, for other Matters that I have here now to say, but I shall note unto you such Things as I may, and first of the Diversity of Opinions concerning Christ, which were among the People variable: But among this, that is, the Disciples of Christ's School, there was no Variety, they agreed all together in one Truth, and among them there was no Variety. For when *Peter* had for all the rest, and in the Name of all the rest made his Answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all confessed with one Consent, that he had spoken the Truth. Yet these Opinions of Christ that the People had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honourable and not slanderous: For to say that Christ was *Elias*, and *John the Baptist*, was honourable:

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For ſome thought him ſo to be, becauſe he did frankly, ſharply, and openly rebuke Vice. They that called him *Jeremiah*, had alſo an honourable Opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be, becauſe of his great Learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that ſaid he was one of the Prophets, had an honourable Opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

But there was another Sort of People that ſpake Evil of him, and ſlandered him, and railed on him, ſaying that he was a Glutton, and a Drinker of Wine, that he had a Devil in him, that he was a Deceiver of the People, that he was a Carpenter's Son, as though he were the worſe for his Father's Craft. But of theſe he asked no Queſtion: For among theſe none agreed with the other. Wherein ye ſhall note that Man of his own Power and Strength can do nothing: No, nothing that good is he can do of his own Invention or Device, but erreth and faileth; when he is left to his own Invention, he erreth in his Imagination. So proud is Man, and ſo ſtout of his own Courage, that he deviſeth nothing well, whenſoever he is left to himſelf without God; and then never do any ſuch agree in any Truth, and wander and err in all that they do. As Men of Law, if they be asked their Opinion in any Point touching the Law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in Opinion: If there be two or three of them asked their Opinion in any Matter, if they ſhould anſwer all one Thing, they fear leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed and thought to have no Learning. Therefore be they never ſo many of them, they will not agree in their Anſwers, but deviſe each Man a ſundry Anſwer in any Thing that they are asked.

Man can do nothing of himſelf.

Diſagreement amongſt Men of Law.

Diſagreement amongſt the Philoſophers.

The Philoſophers that were not of Chriſt's School erred every one in their vain Opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Diſagreement amongſt the ſimple People.

Yea, Men of Simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Chriſt's School, they vary'd and agreed not in their Opinions of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſaid he was *John*, ſome *Elias*, ſome *Jeremiah*, but none made the right Anſwer. He that anſwered here, was *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, and he ſaid, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the Living God.

Where ye ſhall note the Properties that were in *Peter*. He was called *Simon*, which is Obedience, and *Jonas* is a Dove; ſo that in him that is of Chriſt's School, muſt be theſe two Properties, Obedience and Simplicity. He muſt be humble and innocent as a Dove, that will be of Chriſt's School. Pride is a Hindrance of Chriſt's School: For as the wiſe Man ſaith, God reſiſteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the humble and meek. And according to the ſame doth Chriſt in the Goſpel ſay, Oh Father, I confeſs unto thee, that is, I laud and magnify thee; for that thou haſt hidden theſe Things from the Wiſe, and haſt opened them unto the little Ones. Whereupon ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, that the Gifts of Learning and Knowledge of the Sciences are no Hindrance to Chriſt's School, but a Furtherance unto, if they be well apply'd and uſed as they ought to be: But he that is proud, and feedeth himſelf with his own Conceit and Opinion of himſelf, and abuſeth the Gifts of God, applying his Learning and Knowledge to the ſatisfying and following of his own Fantaſy, is no right Diſciple of Chriſt, but falleth into Error. When they ſaid and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made Fools.

Learning without humility, never findeth Chriſt's School.

The Philoſophers had every one a Sect of his own, and had many gay Sentences for the Commendation of their Opinions, and every Man thought his own Opinion to be beſt: But becauſe they apply'd all to their own Pride and Glory, and not to the Honour of God, nor humbled themſelves as they ought to have done, but followed their own Fantaſy, they erred, and fell out of the Way, and were not of Chriſt's School: And all that have gone out of Chriſt's School, Pride hath brought them out of it; and ſuch as have not entered, have kept themſelves out of it with Pride likewiſe: Therefore all ſuch as will be Scholars of Chriſt's School and Diſcipline, muſt be humble and meek; otherwiſe, When they ſaid and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made Fools.

He that cannot learn this Leſſon of *Peter*, and humbly confeſs with *Peter*, that Chriſt is the Son of the Living God, is no Scholar of Chriſt's School, be he otherwiſe never ſo well learned, never ſo well ſeen in other Sciences. But now concerning the Anſwer of *Peter*, *Matthew* here in this Place ſaith he anſwered, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the Living God.* St. *Luke* ſaith he anſwered, *Thou art the Chriſt of God.* And St. *Mark* ſaith he anſwered, *Thou art the Chriſt.* But in all that is no Variety: For to ſay, Chriſt the Son of the Living God, and to ſay, The Chriſt of God, and to ſay, The Chriſt, is in Effect all one, and no Diverſity in it, for Chriſt alone is the whole, and he that confeſſeth thoroughly Chriſt, is thoroughly a chriſtian Man, and doth therein confeſs him to be the Lord and Saviour of the World. But now we muſt conſider what Chriſt is, Chriſt was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Saviour: He was ſent to be our Biſhop, and alſo our Sacrifice: He was ſent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the Favour of God the Father: He was the Biſhop that offered for our Sins, and the Sacrifice that was offered: and as he is our Biſhop, ſo is he our Mean to pacify God for us, for that was the Office of a Biſhop, to ſacrifice for the Sins of the People, and to make Interceſſion for the People; and as he was our Sacrifice, ſo was he our Reconciliation to God again.

But we muſt confeſs and believe him thoroughly I ſay: For as he was our Biſhop then, ſo is it he that ſtill keepeth us in Favour with God: And like as his Sacrifice then made was ſufficient to deliver us from our Sins, and to bring us in Favour with God; ſo to continue us in the ſame Favour of God, he ordained a perpetual Remembrance of himſelf, he ordained himſelf for a Memory of himſelf at his laſt Supper, when he inſtituted the Sacrament of the Altar, not for another Redemption, as though the World needed a new Redemption from Sin, but that we might thoroughly remember his moſt Holy Paſſion, he inſtituted the Sacrament by his moſt Holy Word, ſaying, *This is my Body*, which Word is ſufficient to prove the Sacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the Subſtance thereof. And this daily Sacrifice he inſtituted to be continued among chriſtian Men, not for need of another Redemption or Satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that was ſufficiently performed by the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood done upon the

Note here *Wincheſter*: The Sacrament was ordained to keep us in the perpetual Favour of God.

the Cross; neither that he is now our Bishop for need of any further Sacrifice to be made for Sin, but to * continue us in the Remembrance of his Passion suffered for us, to make us strong in believing the Fruit of his Passion, to make us diligent in Thanksgiving for the Benefit of his Passion, to establish our Faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the Efficacy of his Death and Passion suffered for us. And this is the true Understanding of the Mass, not for another Redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the Benefits of Christ's Death and Blood-shedding for us upon the Cross. And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: And therefore by your Patience, as *Peter* made his Confession, so will I make Confession, wherein by your Majesty's Leave and Sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the State of the Church of *England* at this Day, how I like it, and what I think of it.

* Note here *Winchester* contrary to himself: For before he said the Sacrament was ordained to keep us in the Favour of God, and now he saith, it is to keep us in Remembrance of his Passion.

Where I said of the Mass, that it was a Sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the Faith and Remembrance of Christ's Passion, and for commending unto God the Souls of such as be dead in Christ (for these two Things are the special Causes why the Mass was instituted) the Parliament very well ordained Mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the Faith and Devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament, for moving the People more and more to Devotion, to ordain that the Sacrament should be received in both Kinds: Therefore I say, that the Act of Parliament for receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar in both Kinds, was well made.

Winchester allowed the Sacrament in both Kinds.

I say also, that the Proclamation which was made, That no Man should unreverently speak of the Sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this Proclamation stoppeth the Mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the Sacrament: For in Scripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any Thing against the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the Children of Obedience, they would not use any unreverend Talk against the Sacrament, nor blaspheme the Holy Sacrament. For no Word of Scripture maketh any Thing against it.

But here it may be said unto me, Why Sir, is this your Opinion? It is good you speak plainly in this Matter, without any colouring or covert speaking. The Act for the dissolving and suppressing of the Chauntries seemeth to make against the Mass, how like you that Act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you were alone? I will speak what I think of it, I will use no colourable or covert Words, I will not use a devised Speech for a Time, and afterward † go from it again. If Chauntries were abused by applying the Mass for the Satisfaction of Sin, or to bring Men to Heaven, or to take away Sin, or to make Men of wicked Just, I like the Act well, and they might well be dissolved, for the Mass was not instituted for any such Purpose: Yet nevertheless for them that were in them (I speak now as in the Cause of the Poor) it were well done that they were provided of Livings. The Act doth graciously provide for them during their Lives, and I doubt not but that your Majesty, and the Lords of your most honourable Council, have taken Order that they should be well looked unto, but yet how they shall be used at the Hands of other Officers, God knoweth, full hardly, I fear. But as for the Chauntries themselves, if there were any such Abuse in them concerning the Mass, it is no Matter if they be taken away.

† Whether ye did or not, let Queen *Mary*'s Time judge.

Note, *Winchester* doth not allow Mass for Satisfaction to bring Men to Heaven, to take away Sin, or to make Men just, &c.

Anno 1555.

King *Henry* the Eighth, a noble and wise Prince, not without great Pain maintained the Mass, and yet in his Doctrine it was confessed that Masses of *Scala Cœli* were not to be used, or allowed, because they did pervert the right Use and Institution of the Mass. For when Men add unto the Mass an Opinion of Satisfaction, or of a new Redemption, then do they put it to another Use than it was ordained for. I that allow Mass so well, and I that allow praying for the Dead (as indeed the Dead are of christian Charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the Realm in that Matter of putting down Chauntries.

But yet ye would say unto me, There be fewer Masses by putting away the Chauntries. So were there when Abbeys were dissolved: So be there when ye unite many Churches in one. But this is no Injury nor Prejudice to the Mass; it consisteth not in the Number, nor in the Multitude, but in the Thing itself: So that the Decay of the Mass by taking away the Chaunteries is answered by the Abbeys. But yet I would have it considered for the Persons that are in them. I speak of the poor Mens Livings.

I have now declared what I think of the Act of Parliament made for the receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ in both Kinds. Ye have my Mind and Opinion concerning a Proclamation that came forth for the same Act, and I have shewed my Mind therein even plainly as I think, and I have ever been agreeable to this Point, I have oftentimes reasoned in it, I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the Seas, and on this Side the Seas; my Books be Abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this Opinion, that it might be received in both Kinds, and it was a Constitution provincial, scarce two hundred Years agone, made by *Peckam*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that it should be received in both Kinds, or at least wise in the great Churches, for in the smaller Churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this Matter, I have never been of other Mind, nor have I changed my Conscience, but I have obeyed and followed the Order of the Realm, and I pray you to obey Orders as I have obey'd, that we may all be the Children of Obedience.

Now I will return to the Text. When *Simon* had answered, Thou art Christ the Son of the Living God: Then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou *Simon Barjona*, for Flesh and Blood have not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven; and I say unto thee, that thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou *(saith he)* for Flesh and Blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise in *John*, *Andrew* told of Christ, and said, I have found the Messias, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of Heaven, for *Andrew*'s Confession was nothing but a carnal Confession, and such a one as any other might have made by natural Reason: But

Matth. 16.

John 1.

Outward confessing without inward teaching is not enough.

Anno 1555. the Confeſſion of *Peter* was above the Reaſon of Man: For Chriſt was there a very Man, and *Peter*'s Eyes told him that he was a Man, and nothing elſe; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of Heaven: And ſeeing this was above Reaſon, it is a marvellous Thing that Reaſon ſhould be uſed to impugn Faith, which is not within the Precinct of carnal Men, and ſuch as uſe groſs Reaſon.

Note what *Wincheſter* here ſaith, That upon the Confeſſion of *Peter* the Church is built.

But *Peter* had another Reaſon inwardly taught him, and becauſe he learnt his Leſſon, Chriſt gave him a new Name: For *Petra* is a Stone, a new Name of a Chriſtian Man, for upon this Confeſſion of thy Faith, here I will build my Church, that is, I will eſtabliſh all thoſe which I intend to gather unto thee, and the Devils ſhall not prevail againſt it: For he that with a good Heart and ſure Faith confeſſeth this, he is ſure from Evil: This World nor Satan can do him no harm.

Againſt the Pope's Supremacy.

But now for a farther Declaration, it is a marvellous Thing, that upon theſe Words the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould found his Supremacy: For whether it be *Super Petram*, or *Petrum*, all is one Matter, it maketh nothing at all for the Purpoſe to make a Foundation of any ſuch Supremacy. For otherwiſe (when *Peter* ſpake carnally to Chriſt as in the ſame Chapter a little following) Satan was his Name, where Chriſt ſaid, get thee behind me, Satan: So that the Name of *Peter* is no Foundation for the Supremacy, but as it is ſaid in Scripture, Ye are built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, that is, by Participation (for godly Participation giveth Names of Things) he might be called the Head of the Church, as the Head of the River is called the Head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this Confeſſion of Chriſt, which is not an Argument for Dignity, but for the Quality that was in the Man. For the firſt Man is not evermore the beſt. The Head Man of a Queſt is not always the beſt Man in the Queſt, but is choſen to be the head Man for ſome other Quality that is in him. Virtue may allure Men, ſo that the inferior Perſon in Dignity may be the better in Place, as the King ſometime chooſeth a mean Man to be of his Council, of whom he hath a good Opinion, yet is the King the King ſtill. And in ſome Caſe the King of *England* might ſend to *Rome*, and if the Biſhop of *Rome* were a Man of ſuch Wiſdom, Virtue and Learning, that he were able in matter of Controverſy concerning Religion, to ſet an Unity in the Church of *England*; the King might well enough ſend to him for his Counſel and Help, and yet ſhould not in ſo doing give the Biſhop of *Rome* any Superiority over the King. For if a King be ſick, he will have the beſt Phyſician: If he have War, he will have the beſt Captain, and yet are not theſe the Superiors but the Inferiors.

A Schoolmaſter is a Subject, a Phyſician is a Subject, a Captain is a Subject, Counſellors are Subjects, yet do theſe order and direct the King. Wherefore, leaving the Biſhop of *Rome*, this I ſay to declare what Opinion I am of. I do not now ſpeak what I could ſay. I have ſpoken beyond the Seas, I have written, my Books be Abroad. But this is not the Place here, I ſay that this Place maketh nothing for the Biſhop of *Rome*, but for Chriſt only, for other Foundation can no Man lay, than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.

But now to go forth declaring my Mind; in my Time had come many Alterations. Firſt a great Alteration it was to renounce the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, and I was one that ſtood in it. A great Alteration it was that Abbeys were diſſolved. A great Alteration it was that Images were pulled down: And to all theſe I condeſcended, and yet have I been accounted a Maintainer of Superſtition, and have been called a Maſter of Ceremonies and of outward Things, and I have been noted to take that Religion which conſiſteth in outward Things, as though he were a right Chriſtian that fulfilled the outward Ceremonies, whereof I promiſed to declare my Conſcience, and ſo will I, and how I have eſteemed Ceremonies, and that I have never been of other Opinion than I am concerning Ceremonies, and mine Opinion I have gathered of *Auguſtine* and *Jerome*, ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

Wincheſter againſt the Pope, againſt Abbeys and Images.

Ceremonies ſerve to move Men to ſerve God, and as long as they be uſed for that purpoſe, they may be well uſed in the Church: But when Man maketh himſelf Servant to them, and not them to ſerve him, then be our Ceremonies brought to an Abuſe. If by over much Familiarity of them Men abuſe them, they do Evil. For we muſt not ſerve Creatures but God. We had Monkery, Nunnery, Friery, of a wonderous Number, much variety of Garments, variety of Devices in dwelling, many ſundry Orders and Faſhions in moving of the Body. Theſe Things were firſt ordained to admoniſh them of their Duty to God, to labour for the Neceſſity of the Poor, and to ſpare from their own Bellies to the Poor; and therefore was their Fare ordained and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe Things, and ſet them in an higher Place than they ought to do, not taking Monition thereby the better to ſerve God, but eſteeming Perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolved, their Houſes and Garments were taken away.

But one Thing King *Henry* would not take away, that was the Vow of Chaſtity. The Vow of Obedience he converted to himſelf, the Vow of Chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remain with them.

Wincheſter never againſt the taking down of Images, being abuſed with Idolatry.

We had many Images whereto Pilgrimages were done, and many Tombs that Men uſed to viſit, by reaſon whereof they fell in a Fancy of Idolatry and Superſtition, above the Things that they might have been taken for; and becauſe they had not the Uſe that they were ordained for, they were left. When Men put the Images in a higher Place than they ſerved for, then were they taken clean away: As give a Child a gay Book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the Gorgeouſneſs of his Book, and learn not his Leſſon, according to the Intent that that Book was given for, the Book is taken away from him: So the Images, when Men had them in higher Place and Eſtimation than they were firſt ſet up in the Church for, then they might be taken away: And I was never of other Mind, nor ever had any other Opinion of them. Divers Things there be in the Church which be in the Liberty of the Ruler to order as he ſeeth Cauſe; and he that is Ruler may either let them ſtand, or elſe may cauſe them to be taken away.

Two manner of Reformations, one where the Things cannot be taken away, but the Abuſe: The other both the Things and the Abuſe may be taken away.

There be two manner of Reformations. We have had of both Sorts. There be Things in the Church, which if they be abuſed, may

not be taken away. As for Baptiſm, if it be abuſed, there may not another Thing be put in the Place of it, but the Thing muſt be reformed, and brought to the right Uſe again. Alſo preaching, if it be abuſed, may not be taken away, but muſt be reformed, and brought to the right Uſe: But there be other Things uſed in the Church, in which the Rulers have Liberty either to reform them or take them away. And becauſe it was an eaſier Way to take them away, than to bring them to the right Uſe that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away, and ſo they might be. Yea, Sir, will ye ſay, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have preached againſt ſuch Perſons as deſpiſed them. It is Truth, I have preached againſt the Deſpiſers of them, and have ſaid, that Images might be ſuffered and uſed in the Church as Lay-men's Books, yet I never otherwiſe defended them, but to be uſed for ſuch Purpoſe as they were firſt ſet up in the Church for; but now that Men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our Religion is no more touched, than when Books were taken away for abuſing of them.

To take away all Images that lieth in the Liberty of the Rulers. If abuſing of Images by Idolatry becauſe Cauſe ſufficient to take away Images, why did *Wincheſter* hold with them before? If it be not Cauſe ſufficient, why doth he now grant to the taking of them away, being no more wantonly abuſed, than they were before time?

There was an Order taken for Books not to be uſed, wherein ſome might have ſaid, the Books are good, and I know how to uſe them, I may therefore uſe them well enough. I will therefore uſe them though they be forbidden: But if thou have any Charity, thou oughteſt to be contented rather to have them clean taken away, then to declare thyſelf to have another Opinion than thou oughteſt to have.

As touching Ceremonies, I eſteem them all as *Paul* eſteemeth them, Things indifferent, where he ſaith, That the Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, *&c.* So of Ceremonies. Nevertheleſs we have Time, Place, and Number, as a certain Number of *Pſalms* to be ſaid at Times, which may be done without Superſtition; but theſe Things muſt ſerve us, and not we ſerve them. Yet if an Order be ſet in them by ſuch as have Power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the Rulers that appoint ſuch Time, Place, and Number to be kept. Ye may not ſay, if the Time will ſerve me, then I will come an Hour after. No, Sir, ye muſt keep this Time, and this Hour, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the Rulers, not for the Things, but for the Order that is ſet. I have been ever of this Opinion.

We had Palms and Candles taken away, which Things may indifferently have either of the two Reformations aboveſaid. When they were in Place, they ſhould have put Men in Remembrance of their Duty and Devotion towards God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and might be taken away. But the Religion of Chriſt is not in theſe Exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them the Religion of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But Men muſt in ſuch Things be conformable, not for the Ceremony, but for Obedience ſake. St. *Paul* ſaith, that we ſhould rebuke every Brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine Opinion, and my Conſcience telleth me that I have ſpoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be ſlandered in me, nor make any further Search to know my Heart.

I like well the Communion, becauſe it provoketh Men more and more to Devotion. I like well the Proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the Mouths of all ſuch as unreverently ſpeak or rail againſt the Sacrament. I like well the reſt of the King's Majeſty's Proceedings concerning the Sacrament. I have now told you what I like. But ſhall I ſpeak nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeak not plainly. I will therefore ſhew you my Conſcience plainly.

Anno 1555. Biſhop *Gardiner* liketh well King *Edward's* Proceedings.

I miſlike thoſe Preachers who preach by the King's Licenſe, and thoſe Readers which by the King's Permiſſion and Sufferance do read open Lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talk againſt the Maſs, and againſt the Sacrament. And to whom may I liken ſuch Readers and Preachers? I may liken them unto Poſts, for the Proverb ſaith, That Poſts do bear Truth in their Letters, and Lies in their Mouths; and ſo do they, and to ſpeak ſo againſt the Sacrament, it is the moſt marvellous Matter that ever I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therefore that there were a Stay and an Order in this Behalf, and that there might be but one Order and Rule. And let no Man of his own Head begin Matters, nor go before the King. They call it going before the King, and ſuch make themſelves Kings. Well, what miſliketh me elſe?

He miſliketh the Preachers in King *Edward's* Time, and why?

It miſliketh me, that Prieſts, and Men that vowed Chaſtity, ſhould openly marry, and avowed it openly: Which is a Thing that ſince the Beginning of the Church hath not been ſeen at any Time, that Men that have been admitted to any eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration ſhould marry. We read of married Prieſts, that is to ſay, of married Men choſen to be Prieſts and Miniſters in the Church. And in *Epiphanius* we read, that ſome ſuch for Neceſſity were winked at. But that Men being Prieſts already ſhould marry, was never yet ſeen in Chriſt's Church from the Beginning of the Apoſtles Time. I have written in it, and ſtudied for it; and the very ſame Places that are therein alledged to maintain the Marriage of Prieſts, being diligently read, ſhall plainly confound them that maintain your Prieſts to marry, or at the fartheſt within two Lines after.

Againſt Marriage of Prieſts.

Thus have I ſhewed my Opinion in Order, proceeding from the Inferiors, and in Order proceeding from the higher Powers. And thus I have (as I truſt) plainly declared myſelf, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty to eſteem and take me as I am, and not to be ſlandered in me; for I have told you the plain Truth as it is, and I have opened my Conſcience unto you. I have not play'd the Poſt with you, to carry Truth in my Letters, and Lies in my Mouth: For I would not for all the World make a Lye in this Place; but I have diſcloſed the plain Truth as it lieth in my Mind. And thus I commit your moſt excellent Majeſty, and all your moſt honourable Counſellors, with the reſt of the devout Audience here preſent unto God. To whom be all Honour, Praiſe, and Glory, World without End.

Thus having compriſed the Sum and chief Purpoſe of his Sermon, with other ſuch Matters abovementioned, wherein may appear the double-fac'd Doings of this Biſhop in Matters of Religion: Now for the more Fortification of that which hath been ſaid, if any ſhall deny this aforeſaid Sermon, or any Part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the ſame, we will

Anno 1555. adjoin certain brief Notes, collected as well out of the Teſtimonies and Depoſitions of his own Friends and Servants, and others which were ſworn truly to declare their Knowledge in this Behalf, as alſo out of his own Writings and Works agreeing with the ſame.

The Pope's Supremacy impugned by Biſhop Gardiner.

FIRST, as touching the Confeſſion and Judgment of *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, read in his Book *De vera Obedientia*.

Item, The ſaid Biſhop *Gardiner* in his Sermons and Preachings, as where he expoundeth the Place (Thou art *Peter*) nothing at all to make for the Authority of the *Romiſh* Biſhop, marvelled how the Pope could uſurp ſo much to take up that Place to build upon, when Chriſt had taken it up before to build his Church.

Item, The Confeſſion of *Peter* was the Confeſſion of all the Apoſtles, like as the Bleſſing given to *Peter* pertained as well to all the Apoſtles as to *Peter*.

Item, That the Place, Feed my Sheep, was not ſpecial to *Peter* alone, but general to all the Apoſtles. Alſo that the *Greek* Church did never receive the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* for their univerſal Head.

Item, That the Church was built upon Chriſt's Faith, and not upon *Peter*.

And though *Peter* was called the Prince of the Apoſtles, that was nothing elſe but like as it is an Inqueſt, where the Foreman, or Headman is not ſo called, becauſe he is beſt or chiefeſt of that Company, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt.

The ſaid Biſhop in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, did not only write againſt the Pope's Supremacy, but alſo did defend the ſame at *Lovain*. And moreover in his Sermons did alledge and preach the ſame.

Wincheſter preached 14 Years againſt the Pope's Authority.

Item, For the Space of fourteen Years together he preached againſt the Pope's Supremacy in divers Sermons, and eſpecially in one Sermon before King *Henry*.

Ceremonies, Images, Chauntries, &c. *impugned by Biſhop* Gardiner.

Item, For Ceremonies and Images which were abuſed, to be taken away by publick Authority, he did well allow it, as a Child to have his Book taken from him when he abuſeth it, or delighteth only in the golden Cover.

Item, The diſſolving of Monaſteries and religious Houſes, he allowed and granted that they were juſtly ſuppreſſed.

Friars he never liked in all his Life.

Monks he counted but Belly-Gods.

The going about of St. *Nicholas*, St. *Katherine*, and St. *Clement*, he affirmeth to be Childrens Toys.

The taking away or tranſpoſing of Chauntry Obits, he referreth to the Arbitrement of the politick Rulers, granting that if they did diſſolve them, it might well be done.

Item, He wiſheth them to be committed to a better Uſe, and that Monaſteries were juſtly taken away.

The obſerving of Days, Hours, Number, Time, and Place, if they be orderly and publickly commanded by the Ruler, it is but to ſet the Church in an outward and publick Order; but if a Man inwardly and privately be admitted to the ſame, thinking his Prayer otherwiſe not available, but by obſerving thereof, it is an Error.

The Communion ſet out by King *Edward* he liked well.

The Book of Common Service he was content both to keep himſelf, and cauſe it to be kept by others.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the People in his preaching to come to the Church to hear them.

In Sum, to all Injunctions, Statutes, and Proclamations ſet forth by the King and ſuperior Powers, he yielded and granted.

Now (gentle Reader) lay theſe Writings, Preachings, and Doings of this Biſhop in the Days of King *Henry* and King *Edward*, with his Doings in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable he was, how inconſtant and contrary to himſelf, how perjured and falſe, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain *Engliſh* Book ſet out in Queen *Mary*'s Time, which ſaith, that there were three only in *England*, whoſe Conſcience had been never ſtained in Religion: Of whom he falſly ſaith, the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was one.

Although Biſhop *Gardiner* in granting to theſe Points of Religion (as ye have heard) and other ſome again denying, could not therefore deſerve the Name and Fame of a perfect Chriſtian, yet notwithſtanding, if he had continued in his Judgment ſtill, and been conſtant in himſelf, he might have won more Commendation both with God and Men. But as ſoon as the Time began to alter, he likewiſe altering with the Time, was ſo far changed from that he ſeemed, that neither he agreed with other Papiſts, nor yet with himſelf, as Dr. *Ridley* in certain Treatiſes hath well noted of him: Wherein as in a Glaſs may be ſeen the manifeſt Contrariety and Repugnance in him, not only from the Truth of God's Bleſſed Word, but alſo how the ſaid Biſhop ſtanding ſo much in Singularity by himſelf, neither agreeth with other his Fellow-writers of his own Faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himſelf in certain Caſes of the Sacrament, as the aforeſaid Dr. *Ridley* in examining his Words and Works, hath well declared.

Here haſt thou (good Reader) this ſtout Prelate of *Wincheſter*, with all his Proſperities, Doings, and Qualifications, as in a certain Anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou mayſt boldly judge (and nothing err in thy Judgment) what is to be eſteemed of him by his Fruits, as who neither was true Proteſtant, nor right Papiſt: Neither conſtant in his Error, nor yet ſtedfaſt in the Truth: Falſe in King *Henry*'s Time, a Diſſembler in King *Edward*'s Time, double perjured, and a Murderer in Queen *Mary*'s Time, mutable and inconſtant at all Times.

To deſcribe and paint out the unſtable Mutability of this Biſhop aforeſaid, no more need be added; yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing the Matter is not long, it may not be amiſs to annex a Piece of *Driander*'s Letter written to one *Criſpin* Phyſician in *Oxford*, ſent from *Antwerp*, concerning the Doings and Behaviour of this Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Story we have now in Hand. The Copy of which

Driander's

Driander's Letter, written to the ſaid *Criſpin* his Friend, being in *Latin*, is thus tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

BEfore my Departure from the City of Paris, *I wrote unto you by our Friend the* Engliſhman, *&c.*

Now you ſhall be contented only with the Narration of your Biſhop of Wincheſter, *who (as appertained to the Ambaſſador of ſo noble a Prince) came to* Lovain *with a great Bravery, and was there received at one* Jeremy's *Houſe, and moſt honourably entertained, where the Faculty of Divines for Honour's ſake, preſented him Wine in the Name of the whole Univerſity. But our famous Doctors, and learned Maſters, for that they would more deeply ſearch and underſtand the Learning and Excellency of the Prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certain Oration made by him, and now extant, intituled,* De vera Obedientia, *in which Oration he did impugn the Supremacy of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and preferr'd his Lord's and King's Authority before the Holy Apoſtolick See (as they term it) which being read and conſidered by them, they did not only repent that they had given him ſuch Honour, but alſo recanted that which they had done: And did not ſo much honour him before, but now they were as earneſt and as ſpiteful againſt him.* Richard Lothomus, *Interpreter of Terms, with the Favourers of that Fraternity, and other Champions of the falling Church, diſputed with him concerning the Pope's Supremacy. This Biſhop ſtoutly defended his ſaid Oration. The Divines contrary ſtiffly maintained their Opinion, and divers Times openly with Exclamations, called the ſaid Biſhop an excommunicate Perſon, and a Schiſmatick, to no little Reproach and Infamy of the* Engliſh *Nation. The Biſhop not long after minding to ſay Maſs in St.* Peter's *Church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate Perſon, the Ornaments and Veſtments meet for the ſame; wherewith he being highly offended, ſuddenly haſted his Journey from thence. The next Day after the Dean made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly diſgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true Story, for our Doctor was a Beholder of the whole Tragedy,* &c.

Biſhop *Gardiner* defendeth his Book *De vera Obedientia* at *Lovain.*

Accounted an excommunicate Perſon and a Schiſmatick at *Lovain.*

And this now being ſufficient for *Gardiner*'s Story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we ſhall return and proceed (by God's Leave) as the Courſe of theſe doleful Days ſhall lead us, to proſecute the Reſidue of Chriſt's Martyrs, as now in Order followeth.

The Martyrdom of John Webb *Gentleman,* George Roper *and* Gregory Parke *at* Canterbury.

JOHN WEBB was brought before the Biſhop of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield*, or ſome other deputed in their room, on the 16th of *September*, and there had propounded unto him ſuch Articles as were commonly adminiſtred by *Bonner* to thoſe of his Juriſdiction: And being willed for that preſent to depart, and to deliberate with himſelf upon the Matter, againſt the next Time of his Appearance, he made Anſwer that he would no otherwiſe ſay (by God's Grace) than he had already ſaid, which was this: As touching the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body, *ſaid he*, I do believe it to be left unto his Church (with Thankſgiving) in Commemoration of his Death and Paſſion, until his coming again. So that it is left in Remembrance of his Body, and not by the Words of Conſecration to be made his Body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*: I utterly deny that.

The Appearance of Mr. *Webb* before the Biſhop of *Dover.*

Anno 1555. Anſwer of Mr. *Webb* to the Biſhop's Articles.

After this (beſides ſundry other Times) the third Day of *October*, the ſaid *John Webb*, *George Roper* and *Gregory Parke*, were all brought together before the ſaid Judges; who there and then agreeing, and ſtedfaſtly allowing the former Anſwer made before by Mr. *Webb*, were by the bloody Prelates adjudged Hereticks; and therefore about the End of the ſame Month, they were brought out of Priſon together to the Place of Martyrdom; ſaying certain *Pſalms* mournfully as they were going to the Stake.

And being thus brought (as I ſaid) to the Stake, and there encompaſſed about with a Chain, were burnt altogether in one Fire at *Canterbury*, moſt patiently enduring their Torments, and accounting themſelves Happy and Bleſſed of the Lord that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt's Goſpel ſake.

William Wiſeman.

THE 13th of *December William Wiſeman*, a Clothworker of *London*, died in *Lollard's-Tower*, where he was in Priſon and Bonds for the Goſpel of Chriſt: Some thought, that either through Famine, or ill handling of ſome murdering Papiſts, he was made away. By reaſon whereof the Coroner, named *John Gibbs*, Gentleman, with an Inqueſt of 12 Men, were fain to ſit upon him, who although to the outward Appearance were ſaid to find nothing in him elſe but only God's Viſitation, yet what other privy Cauſes there might be of his Death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to ſay.

W. Wiſeman dead in *Lollards Tower* and caſt into the Fields.

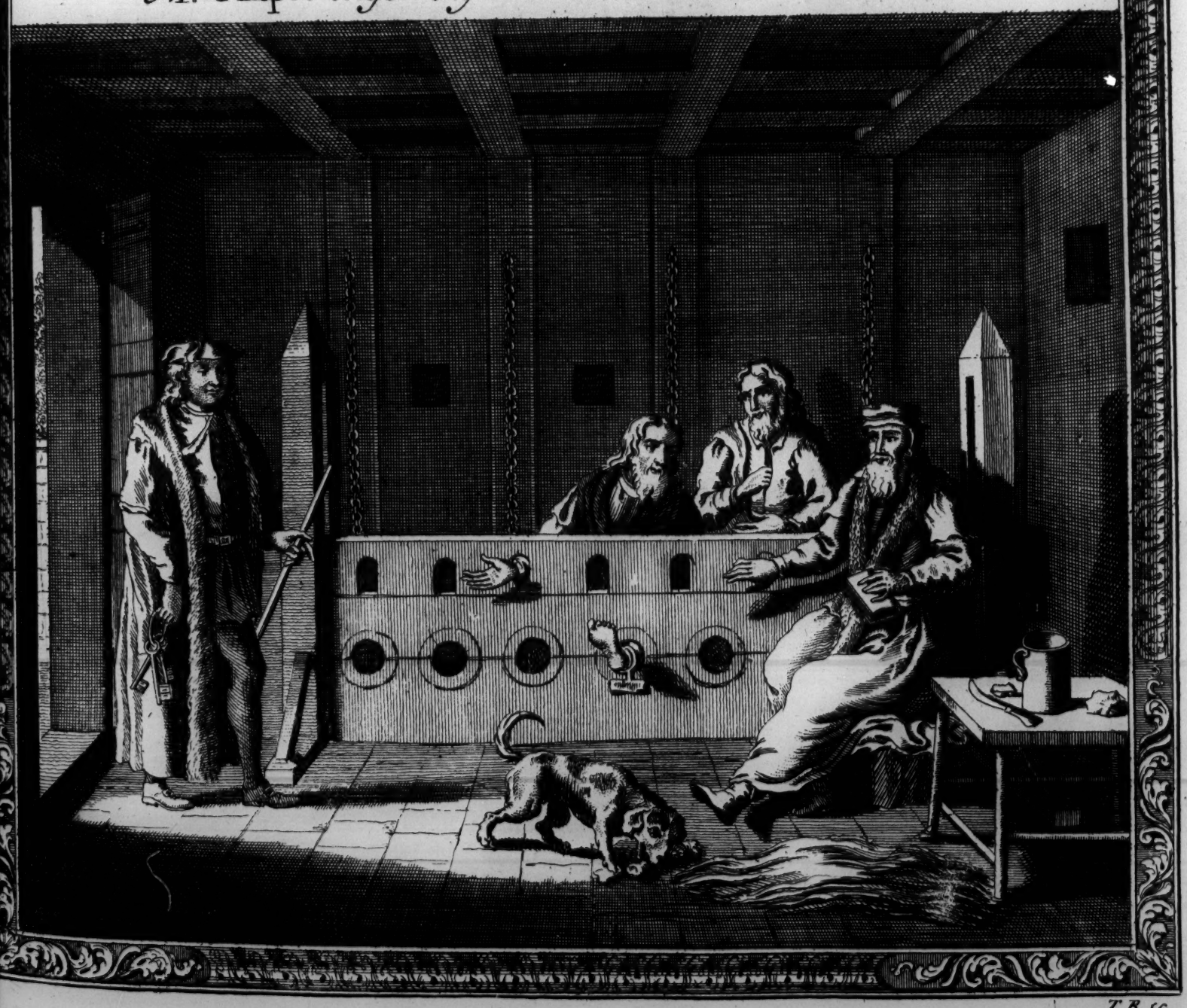
After the ſaid *William Wiſeman* was departed (as is ſaid) in the *Tower*, the Papiſts caſt him out into the Fields, commanding that no Man ſhould bury him, according as their devout Manner is to do with all ſuch as die in like Sort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no Burial, but to be caſt to Dogs and Birds. And yet notwithſtanding this their mercileſs Commandment, ſome good *Tobits* there were which buried him in the Evening, as commonly they did all the reſt thrown out in like Manner, whom they were wont privily by Night to cover, and many Times the Archers in the Fields ſtanding by, and ſinging *Pſalms* together at their Burial.

In the ſame Month of *December*, *James Gore* alſo died in the Priſon at *Colcheſter*, laid there in Bonds for the Truth of God's Word.

James Gore died in *Colcheſter* Priſon.

The manner of burying William Wiſeman *in the Fields, who died in Priſon.*

Mr. Philpot *conferring with Mr.* Whittle *in the Stocks.*



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BRITISH
8 OCT 25
MUSEUM

Anno 1555.

The Hiſtory of Mr. John Philpot, *who was examin'd, condemn'd, and martyr'd for the Defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt.*

THE Troubles of Mr. *Philpot* have been partly related before, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Time, in proſecuting the Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe. He came of a worſhipful Family, the Son of a Knight, born in *Hampſhire*, brought up at New College in *Oxford*, where he ſtudy'd the Civil Law about ſix or ſeven Years, beſides other liberal Arts, eſpecially Languages, and particularly he wonderfully advanced in the *Hebrew* Tongue. In Wit he was pregnant and happy, of a ſingular Courage, in Spirit fervent, in Religion zealous, and alſo well practiſed and exerciſed in the ſame (which is no ſmall Matter in a true Divine) of Nature plain and apert, far from all Flattery (as doth evidently appear in all his Behaviour) farther from all Hypocriſy and deceitful Diſſimulation. What his Learning was, his own Examinations penned with his own Hand can declare.

From *Oxford*, deſirous to ſee other Countries as Occaſion ſerved thereunto, he went over into *Italy*, and Places thereabouts, where he coming upon a Time from *Venice* to *Padua*, was in danger through a certain *Franciſcan* Friar accompanying him in his Journey, who coming to *Padua* ſought to accuſe him of Hereſy. At length returning into *England*, as the Time miniſtred more Boldneſs to him in the Days of King *Edward*, he had divers Conflicts with Biſhop *Gardiner* in the City of *Wincheſter*.

John Philpot Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*.

After that, having an Advowſon by the ſaid Biſhop, he was made there Archdeacon of *Wincheſter* under Dr. *Poinet*, who then ſucceeded *Gardiner* in that Biſhoprick. Thus he continued during the Time of King *Edward*, to the great Profit of thoſe Parts thereabouts. When that pious King was taken away, and *Mary* his Siſter came in Place, whoſe Study was wholly bent to alter the State of Religion in the woful Realm of *England*, firſt ſhe cauſed a Convocation of the Prelates and learned Men to be aſſembled for the Accompliſhment of her Deſire.

This Dr. *Poinet* fled into *Germany*, and there died *Anno* 1557.

In which Convocation, Mr. *Philpot* being preſent according to his Room and Degree, with a few others ſuſtained the Cauſe of the Goſpel manfully againſt the contrary Part (as has been already recited) for which Cauſe, notwithſtanding the Liberty of the Houſe promiſed before, he was called to account before Biſhop *Gardiner* the Chancellor, then being his Ordinary, by whom he was firſt examined, although that Examination came not to our Hands. From thence again he was removed to Biſhop *Bonner* and other Commiſſioners, with whom he had divers Conflicts, as may appear by the following Examinations.

The firſt Examination of Mr. John Philpot *before the Queen's Commiſſioners, Mr.* Cholmley, *Mr.* Roper, *and Dr.* Story, *and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at* Newgate *Seſſions-Hall*, Octob. 2. 1555.

BEFORE I was called into an inner Parlour where the Commiſſioners ſate, Dr. *Story* came out into the Hall where I was, to view me among others that were there; and paſſing by me, he ſaid, Ha, Mr. *Philpot*, and in returning immediately again, ſtayed againſt me, beholding me, and ſaying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot. If I be fat, and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, ſince I have been ſtalled up in Priſon this twelve Months and a Half in a cloſe Corner. I am come to know your Pleaſure wherefore you have ſent for me.

Story. We hear that thou art a ſuſpected Perſon, and of heretical Opinions, and therefore we have ſent for thee.

Philpot. I have been in Priſon thus long, only upon the Occaſion of Diſputation made in the Convocation-houſe, and upon Suſpicion of ſetting forth the Report thereof.

John Philpot impriſoned for the Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the ſame, and become an honeſt Man, thou ſhalt be ſet at Liberty, and do right well; or elſe thou ſhalt be committed to the Biſhop of *London*. How ſayſt thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Philpot. I have already anſwered in this Behalf to mine Ordinary.

Story. If thou anſwereſt thus when thou comeſt before us anon, thou ſhalt hear more of our Minds; and with that he went into the Parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The *Scribe.* Sir, what is your Name?

Philpot. My Name is *John Philpot*. And ſo he intituled my Name.

Story. This Man was Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, of Dr. *Poinet*'s Preſentment.

Philpot. I was Archdeacon indeed, but none of his Preſentment; but by Virtue of a former Advowſon given by my Lord Chancellor that now is.

Story. Ye may be ſure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any ſuch as he is Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me Mr. *Philpot*. We hear ſay that you are out of the Catholick Church, and have been a Diſturber of the ſame; out of which whoſo is, he cannot be the Child of Salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the ſame, you ſhall be received and find Favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worſhipful Maſterſhips at your Appointment, underſtanding that you are Magiſtrates authorized by the Queen's Majeſty, whom I own and will do my due Obedience to the uttermoſt. Wherefore I deſire to know what Cauſe I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular Matter done contrary to the Laws of this Realm, I deſire your Maſterſhips that I may have the Benefit of a Subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful Impriſonment, where I have lain a Year and a Half, without any Anſwer.

John Philpot a Year and a Half in Priſon before he was called to his Anſwer.

any Calling to anſwer before now, and my Living taken from me without all Law.

Roper. Though we have no particular Matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our Commiſſion and by the Law drive you to anſwer to the Suſpicion of a Slander going on you; and beſides this, we have Statutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any Statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the Penalty thereof, puniſh me accordingly. And becauſe you are Magiſtrates and Executors of the Queen's Majeſty's Laws, by Force whereof you do now ſit, I deſire that if I be found no notorious Tranſgreſſor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the Juſtice do ſuſpect a Felon, he may examine him upon Suſpicion thereof, and commit him to Priſon, though there be no Fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabouts this Man goeth; he is plain in *Cardmaker*'s Caſe, for he made the ſame Allegations. But they will not ſerve thee; for thou art an Heretick, and holdeſt againſt the bleſſed Maſs: How ſayeſt thou to that?

Philpot. I am no Heretick.

Story. I will prove thee an Heretick. Whoſoever hath held againſt the bleſſed Maſs, is an Heretick: But thou haſt held againſt the ſame, therefore thou art an Heretick.

Philpot. That which I ſpake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the Convocation, where by the Queen's Majeſty's Will and her whole Council, Liberty was given to every Man of the Houſe to utter his Conſcience, and to ſpeak his Mind freely of ſuch Queſtions in Religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be moleſted and impriſoned as I have been, neither now be compelled by you to anſwer for the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt go to *Lollard*'s Tower, and be handled there like an Heretick as thou art, and anſwer to the ſame that thou there didſt ſpeak, and be judged by the Biſhop of *London*.

Philpot. I have already been convented of this Matter before the Lord Chancellor mine Ordinary, who this long Time hath kept me in Priſon; therefore if his Lordſhip will take my Life away, as he hath done my Liberty and Living, he may; which I think he cannot do of his Conſcience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in Priſon: Wherefore I am content to abide the End of him herein that is mine Ordinary, and do refuſe the Auditory of the Biſhop of *London*, becauſe he is an incompetent Judge for me, and not mine Ordinary.

Mr. *Philpot* appealeth to his Ordinary.

Story. But Sir, thou ſpakeſt Words in the Convocation-houſe, which is in the Biſhop of *London*'s Dioceſe, and therefore thou ſhalt be carried to the *Lollards* Tower, to be judged by him for the Words thou ſpakeſt in his Dioceſe againſt the bleſſed Maſs.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is againſt all Equity, that I ſhould be twice vexed for one Cauſe, and that by ſuch as by the Law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you ſpake againſt the Maſs in the Convocation-houſe.

Story. Doſt thou deny that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Phil. I cannot deny that I have ſpoken there, and if by the Law you may put me to Death for it, I am here ready to ſuffer whatſoever I ſhall be judged unto. Anno 1555.

The Scribe. This Man is fed of Vain-glory.

Cholmley. Play the wiſe Gentleman and be conformable, and be not ſtubborn in your Opinions, neither caſt yourſelf away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I deſire you, Sir, with the reſt here, that I be not charged further at your Hands, than the Law chargeth me for that I have done, ſince there was no Law directly againſt that wherewith I am now charged. And you Mr. Doctor (of old Acquaintance in *Oxford*) I truſt will ſhew me ſome Friendſhip, and not Extremity.

Mr. *Philpot* charged further by the Commiſſioners than the Law would bear.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldſt be a good catholick Man, I would be thy Friend, and ſpend my Gown to do thee good; but I will be no Friend to an Heretick, as thou art, but will ſpend both my Gown and my Coat, but I will burn thee. How ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Philpot. Sir, I am not come now to diſpute with your Maſterſhip, and the Time now ſerveth not thereto, but to anſwer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, ſince thou wilt not revoke that thou haſt done, thou ſhalt be had into the *Lollards* Tower.

Philpot. Sir, ſince you will needs ſhew me this Extremity, and charge me with my Conſcience, I do deſire to ſee your Commiſſion, whether you have this Authority ſo to do, and after the View thereof I ſhall (according to my Duty) make you further Anſwer, if you may by the Vertue thereof burthen me with my Conſcience.

Mr. *Philpot* requireth to ſee their Commiſſion.

Roper. Let him ſee the Commiſſion: Is it here?

Story. Shall we let every vile Perſon ſee our Commiſſion?

Cholmley. Let him go from whence he came, and on *Thurſday* he ſhall ſee our Commiſſion.

Story. No, let him lie in the mean while in the *Lollards Tower*; for I will ſweep the *King's-Bench* and all other Priſons alſo of theſe Hereticks, they ſhall not have that Reſort as they have had, to ſcatter their Hereſies.

Philpot. You have Power to transfer my Body from Place to Place at your Pleaſure; but you have no Power over my Soul. And I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worſe intreated than I am, kept all Day in a cloſe Chamber: Wherefore it is no Marvel that my Fleſh is puft up, wherewithal Mr. Doctor is offended.

Story. Marſhal, take him home with you again, and ſee that you bring him again on *Thurſday*, and then we ſhall rid your Fingers of him, and afterward of your other Hereticks.

Philpot. God hath appointed a Day ſhortly to come, in which he will judge us with Righteouſneſs, howſoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by Mr. Doctor, and ſhew yourſelf a catholick Man.

Philpot. Sir, if I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe than my Conſcience is, I ſhould but diſſemble with you: And why be you ſo earneſt to have me ſhew myſelf a Diſſembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Mr. *Philpot* will not diſſemble againſt his Conſcience.

Roper. We do not require you to diſſemble with us to be a catholick Man.

Philpot. If I do ſtand in any Thing againſt that

Anno 1555. that, wherein any Man is able to burthen me with one Jot of the Scripture, I ſhall be content to be counted no catholick Man, or an Heretick, as you pleaſe.

Story. Have we Scripture, Scripture? and with that he roſe up, ſaying; who ſhall be Judge, I pray you? This Man is like his Fellow *Woodman*, which the other Day would have nothing elſe but Scripture. And this is the Beginning of this Tragedy.

The ſecond Examination of Mr. Philpot *before the Queen's Commiſſioners, Mr.* Cholmley, *Mr.* Roper, *Dr.* Story, *Dr.* Cook, *and the Scribe,* October 24. 1555. *at* Newgate-*Seſſions Hall.*

AT my Coming, a Man of *Aldgate* of mine Acquaintance ſaid unto me, God have Mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this World; for Dr. *Story* ſaid, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little Conſultation had between them, Mr. *Cholmley* called me unto him, ſaying:

Cholmley. Mr. *Philpot*, ſhew yourſelf a wiſe Man, and be not ſtubborn in your own Opinion, but be conformable to the Queen's Proceedings, and live, and you ſhall be well aſſured of great Favour and Reputation.

Philpot. I ſhall do as it becometh a chriſtian Man to do.

Story. This Man is the rankeſt Heretick that hath been in all my Lord Chancellor's Dioceſe, and hath done more Hurt than any Man elſe there: And therefore his Pleaſure is, that he ſhould have the Law to proceed againſt him, and I have ſpoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the Biſhop of *London*, and there to recant or elſe burn. He howled and wept in the Convocation-houſe, and made ſuch ado as never Man did, as all the Hereticks do when they lack Learning to anſwer. He ſhall go after his Fellows. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou recant?

Philpot. I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the *Lollards Tower*, there to remain until he be further examined before the Biſhop of *London*; for he is too fine fed in the *King's-Bench*, and he hath too much Favour there; for his Keeper ſaid at the Door yeſterday, that he was the fineſt Fellow, and one of the beſt learned in *England:* And with this he roſe up and went his Way.

Cook. This Man hath moſt ſtoutly maintained Hereſies ſince the Queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is moſt meet he ſhould be adjudged by the Biſhop of *London*, for the Hereſies he hath maintained.

Philpot. I have maintained no Hereſies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Altar in the Convocation-houſe? Call you that no Hereſy? Wilt thou recant that or not?

Philpot. It was the Queen's Majeſty's Pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſeeking, but by other Mens procuring, in the Hearing of the Council.

Cook. Did the Queen give you Leave to be an Heretick? you may be ſure her Grace will not ſo do. Well, we will not diſpute the Matter with you; my Lord of *London* ſhall proceed by Inquiſition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

Philpot. My Lord of *London* is not mine Ordinary in this Behalf, and I have already anſwered unto mine Ordinary in this Matter; and therefore (as I have ſaid before) you ſhall do me great Wrong, to vex me twice for one Matter, ſince I have ſuſtained this long Impriſonment, beſides the Loſs of my Living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet Man to be an Archdeacon.

Philpot. I know I was as meet a Man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meet Man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. *Roper* and the whole Country.

Philpot. There was never poor Archdeacon ſo handled at your Hands as I am, and that without any juſt Cauſe ye be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Philpot. I am Archdeacon ſtill, although another be in Poſſeſſion of my Living; for I was never deprived by any Law.

Mr. *Philpot* deprived of his Archdeaconry without any Law.

Cook. No Sir, that needeth not: For a notorious Heretick ſhould have no ordinary Proceeding about his Deprivation; but the Biſhop may upon Knowledge thereof proceed to Deprivation.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you know that the common Law is otherwiſe: And beſides this, the Statutes of this Realm be otherwiſe, which give this Benefit to every Perſon, though he be an Heretick, to enjoy his Living until he be put to Death for the ſame.

Cholmley. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the Living I mind not. But the unjuſt Dealing grieveth me, that I ſhould be thus troubled for my Conſcience, contrary to all Law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the Queen's Majeſty may cauſe you to be examined of your Faith?

Philpot. Ask you Mr. Dr. *Cook*, and he will tell you that the temporal Magiſtrates have nothing to do with Matters of Faith, for Determination thereof. And St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Things of God are not ſubject to the Power and Authority of Princes.

Cook. No? may not the temporal Power commit you to be examined of your Faith to the Biſhop?

Philpot. Yea Sir. I deny not that; but you will not grant that the ſame may examine any of their own Authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

Philpot. Your Maſterſhip promiſed me the laſt Time I was before you, I ſhould ſee your Commiſſion by what Authority you do call me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to anſwer to ſo much as you demand.

Mr. *Philpot* again requireth to ſee their Commiſſion, and yet it could not be ſeen, and that alſo againſt the Law.

Roper. Let him ſee the Commiſſion.

The *Scribe.* Then he exhibited it to Mr. *Roper*, and was about to open the ſame.

Cook. No, what will ye do? He ſhall not ſee it.

Philpot. Then do you me Wrong, to call me and vex me, not ſhewing your Authority in this Behalf.

Cook. If we do you Wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou ſhalt lie in the *Lollards Tower*.

Philpot. Sir, I am a poor Gentleman; therefore I truſt of your Gentleneſs you will not commit me to ſo vile and ſtraight a Place,

Place, being found no heinous Treſpaſſer.

Cook. Thou art no Gentleman.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

Cook. An Heretick is no Gentleman: For he is a Gentleman that hath gentle Conditions.

Philqot. The Offence cannot take away the State of a Gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a Traytor: But I mean not to boaſt of my Gentlemanſhip, but will put it under my Foot, ſince you do no more eſteem it.

Story. What will you ſuffer this Heretick to prate with you all this Day?

Cook. He ſaith he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentleman, *ſaid he?* he is a vile Heretick Knave: For an Heretick is no Gentleman. Let the Keeper of *Lollard's Tower* come in and have him away.

Keeper. Here Sir.

Mr. *Philpot* commanded to *Lollard's-Tower* by Dr. *Story.*

Story. Take this Man with you, to the *Lollard's Tower*, or elſe to the Biſhop's Cole-houſe.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a Dog you could not appoint mè a worſe and more vile Place: But I muſt be content with whatſoever Injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful Heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Mr. *Cholmley*, ſhew me ſome Friendſhip that I be not carried to ſo vile a Place. And he called me aſide, and ſaid:

Cholmley. I neither underſtand their Doings nor their Laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Philpot. I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never Man more cruelly handled than I am at your Hands, that without juſt Cauſe known ſhould thus be intreated.

Story. Shall we ſuffer this Heretick thus to reprove us? Have him hence.

Philpot. God forgive you, and give you more merciful Hearts, and ſhew you more Mercy in the Time of need; *Do quickly that which you have in Hand.*

Stoty. Do you not hear how he maketh us like *Judas?*

Philpot. That is after your own Underſtanding.

After this, I with four others were brought to the Keeper's Houſe in *Pater-noſter-row*, where we ſupped, and after Supper I was called up to a Chamber by the Archdeacon of *London*'s Servant, and that in his Maſter's Name, who offered me a Bed for that Night. To whom I gave Thanks, ſaying, That it would be a Grief to me to lie one Night well, and the next Night worſe: Wherefore I will begin (ſaid I) as I am like to continue, to take ſuch Part as my Fellows do. And with that we were brought through *Pater-noſter-row* to my Lord of *London*'s Coal-houſe; unto which is joined a little blind Houſe, with a great Pair of Stocks, appointed both for Hand and Foot: But Thanks be to God we have not played of thoſe Organs yet, although ſome fore us have tried them, and there we found a Miniſter of *Eſſex*, a married Prieſt, a Man of godly Zeal, with one other poor Man. And this Miniſter at my coming deſired to ſpeak with me, and did greatly lament his own Infirmity, for that that though Extremity of Impriſonment he was conſtrained by writing to yield to the Biſhop of *London:* Whereupon he was once ſet at Liberty, and afterward felt ſuch a Hell in his Conſcience, that he could ſcarce refrain from deſtroying himſelf, and never could be at quiet until he went to the Biſhop's Regiſter, deſiring to ſee his Bill again; which as ſoon as he had received, he tore it in Pieces, and after he was as joyful as any Man might be. Of which when my Lord of *London* had underſtanding, he ſent for him, and fell upon him like a Lion, and likely a manly Biſhop buffeted him well, ſo that he made his Face Black and Blue, and pluckt away a great Piece of his Beard: But now, Thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the Croſs as any of us, and very ſorry for his former Infirmity. I write this, becauſe I would all Men to take heed how they do contrary to their Conſcience; which is, to fall into the Pains of Hell. And here an End.

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Bp. *Bonner* pluck'd away a great Part of *Whittle*'s Beard, and made his Face Black and Blue.

Mr. *Philpot* laid in Biſhop *Bonner*'s Coal-houſe.

This good Man was *T. Whittle* whoſe Story followeth.

Examples what an unquiet Conſcience doth.

The Manner of my being called firſt before the Biſhop of London, *the ſecond Night of mine Impriſonment in his Coal-houſe.*

THE Biſhop ſent Mr. *Johnſon* his Regiſter to me with a Meſs of Meat, and a good Pot of Drink and Bread, ſaying, That my Lord had no Knowledge before of my being here, for which he was ſorry: Therefore he had ſent me and my Fellows that Meat, knowing whether I would receive the ſame.

Biſhop *Bonner*'s Charity ſent to Mr. *Philpot.*

I thanked God for my Lord's Charity, that it pleaſed him to remember poor Priſoners, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe the ſame in him, and in all others; and therefore I would not refuſe his Beneficence, and therewith took the ſame unto my Brethren, praiſing God for his Providence towards his afflicted Flock, that he ſtirred our Adverſaries up to help the ſame in their Neceſſity.

Johnſon. My Lord would know the Cauſe of your being ſent hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) and wondereth that he ſhould be troubled with Priſoners that are not of his own Dioceſs.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole Cauſe. After which he ſaid, My Lord's Will was, that I ſhould have any Friendſhip I would deſire, and ſo departed.

Within a while after one of my Lord's Gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his Preſence, where he ſate at a Table with three or four of his Chaplains waiting upon him, and his Regiſter.

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, you are welcome; give me your Hand.

With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his Hand, I to render Courteſy for Courteſy, kiſſed my Hand and gave him the ſame.

Bonner. I am right ſorry for your Trouble, and I promiſe you before it was within theſe two Hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the Cauſe of your ſending hither; for I promiſe you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you ſhould think that I was the Cauſe thereof: And I marvel that other Men will trouble me with their Matters; but I muſt be obedient to my Betters, and I fear Men ſpeak otherwiſe of me than I deſerve.

Bonner made the common Inquiſitor againſt his Will.

Philpot. I ſhewed him the Sum of the Matter; that it was for the Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, for which I was againſt all Right moleſted.

Bonner. I marvel that you ſhould be troubled

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bled for that, if there was none other Cauſe but this. But peradventure you have maintained the ſame ſince, and ſome of your Friends of late have asked, whether you do ſtand to the ſame, and you have ſaid, yea; and for this you might be committed to Priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip I am burdened no otherwiſe than I have told you, by the Commiſſioners who ſent me hither, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Bonner. A Man may ſpeak in the Parliament Houſe, though it be a Place of free Speech, ſo as he may be impriſoned for it, as in caſe he ſpeak Words of High-treaſon againſt the King or Queen; and ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the Church of Chriſt.

Philpot. I ſpake nothing which was out of the Articles which were called in Queſtion, and agreed upon to be diſputed by the whole Houſe, and by Permiſſion of the Queen and Council.

Bonner. Why, may we diſpute of our Faith?

Philpot. That we may.

Bonner. Nay, I think not, by the Law.

Philpot. Indeed by the Civil Law I know it is not lawful, but by God's Law we may reaſon thereof. For St. *Peter* ſaith, 1 *Pet.* 5. *Be ye ready to render Account unto all Men of the Hope which is in you, that demand of you the ſame.*

Bonner. Indeed St. *Peter* ſaith ſo. Why, then I ask of you what your Judgment is of the Sacrament of the Altar.

No Man is bound to render an Account of his Faith privately, unleſs it be to edify.

Philpot. My Lord, St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Diſputation of Faith ought to be in the Congregation, in the hearing of the People, and that I am not bound to render Account thereof to every Man privately, unleſs it be to edify. But now I cannot ſhew you my Mind, but I muſt run upon the Pikes in danger of my Life for it. Wherefore as the ſaid Doctor ſaid unto *Valentinian* the Emperor, ſo ſay I to your Lordſhip; Take away the Law, and I ſhall reaſon with you. And yet if I come in open Judgment, where I am bound by the Law to anſwer, I truſt I ſhall utter my Conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned, I would have ſuch as you be about me. But you muſt come and be of the Church, for there is but one Church.

Philpot. God forbid I ſhould be out of the Church, I am ſure I am within the ſame: For I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholick Church, one Dove, one Spouſe, one beloved Congregation, out of which there is no Salvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the ſame, and walk not with us?

Philpot. My Lord, I am ſure I am within the Bounds of the Church whereupon ſhe is built, which is the Word of God.

Bonner. What Age are ye of?

Philpot. I am Four and Forty.

The Faith promiſed by his God-fathers was the Faith of Chriſt, after his Creed only.

Bonner. You are not now of the ſame Faith your Godfathers and Godmothers promiſed for you, in which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, I thank God I am: For I was baptized into the Faith of Chriſt which I now hold.

Bonner. How can that be? there is but one Faith.

Philpot. I am aſſured of that by St. *Paul*, ſaying, *There is but one God, one Faith, and one Baptiſm*, of which I am.

Bonner. You were twenty Years ago of another Faith than you be now.

Philpot. Indeed my Lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no Faith, a Neuter, a wicked Liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why, do you not think that we have now the true Faith?

Philpot. I deſire your Lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this Time. I am ſure that God's Word throughly with the primitive Church, and all the antient Fathers do agree with this Faith I am of.

Bonner. Well I promiſe you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own Perſon: I will not therefore burthen you with your Conſcience as now; I marvel that you are ſo merry in Priſon as you be, ſinging and rejoycing, as the Prophet ſaith, Rejoycing in your Naugtineſs. Methinketh you do not well herein; you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.

And why then began you ſo haſtily with him in the Sacrament of your Altars.

Philpot. My Lord, the Mirth that we make is but in ſinging certain Pſalms, according as we are commanded by St. *Paul*, willing us to be merry in the Lord, ſinging together in Hymns and Pſalms: And I truſt your Lordſhip cannot be diſpleaſed with that.

Bonner offended with *John Philpot*'s ſinging in Priſon.

Bonner. We may ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid in the Goſpel, *Matth.* 11. 17. *We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced.*——

Here my Lord ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the Text, and required his Chaplains to help, and to put him in Remembrance of the Text better; but they were mum: And I recited out the Text unto him, which made nothing to his Purpoſe, unleſs he would have us to mourn, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorrowful Things unto us, threatning Faggots and Fire.

Philpot. We are, my Lord, in a dark comfortleſs Place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, leſt, as *Solomon* ſaith, Sorrowfulneſs eat up our Heart. Therefore I truſt your Lordſhip will not be angry for our ſinging of Pſalms, ſince St. *Paul* ſaith, *If any Man be of an upright Mind, let him ſing.* And we therefore, to teſtify that we are of an upright Mind to God, (though we be in Miſery) do ſing.

Bonner. I will trouble you no farther as now. If I can do you any good, I ſhall be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. *Philpot*, and give you a good Night. Have him to the Cellar, and let him drink a Cup of Wine.

Thus I departed, and by my Lord's Regiſter I was brought to his Cellar Door, where I drank a good Cup of Wine. And my Lord's Chaplain Mr. *Couſin* followed me, taking Acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcome, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

Philpot. I am well taught the contrary by *Solomon*, ſaying, Wo be to him that is alone. After that I was carry'd to my Lord's Coalhouſe again, where I with my ſix Companions do rouſe together as in Straw chearfully (we thank God) as others do in their Beds of Down.

Thus for the third Fit.

The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot *in the Archdeacon of* London's *Houſe, in the Month of* October, *before the Biſhops of* London, Bath, Worceſter, *and* Glouceſter.

BONNER. Mr. *Philpot*, it hath pleaſed my Lords to take Pains here to Day, to dine with my poor Archdeacon, and in the Dinner-time it chanced us to have Communication of you, and you were pity'd here by many that knew you at New College in *Oxford*: And I alſo do pity your Caſe, becauſe you ſeem unto me by the Talk I had with you the other Night, to be learned: And therefore now I have ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned Biſhops at my Houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talk with you, and at my Requeſt (I thank them) they are content ſo to do. Now therefore utter your Mind freely, and you ſhall with all Favour be ſatisfy'd. I am ſorry to ſee you lie in ſo Evil a Caſe as you do, and would fain you ſhould do better, as you may if you pleaſe.

Bath. My Lords here have not ſent for you to fawn upon you, but for Charity ſake to exhort you to come into the right catholick Way of the Church.

Worceſter. Before he beginneth to ſpeak, it is beſt that he call to God for Grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his Heart, that he may conceive the Truth.

Philpot. With that I fell down upon my Knees before them, and made my Prayer on this Manner:

Almighty God, which art the Giver of all Wiſdom and Underſtanding, I beſeech thee of thine infinite Goodneſs and Mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, to give me (moſt vile Sinner in thy Sight) the Spirit of Wiſdom to ſpeak and make Anſwer in thy Cauſe, that it may be to the Contentation of the Hearers, before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better Underſtanding if I be deceived in any Thing.

Bonner. Nay, my Lord of *Worceſter*, you did not well to exhort him to make any Prayer. For this is the Thing they have a ſingular Pride in, that they can often make their vain Prayers in which they glory much. For in this Point they are much like to certain arrant Hereticks, of whom *Pliny* maketh Mention, that did daily ſing Praiſe unto God before dawning of the Day.

Bp. *Bonner* here ſeemeth more skilful in his Law, than in Church Hiſtory.

Philpot. My Lord, God make me and all you here preſent ſuch Hereticks as thoſe were that ſung thoſe Morning Hymns: For they were right Chriſtians, with whom the Tyrants of the World were offended for their well doing.

Bath. Proceed to what he hath to ſay. He hath pray'd I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on Mr. *Philpot*; my Lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my Lords, been this Twelvemonth and a Half in Priſon without any juſt Cauſe that I know, and my Living taken from me without any lawful Order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own Territory and Ordinary, into another Man's Juriſdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordſhips can burden me with any Evil done, I ſtand here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuch Thing may be juſtly laid to my Charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongful Trouble. Anno 1555.

Bonner. There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promiſe you, ye were ſent hither to me without my Knowledge. Therefore ſpeak your Conſcience without any Fear.

Philpot. My Lord, I have learned to anſwer in Matters of Religion in the Congregation, being thereto lawfully called: But now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a juſt Congregation where I ought to anſwer.

Bonner. Indeed this Man told me the laſt Time I ſpake with him, that he was a Lawyer, and would not utter his Conſcience in Matters of Faith, unleſs it were in the hearing of the People, where he might ſpeak to vain-glory.

Philpot. My Lord, I ſaid not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myſelf that Name, although I was a Novice in the ſame, where I learn'd ſomething for mine own Defence, when I am called in Judgment to anſwer to any Cauſe, and whereby I have been taught not to put myſelf further in Danger than I need, and ſo far am I a Lawyer, and no farther.

Bath. If you will not anſwer to my Lord's Requeſt, you ſeem to be a wilful Man in your Opinion. Wilful; becauſe he will not wilfully put himſelf in the Wolf's Mouth.

Philpot. My Lord of *London* is not mine Ordinary before whom I am bound to anſwer in this Behalf, as Mr. *D. Cole* (who is a Lawyer) can well tell you by the Law. And I have not offended my Lord of *London* wherefore he ſhould call me.

Bonner. Yes, I have to lay to your Charge, that you have offended in my Dioceſs by ſpeaking againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar: And therefore I may call you, and proceed againſt you to puniſh you by the Law. This Offence was ſpeaking in Convocation, where every one had a right to ſpeak his Mind freely.

Philpot. I have not offended in your Dioceſs. For that which I ſpake of the Sacrament was in *Paul's* Church in the Convocation-houſe, which (as I underſtand) is a peculiar Juriſdiction belonging to the Dean of *Paul's*, and therefore is counted of your Lordſhip's Dioceſs, but not in your Dioceſs.

Bonner. Is not *Paul's* Church in my Dioceſs? Well, I think it coſteth me a good deal of Money by the Year, the Leading thereof.

Philpot. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordſhip's Juriſdiction. And albeit I had ſo offended in your Dioceſs, yet I ought by the Law to be ſent to my Ordinary, if I require it, and not to be puniſhed by you that are not mine Ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine Ordinary for this Cauſe, which you go about to enquire of me.

Bonner. How ſay you Mr. *D. Cole*, may not I proceed againſt him by the Law, for that he hath done in my Dioceſs?

Cole. Me thinketh Mr. *Philpot* needeth not to ſtand ſo much with your Lordſhip in that Point as he doth, ſince you ſeek not to hinder him, but to further him: Therefore I think it beſt that he go to the Matter that is laid againſt him of the Convocation, and make no longer Delay.

Philpot. I would willingly ſhew my Mind of the Matter, but I am ſure it will be laid againſt me to my Prejudice when I come to Judgment.

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Cole. Why then you may ſpeak by Proteſtation.

Philpot. But what ſhall my Proteſtation avail in a Cauſe of Hereſy (as you call it) if I ſpeak otherwiſe than you will have me; ſince that which I ſpake in the Convocation-houſe, being a Place privileged, cannot now help me?

Bonner. But Mr. *D. Cole*, may not I proceed againſt him for that Offence he hath done in my Dioceſs?

Cole. You may call him before you my Lord, if he be found in your Dioceſs.

Philpot. But I have by Force been brought out of mine own Dioceſs to my Lord's, and required to be judged of mine own Ordinary: And therefore I know Mr. Doctor will not ſay of his own Knowledge, that your Lordſhip ought to proceed againſt me. And here Mr. Doctor would ſay nothing.

Worceſter. Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good Equity in your Cauſe, as before your own Ordinary?

Philpot. I cannot blame my Lord of *London*'s Equity, with whom (I thank his Lordſhip) I have found more Gentleneſs ſince I came, than of mine own Ordinary (I ſpeak it for no Flattery) this Year and a Half before, who never would call me to anſwer, as his Lorſhip hath done now twice. No Man is forbid to uſe his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be foreſtalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the ſame for divers other Conſiderations.

Bonner. Now you cannot ſay hereafter, but that you have been gently communed withal of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obſtinate in your Error, and in your own Opinions, and will not ſhew any Cauſe why you will not come into the Unity of the Church with us.

Philpot. My Lords, in that I do not declare my Mind according to your Expectations, is (as I have ſaid) becauſe I cannot ſpeak without preſent Danger of my Life. But rather than you ſhould report me by this either obſtinate or ſelf-willed without any juſt Ground whereupon I ſtand; I will open unto you ſomewhat of my Mind, or rather the whole, deſiring your Lordſhips, which ſeem to be Pillars of the Church of *England*, to ſatisfy me in the ſame: And I will refer all other Cauſes in which I diſſent from you, unto one or two Articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in which if I can by the Scriptures be ſatisfy'd at your Mouths, I ſhall as willingly agree to you as any other in all Points.

Bonner. Theſe Hereticks come always with their Ifs, as this Man doth now, ſaying, If he can be ſatisfied by the Scriptures: So that he will always have this Exception, I am not ſatisfied, although the Matter be never ſo plainly proved againſt him. But will you promiſe to be ſatisfied, if my Lords take ſome Pains about you?

Nay rather, theſe catholick Prelates will be ſatisfy'd with no reaſonable Offer.

Philpot. I ſay, my Lord, I will be ſatisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God and his eternal Son Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, and the Holy Ghoſt, and his Angels, and you here preſent that be Judges of that I ſpeak, that I do not ſtand in any Opinion of Wilfulneſs or Singularity, but only upon my Conſcience, certainly informed by God's Word, from which I dare not go for fear of Damnation: And this is the Cauſe of mine Earneſtneſs in this Behalf.

Bonner. I will trouble my Lords no longer, ſeeing that you will not declare your Mind.

Philpot. I am about ſo to do, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to hear me ſpeak.

Bath. Give him Leave, my Lord, to ſpeak that he hath to ſay.

Philpot. My Lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief Cauſe why you do count me, and ſuch as I am, for Hereticks, is becauſe we be not at Unity with your Church. You ſay you are of the true Church; and we ſay we are of the true Church. You ſay, that whoſoever is out of your Church, is damned: And we think verily on the other Side, that if we depart from the true Church, whereon we are grafted in God's Word, we ſhould ſtand in the State of Damnation. Wherefore if your Lordſhip can bring any better Authority for your Church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of *Rome* now (of which you are) is the true catholick Church, as in all your Sermons, Writings and Arguments you do uphold, and that all chriſtian Perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame under the Pain of Damnation, (as you ſay) and that the ſame Church (as you pretend) hath Authority to interpret the Scriptures as it ſeemeth her good, and that all Men are bound to follow ſuch Interpretations only; I ſhall be as conformable to the ſame Church as you may deſire me, which otherwiſe I dare not; Therefore I require you for God's ſake to ſatisfy me in this.

The chiefeſt Controverſy in the Church of Chriſt now, is to know which is the true Church of Chriſt.

Cole. If you ſtand upon this Point only, you may ſoon be ſatisfied if you pleaſe.

Philpot. It is the Thing that I require, and to this I have ſaid I will ſtand, and refer all other Controverſies wherein I ſtand now againſt you, and will put my Hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my Word.

Bonner. I pray you Mr. *Philpot*, what Faith were you of twenty Years ago? This Man will have every Year a new Faith.

St. *Paul* 20 Years before his Converſion, and St. *Peter* before his Calling, was of another Faith than they were afterward; and yet it followed not that they would have every Year a new Faith.

Philpot. My Lord, to tell you plain. I think I was of no Faith, for I was then a wicked Liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Bonner. No Faith? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome Faith.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared to you on my Conſcience what I then was, and judge of myſelf. And what is that to the Purpoſe of the Thing I deſire to be ſatisfied of you?

Bonner. Mr. Dr. *Cole*, I pray you ſpeak your Mind to him.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can prove that it was decreed by an univerſal Council in *Athanaſius*'s Time, that all the chriſtian Church ſhould follow the Determination of the Church of *Rome?* but I do not now remember where.

Athanaſius miſalledged.

Philpot. If you Mr. Doctor can ſhew me the ſame granted to the See of *Rome* by the Authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to ſhew any ſuch Thing: For *Athanaſius* was Preſident of the *Nicene* Council, and there was no ſuch Thing decreed I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another Time.

Philpot. I deſire to ſee the Proof thereof.

And upon this Mr. *Harpsfield*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *London*, brought in a Book of *Irenæus*, with certain Leaves turned in, and laid it before the Biſhops to help them in their Perplexity, if it might be: Which after the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Glouceſter* had read together, the

A Place of *Irenæus* alledged.

the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* gave me the Book, and ſaid:

Take the Book, Mr. *Philpot*, and look upon that Place, and there may you ſee how the Church of *Rome* is to be followed by all Men.

Philpot. I took the Book and read the Place, which after I had read, I ſaid it made nothing againſt me, but againſt the *Arians* and other Hereticks, againſt whom *Irenæus* wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and follow after ſtrange Doctrine in *Europe*, and that the chief Church of the ſame was founded by *Peter* and *Paul*, and had to this Time continued by faithful Succeſſion of the faithful Biſhops in preaching the true Goſpel, as they had received of the Apoſtles, and nothing like to theſe late ſprung Hereticks, *&c.* Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, which Thing if you my Lords be able to prove now of the Church of *Rome*, then had you as good Authority againſt me in my Cauſe now, as *Irenæus* had againſt thoſe Hereticks. But the Church of *Rome* hath ſwerved from the Truth and Simplicity of the Goſpel, which it maintained in *Irenæus*'s Time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your Lordſhip cannot juſtly apply the Authority of *Irenæus* to the Church of *Rome* now, which is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the primitive Church.

Bonner. So will you ſay ſtill it maketh nothing to the Purpoſe, whatſoever Authority we bring, and will never be ſatisfied.

Philpot. My Lord, when I do by juſt Reaſon prove, that the Authorities which are brought againſt me do not make to the Purpoſe, as I have already proved, I truſt you will receive mine Anſwer.

Worceſter. It is to be proved moſt manifeſtly by all ancient Writers; that the See of *Rome* hath always followed the Truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain Hereticks had defaced the ſame.

The Church of *Rome* never deceived.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worceſter. Nay, you are of ſuch Arrogancy, Singularity, and Vain-glory, that you will not ſee it be it never ſo well proved.

Philpot. Ha, my Lords, is it now Time, think you, for me to follow Singularity or Vain-glory, ſince it is now upon Danger of my Life and Death, not only preſently, but alſo before God to come? And I know, If I die not in the true Faith, I ſhall die everlaſtingly: And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thouſands more: yet had I rather periſh at your Hands, than to periſh eternally. And at this Time I have loſt all my Commodities of this World, and lie in a Coal-houſe, where a Man would not lay a Dog, with which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the Church of *Rome* hath erred at any Time? and by what Hiſtory? Certain it is by *Euſebius*, that the Church was eſtabliſhed at *Rome* by *Peter* and *Paul*, and that *Peter* was Biſhop 25 Years at *Rome*.

I find not in *Euſebius* that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome* 25 Years.

Philpot. I know well that *Euſebius* ſo writeth: But if we compare that which St. *Paul* writeth to the *Galatians*, Chap. 1. the contrary will manifeſtly appear, that he was not half ſo long there. He lived not paſt 35 Years after he was called to be an Apoſtle: And St. *Paul* maketh mention of his abiding at *Jeruſalem* after Chriſt's Death more than 13 Years. Anno 1555.

Cole. What, did *Peter* write to the *Galatians?*

Philpot. No, I ſay *Paul* maketh mention of *Peter*, writing to the *Galatians*, and of his abiding at *Jeruſalem:* And further, I am able to prove, both by *Euſebius* and other Hiſtoriographers, that the Church of *Rome* hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth err, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive Church did uſe according to the Goſpel, and there needeth none other Proof, but compare the one with the other.

Bonner. I may compare this Man to a certain Man I read of, who fell into a Deſparation, and went into a Wood to hang himſelf, and when he came there, he went viewing of every Tree, and could find none on which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelf. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you (Mr. Doctor) go forth with him.

Obſerve my Lord's wiſe Parable.

Cole. My Lord, there be on every Side of me ſome who are better able to anſwer him, and I love not to fall into Diſputation: For that now-a-days a Man ſhall but ſuſtain Shame and Obloquy thereby of the People. I had rather ſhew my Mind in writing.

Neither you nor they are able in this Caſe.

Philpot. And I had rather you ſhould do ſo than otherwiſe, for then a Man may better judge of your Words, than by Argument, and I beſeech you ſo to do. But if I were a rich Man, I durſt wager an hundred Pounds, that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you have ſaid, to be decreed by a general Council in *Athanaſius*'s Time. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a general Council in *Africa* many Years, that none of *Africa* (under pain of Excommunication) ſhould appeal to *Rome:* Which Decree I am ſure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures and by an univerſal Council it had been decreed, that all Men ſhould abide and follow the Determination of the Church of *Rome.*

Cole. But I can ſhew that they revoked that Error again.

Philpot. So you ſay, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my Satisfaction, but bare Words without any Authority.

Bonner. What I pray you, ought we to diſpute with you of your Faith? *Juſtinian* in the Law hath a Title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Philpot. I am certain the Civil Law hath ſuch a Conſtitution: But our Faith muſt not depend upon the Civil Law. For as St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, Not the Law, but the Goſpel hath gathered the Church together.

Worceſter. Mr. *Philpot*, you have the Spirit of Pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you yield to the Truth: Leave it for Shame.

Philpot. Sir, I am ſure I have the Spirit of Faith, by which I ſpeak at this preſent; neither am I aſhamed to ſtand to my Faith.

Glouceſter. What? do you think yourſelf better learned than ſo many notable learned Men as be here?

Philpot. Elias alone had the Truth, when there were four hundred Prieſts againſt him.

Worceſter. Oh, you would be counted now for *Elias.* And yet I tell thee he was deceived: For he thought there had been none good but himſelf

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himſelf; and yet he was deceived, for there were ſeven thouſand beſide him.

Philpot. Yea, but he was not deceived in Doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worceſter. By my Faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the Church, which ever hath been of that faithful Antiquity.

Philpot. My Lord, I know *Rome*, and have been there, where I ſaw your Lordſhip.

A good Commendation for *Rome* by a *Romaniſt.*

Worceſter. Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I ſaw you there. But I am ſorry that you have been there; for the Wickedneſs which you have ſeen there, peradventure cauſeth you to do as you do.

Philpot. No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that Cauſe: For I am taught otherwiſe by the Goſpel, not altogether to refuſe the Miniſter for his evil Living, ſo that he bring ſound Doctrine out of God's Book.

Worceſter. Do you think the univerſal Church may be deceived?

Philpot. St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians* propheſieth, that there ſhould come an univerſal Departing from the Faith in the latter Days before the coming of Chriſt, ſaying, that *Chriſt ſhould not come, 'till there come a Departing firſt.*

Cole. Yea, I pray you, how take you the Departing there in St. *Paul?* it is not meant of Faith, but of the Departing from the Empire: For it is in *Greek*, APOSTASIA.

Philpot. Marry indeed you, Mr. Doctor, put me in good Remembrance of the Meaning of St. *Paul* in that Place, for APOSTASIA is properly a Departing from the Faith, and thereof cometh Apoſtata, which properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his Faith: And St. *Paul* in the ſame Place after ſpeaketh of the Decay of the Empire.

Cole. APOSTASIA doth not only ſignify a Departing from the Faith, but alſo from the Empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Philpot. I never read it ſo taken, and when you ſhall be able to ſhew it (as you ſay in Words) I will believe it, and not before.

Worceſter. I am ſorry that you ſhould be againſt the Chriſtian World.

Philpot. The World commonly, and ſuch as be called Chriſtians (for the Multitude) hath hated the Truth, and been Enemies to the ſame.

Glouceſter. Why, Mr. *Philpot*, do you think that the univerſal Church hath erred, and you only to be in the Truth?

Philpot. The Church that you are of was never Univerſal, for two Parts of the World, which is *Aſia* and *Africa*, never conſented to the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as at this Day they do not, neither do follow his Decrees.

Glouceſter. Yes, in the *Florentine* Council they did agree.

Philpot. It was ſaid ſo by falſe Report, after they of *Aſia* and *Africa* were gone Home: But it was not ſo indeed, as the Sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

Glouceſter. I pray you by whom will you be judged in Matters of Controverſy which happen daily?

Philpot. By the Word of God. For Chriſt ſaith in St. *John*, *The Word that he ſpake, ſhall be judge in the latter Day.*

Glouceſter. What if you take the Word one Way, and I another Way: Who ſhall be judge then?

Philpot. The primitive Church.

Glouceſter. I know you mean the Doctors that wrote thereof.

Philpot. I mean verily ſo.

Glouceſter. What if you take the Doctors in one Senſe, and I in another: who ſhall be judge then?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreeable to God's Word.

Cole. My Lords, why do you trouble yourſelves to anſwer him in this Matter? It is not the Thing which is laid to his Charge, but his Errror of the Sacrament, and he to ſhift himſelf of that, brought in another Matter.

Philpot. This is the Matter, Mr. *Cole*, to which I have referred all other Queſtions, and deſire to be ſatisfy'd.

Worceſter. It is a Wonder to ſee how he ſtandeth with a few againſt a great Multitude.

Philpot. We have almoſt as many as you. For we have *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Germany*, *Denmark*, and a great Part of *France*, and daily the Number of the Goſpel doth increaſe: So that I am credibly informed, that for this Religion in which I ſtand, and for which I am like to die, a great Multitude doth daily come out of *France* through Perſecution, that the Cities of *Germany* be ſcarce able to receive them: And therefore your Lordſhip may be ſure, the Word of God will one Day take Place, do what you can to the contrary.

Mr. *Philpot* propheſieth of the increaſe of the Goſpel.

Worceſter. They were well occupy'd to bring you ſuch News, and you have been well kept to have ſuch Reſort unto you. Thou art the arroganteſt Fellow, and ſtouteſt fond Fellow that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your Lordſhip to bear with my haſty Speech: For it is Part of my corrupt Nature to ſpeak ſomewhat haſtily: But for all that, I mean with Humility to do my Duty to your Lordſhip.

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, my Lords will trouble you no farther at this Time, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and have ſuch Favour as in the mean while I can ſhew you: And upon *Wedneſday* next you ſhall be called again to be heard what you can ſay for the Maintenance of your Error.

Philpot. My Lord, my Deſire is to be ſatisfy'd of you in that I have required; and your Lordſhip ſhall find me as I have ſaid.

Worceſter. We wiſh you as well as ourſelves.

Philpot. I think the ſame (my Lords) but I fear you are deceived, and have a Zeal of yourſelves, not according to Knowledge.

Worceſter. God ſend you more Grace.

Philpot. And alſo God increaſe the ſame in you, and open your Eyes that you may ſee to maintain his Truth, and his true Church.

Then the Biſhops roſe up, and conſulted together, and cauſed a Writing to be made, in which I think my Blood by them was bought and ſold, and thereto they put their Hands; and after this I was carried to my Colehouſe again.

Thus ended the fourth Part of this Tragedy.
God haſten the End thereof to his Glory,
Amen.

Mr. *Philpot* to ſome that required him to write his Examinations.

Becauſe I have begun to write unto you of mine Examinations before the Biſhop and others, more to ſatisfy your Deſire, than it is any Thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you alſo that

which hath been done done of late, that the ſame might come to Light which they do in Darkneſs, and in privy Corners, and that the World now, and Poſterity hereafter, might know how diſorderly, unjuſtly, and unlearnedly theſe ravening Wolves do proceed againſt the ſilly and faithful Flock of Chriſt, and condemn and perſecute the ſincere Doctrine of Chriſt in us, which they are not able by honeſt Means to reſiſt, but only by Tyranny and Violence.

The fifth Examination of Mr. Philpot *before the Biſhops of* London, Rocheſter, Coventry, *St.* Aſaph, *and one other whoſe See I know not,* *Dr.* Story, *Dr.* Curtop, *Dr.* Saverſon, *Dr.* Pendleton, *with ſeveral other Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, in the Gallery of my Lord of* London's *Palace.*

BONNER. Mr. *Philpot* come you hither, I have deſired my Lords here, and other learned Men, to take ſome Pains once again to do you good, and becauſe I do mind to ſit in Judgment on you to morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you ſhould have as much Favour as I can ſhew you, if you will be any thing conformable; therefore play the wiſe Man, and be not ſingular in your own Opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned Men.

Philpot. My Lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on me in Judgment to morrow, I am glad thereof: For I was promiſed by them which ſent me unto you, that I ſhould have been judged the next Day after: But promiſe hath not been kept with me, to my farther Grief. I look for none other but Death at your Hands, and I am as ready to yield my Life in Chriſt's Cauſe, as you be to require it.

Bonner. Lo, what a wilful Man is this? By my Faith it is but Folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe Hereticks. I am ſorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to ſhew Extremity againſt you.

Philpot. My Lord, you need not to ſhew Extremity againſt me unleſs you will: Neither by the Law (as I have ſaid) have you any Thing to do with me, for that you are not mine Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your Priſon.

Bonner. Why the Queen's Commiſſioners ſent you hither unto me, upon your Examination had before them, I know not well the Cauſe; but I am ſure they would not have ſent you hither to me, unleſs you had made ſome Talk to them, otherwiſe than it becometh a chriſtian Man.

Philpot. My Lord, indeed they ſent me hither without any Occaſion then miniſtred by me. Only they laid unto me the Diſputation I made in the Convocation-houſe, requiring me to anſwer the ſame, and to recant it. Which becauſe I would not do, they ſent me hither to your Lordſhip.

Bonner. Why did you not anſwer them thereto.

Philpot. For that they were temporal Men, and ought not to be Judges in ſpiritual Cauſes whereof they demanded me, without ſhewing any Authority whereby I was bound to anſwer them, and hereupon they committed me to your Priſon. Anno 1555.

Bonner. Indeed I remember now, you maintained open Hereſy in my Dioceſe: Wherefore the Commiſſioners ſent you unto me that I ſhould proceed againſt you, for this you have ſpoke in my Dioceſe.

Philpot. My Lord, I ſtand ſtill upon my lawful Plea in this Behalf; that though it were a great Hereſy, as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled for it, in reſpect of the Privilege of the Parliament-houſe, whereof the Convocation-houſe is a Member, where all Men in Matters propounded may frankly ſpeak their Minds, and here is preſent a Gentleman of the Queen's Majeſty that was preſent at the Diſputation, and can teſtify the Queſtions which were then in Controverſy, were not ſet forth by me, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Queen's Majeſty's Name, all Men to diſpute their Minds freely in the ſame that were of the Houſe.

Bonner ſeeketh Cauſe againſt him, and yet pretendeth to be ſorry for his Trouble.

Mr. *Philpot's* Defence for ſpeaking in the Parliament.

The Queen's Gentleman. Though the Parliament-houſe be a Place of Privilege for Men of the Houſe to ſpeak, yet may none ſpeak any Treaſon againſt the Queen, or maintain Treaſon againſt the Crown.

Philpot. But if there be any Matter which otherwiſe it were Treaſon to ſpeak of, were it Treaſon for any Perſon to ſpeak therein, eſpecially the Thing being propoſed by the Speaker? I think not.

The Queen's Gentleman. You may make the Matter eaſy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubbornly maintain.

St. *Aſaph.* This Man did not ſpeak under Reformation, as many there did, but as earneſtly and perſuaſibly as ever I heard any.

Philpot. My Lords, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my juſt Defence for what was ſpoke in the Convocation-houſe by me, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtom of the Realm; I appeal to the whole Parliament-houſe, to be judged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I have there ſpoken.

Mr. *Philpot* appealeth to the Parliament.

Rocheſter. But have you ſpoken and maintained the ſame ſince that Time, or no?

Philpot. If any Man can charge me juſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make Anſwer.

Rocheſter. How ſay you to it now? will you ſtand to that you have ſpoken in the Convocation-houſe, and do you think you ſaid then well, or no?

Philpot. My Lord, you are not mine Ordinary to proceed *Ex Officio* againſt me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my Conſcience of your Demands.

St. *Aſaph.* What ſay you now? Is there not in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that they all put off their Caps for Reverence of the Idol) the Preſence of our Saviour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the Words of Conſecration?

Philpot. I do believe in the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body, duly miniſtred, to be ſuch manner of Preſence, as the Word teacheth me to believe.

St. *Aſaph.* I pray you, how is that?

Philpot. As for that I will declare another Time, when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my Mind of this Matter, But I am not yet driven to that Point. And the Scripture ſaith, *All Things ought to be done after an Order.*

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Another Biſhop. This is a froward and vainglorious Man.

Bonner. It is not lawful for a Man by the Civil Laws to diſpute of his Faith openly, as it appeareth in the Title, *De ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica.*

Philpot. My Lord, I have anſwer'd you to this Queſtion before.

Bonner. Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

Philpot. Yes, that you did at my laſt Examination, by that Token I anſwered your Lordſhip by St. *Ambroſe*, that the Church is congregated by the Word, and not by Man's Law. Wherefore I now add further of this Saying, *That he which refuſeth the Word, and objecteth the Law, is an unjuſt Man, becauſe the Juſt ſhall live by Faith.* And moreover, my Lord, the Title which your Lordſhip alledgeth out of the Law, maketh it not unlawful to diſpute of all the Articles of the Faith, but of the Trinity.

Amb. l. 5. Epiſt. 30. Eodem contra Auxentium.

Bonner. Thou lieſt, it is not ſo: And I will ſhew you by the Book how ignorant he is.

And with that he went with all haſte to his Study, and fetch'd his Book, and openly read the Text, and the Title of the Law, and charged me with ſuch Words as ſeemed to make for his Purpoſe, ſaying, How ſayeſt thou to this?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſay as I ſaid before, that the Law meaneth of the catholick Faith, determined in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where the Articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.

Bonner. Thou art the verieſt Beaſt that ever I heard, I muſt needs ſpeak it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Philpot. Your Lordſhip may ſpeak your Pleaſure of me. But what is this to the Purpoſe, which your Lordſhip is ſo earneſt in? You know that our Faith is not grounded upon the Civil Law: Therefore it is not material to me whatſoever the Law ſaith.

Our Faith not grounded upon the Civil Law.

Bonner. By what Law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the Common Law?

Philpot. No my Lord, our Faith dependeth not upon the Laws of Man

St. *Aſaph.* He will be judged by no Law, but as he will himſelf.

Worceſter. The Common Laws are but Abſtracts of the Scriptures and Doctors.

Philpot. Whatſoever you do make them, they are no Ground of my Faith, by which I ought to be judged.

Bonner. I muſt needs proceed againſt thee to morrow.

Mr. *Philpot* ſtill ſtandeth to his Defence of the Law, in refuſing the Judge not to be competent

Philpot. If your Lordſhip ſo do, I will have *Exceptionem fori:* For you are not my competent Judge.

Bonner. By what Law canſt thou refuſe me to be thy Judge.

Philpot. By the Civil Law, *De competente judice.*

De officio Ordinarii, to a Title in the firſt Book of the Decretals.

Bonner. There is no ſuch Title in the Law. In what Book is it, as cunning a Lawyer as you be?

Philpot. My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the Law: But you drive me to my Shifts for my Defence, and I am ſure if I had the Books of the Law, I were able to ſhew what I ſay.

De foro competente is a Title in the ſecond Book of the Decretals.

Bonner. What, *De competente judice?* I will go fetch thee my Books. There is a Title indeed, *De officiis judicis Ordinarii.*

Philpot. Verily that is the ſame *De competente judice*, which I have alledged. With that he ran to his Study, and brought the whole Courſe of the Law between his Hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the Duſt they were cover'd with.

Bonner. There be the Books: Find it now if thou canſt, and I will promiſe to releaſe thee out of Priſon.

Philpot. My Lord, I ſtand not here to reaſon Matters of the Civil Law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the ſame; for that I have been a Student in the Law ſix or ſeven Years; but to anſwer to the Articles of Faith with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my Knowledge, the Benefit of the Law in my Defence.

Bonner. Why, thou wilt anſwer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: Therefore ſay not hereafter but you might have been ſatisfy'd here by learned Men, if you would have declared your Mind.

Mr. *Philpot* returneth again to his Queſtion of the Church.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared my Mind unto you and to other of the Biſhops at my laſt being with you, deſiring you to be ſatisfy'd but of one Thing, whereunto I have referred all other Controverſies: Which if your Lordſhips now, or other learned Men can ſimply reſolve me of, I am as contented to be conformable in all Things, as you ſhall require; which is to prove that the Church of *Rome* (whereof you are) is the catholick Church.

That *Peter* built the Church of *Rome* it is falſe, for both the Scripture ſaith, that *Peter* was ſet over the circumcifed, and not over the Gentiles; and alſo it is to be proved by *Grotius*, *Suetonius*, *Tertullianus*, and other Hiſtorians, that the Faith of Chriſt was in *Rome* in *Tiberius*'s Time before ever *Peter* ſaw *Rome*.

Coventry. Do you not believe your Creed, *I believe the catholick Church?*

Philpot. Yes that I do: But I cannot underſtand *Rome* (wherewithal you burden us) to be the ſame, neither like to it.

St. *Aſaph.* It is moſt evident that St. *Peter* did build the catholick Church at *Rome.* And Chriſt ſaid, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church.* Moreover the Succeſſion of Biſhops in the See of *Rome* can be proved from Time to Time, as it can be of none other Place ſo well, which is a manifeſt Probation of the catholick Church, as divers Doctors do write.

Philpot. That you would have to be undoubted, is moſt uncertain, and that by the Authority which you alledge of Chriſt, ſaying unto *Peter*, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church*, unleſs you can prove that Rock to ſignify *Rome*, as you would make me falſly believe. And although you can prove the Succeſſion of Biſhops from *Peter*, yet this is not ſufficient to prove *Rome* the Catholick Church, unleſs you can prove the Profeſſion of *Peter*'s Faith, whereupon the catholick Church is built, to have continued in his Succeſſors at *Rome*, and at this preſent to remain.

Bonner. Is there any more Churches than one catholick Church? And I pray tell me into what Faith were you baptized?

Philpot. I acknowledge one holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, whereof I am a Member (I praiſe God) and am of that catholick Faith of Chriſt whereinto I was baptized.

Coventry. I pray you, can you tell what this Word Catholick doth ſignify? ſhew if you can.

Philpot. Yes that I can, I thank God. The catholick Faith, or the catholick Church, is not as now-a-days the People are taught, to be that which is moſt Univerſal, or by moſt Part of Men received, whereby you do infer our Faith to hang upon the Multitude, which is

The Pope's Faith hangeth upon the Multitude.

is not ſo; but I eſteem the catholick Church to be as St. *Auſtin* defineth the ſame: *We judge*, ſaith he, *the catholick Faith, of that which hath been, is, and ſhall be.* So that if you can be able to prove, that your Faith and Church hath been from the Beginning taught, and is, and ſhall be; then may you count yourſelves Catholick, otherwiſe not. And *Catholick* is a *Greek* Word, compounded of KATA, which ſignifieth *after*, or *according*, and HOLON, a *Sum*, or *Principal*, or *Whole:* So that catholick Church, or catholick Faith, is as much as to ſay, the firſt, whole, ſound, or chiefeſt Faith.

Bonner. Doth St. *Auſtin* ſay ſo as he alledgeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the ſame? how ſay you Mr. *Curtop?*

Curtop. Indeed, my Lord, St. *Auſtin* hath ſuch a Saying, ſpeaking againſt the *Donatiſts*, that the catholick Faith ought to be eſteemed of Things in Time paſt, and as they are practiſed according to the ſame, and ought to be through all Ages, and not after a new Manner, as the *Donatiſts* began to profeſs.

Philpot. You have ſaid well, Mr. *Curtop*, and after the meaning of St. *Auſtin*, and to confirm that which I have ſaid for the Signification of catholick.

Coventry. Let the Book be ſeen, my Lord.

Bonner. I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good Faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think the catholick Church (until it was within theſe few Years, in which a few upon Singularity have ſwerved from the ſame) have erred?

Philpot. I do not think that the catholick Church can err in Doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of *Rome* to be the catholick Church.

Where Mr. *Curtop* finds this I cannot tell; but this I find, that *Euſebius* doth report that *Ireneus* did reprove *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*, for his raſh Sentence in excommunicating the Churches of *Greece* concerning the Obſervation of the Feaſt of Eaſter. *Euſeb. l.* 5. *cap.* 16.

Curtop. I can prove that *Ireneus* (which was within an hundred Years after Chriſt) came to *Victor*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, to ask his Advice about the Excommunication of certain Heretick, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be ſupreme Head.

Coventry. Mark well this Argument. How are you able to anſwer the ſame? Anſwer, if you can.

Philpot. It is ſoon anſwered, my Lord, for that it is of no Force; neither this Fact of *Ireneus* maketh no more for the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, than mine hath done, who have been at *Rome* as well as he, and might have ſpoken with the Pope, if I had liſt: And yet I would none in *England* did favour his Supremacy more than I.

St. Aſaph. You are the more to blame (by the Faith of my Body) for that you favour the ſame no better, ſince all the catholick Church (until theſe few Years) have taken him to be the ſupreme Head of the Church, beſides this good Man *Ireneus.*

Philpot. That is not likely, that *Ireneus* ſo took him, or the primitive Church: For I am able to ſhew ſeven general Councils after *Ireneus*'s Time, wherein he was never ſo taken, which may be a ſufficient Proof, that the catholick primitive Church never took him for ſupreme Head.

The other Biſhop. This Man will never be ſatisfy'd, ſay what we can. It is but Folly to reaſon any more with him.

Philpot. O, my Lords, would you have me ſatisfy'd with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better Authority, he which bringeth the Example of one Man going to *Rome*, or I that by theſe many general Councils am able to prove, that he was never ſo taken in many hundred Years after Chriſt, as by *Nicene*, *Epheſine*, the firſt and ſecond *Chalcedon*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Carthagineſe*, *Aquilienſe.* Anno 1555. *Socr. lib.* 5. *c.* 22. Seven general Councils in which the Biſhop of *Rome* was never taken for ſupreme Head.

Coventry. Why will you not admit the Church of *Rome* to be the catholick Church?

Philpot. Becauſe it ſolloweth not the Primitive catholick Church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more than an Apple is like a Nut.

Coventry. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Philpot. It were too long to recite all, but two Things I will name, the Supremacy and Tranſubſtantiation.

Curtop. As for Tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth, and decreed for an Article of Faith not much above three hundred Years, yet it was always believed in the Church.

Bonner. Yea, that it was. Very well ſaid of you Mr. *Curtop.*

Philpot. You have ſaid right, that Tranſubſtantiation is but a late Plantation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and you are not able to ſhew any ancient Writer, that the Primitive Church did believe any ſuch Thing; and with this *Curtop* ſhrank away. And immediately after the Ambaſſador of *Spain* came in, to whom my Lord of *London* went, leaving the others with me. To whom I ſaid, my Lords, if you can ſhew me that this Church of *Rome* (whereof you are Members) is the true catholick Church, I ſhall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all Things; for I know there is no Salvation but within the Church. Tranſubſtantiation is but a late Plantation.

Coventry. Can you diſprove that the Church of *Rome* is not the catholick Church?

Philpot. Yea, that I am able, but I deſire rather to hear of you for the Proof thereof. And ſeeing I cannot have my Requeſt at your Hands, neither be ſatisfy'd with any probable Authority, I will ſhew you good Proof why it is not. For if the Primitive Church were catholick, as it was indeed, and ought to be the Form and School-Miſtreſs of the Church to the World's End; then is not the Church of *Rome* now the catholick Church, which diſſenteth ſo far from the ſame both in Doctrine and Uſe of the Sacraments.

Coventry. How prove you that the Church of *Rome* now diſſenteth in Doctrine and Uſe of the Sacraments from the primitive Church.

Philpot. Compare the one with the other, and it ſhall ſoon appear; as you may ſee both in *Euſebius* and other eccleſiaſtical and ancient Writers.

Coventry. What have you to ſay more, why it is not the catholick Church?

Philpot. Becauſe it is not [by your Interpretation of catholick] univerſal, neither ever was, albeit you falſely perſuade the People that it is ſo. For the World being divided into three parts, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, two Parts thereof, *Aſia* and *Africa*, profeſſing Chriſt as well as we, did never conſent to the Church of *Rome*, which is of *Europe*; which is a ſufficient Teſtimony that your Faith was never univerſal. The Faith of the Pope's catholick Church now was never univerſal.

Coventry. How prove you that?

Philpot. All the Hiſtorians which write of the Proceedings of the Church, do teſtify the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent Time doth declare that to be true which I ſay: For at this preſent the Church of *Aſia* and *Africa* do not conſent to the Church of *Rome.* Yea, and beſides all this, moſt part of *Europe* doth not

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agree, neither allow the Church of *Rome*; as *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*, the Kingdom of *Poland*, a great part of *France*, *England* and *Zeland*, which is a manifeſt Probation that your Church is not univerſal.

After this the Biſhop of *London* called away the other Biſhops, and left me with divers Gentlemen, with certain of his Chaplains, as Dr. *Saverſon* an *Engliſhman*, who began with me in this Manner.

Dr. *Saverſon*. Mr. *Philpot*, I remember you beyond Sea, ſince the Time you reaſoned with a Friar (a notable learned Man) coming from *Venice* to *Padua* in a Barge.

Philpot. I cannot forget that; for the Friar threatned to accuſe me of Hereſy as ſoon as he came to *Padua*, becauſe I talked with him ſo boldly of the Truth. He was not ſo learned a Man as you name him to be, but only in his School Points a good Purgatory Friar.

Dr. *Saverſon*. Well, he was a learned Man for all that. And I am ſorry that you this Day having communed with ſo many notable learned Men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Chriſt in his Word. And I pray you good Mr. Doctor, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe Men more than God, contrary to your Learning for worldly Eſtimation Sake.

Dr. *Saverſon*. No that I am not. Upon what Occaſion ſhould you think thus of me?

Philpot. Upon no Evil that I do know of you Mr. Doctor; but I ſpeak as one wiſhing that you ſhould not be led away from the Truth for Promotion Sake, as many Doctors be now a-days.

Dr. *Saverſon*. I have heard your Arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient Writers be againſt you, in that you do not allow the Church of *Rome* neither the Supremacy; for St. *Cyprian* (which is an ancient Writer) doth allow the Biſhop of *Rome* to be ſupreme Head of the Church.

Philpot. That I am ſure he doth not. For he, writing to *Cornelius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, calleth him but his Companion and his Fellow Biſhop, neither attributeth to him the Name either of Pope, or elſe of any uſurped Terms which now be aſcribed to the Biſhop of *Rome* to the ſetting forth of his Dignity.

Dr. *Saverſon*. You cannot be able to ſhew that St. *Cyprian* calleth *Cornelius* his Fellow-Biſhop.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in St. *Cyprian*, as I have ſaid.

Cypr. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.

Dr. *Saverſon*. I will lay no other Wager with you, but Book for Book that it is not ſo.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lord's Chaplains to fetch us *Cyprian* hither for the Trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lord's Study, and brought forth *Cyprian*, and by and by he turned to the firſt Book of his Epiſtles, the third Epiſtle *, and there would have ſeemed to gather a ſtrong Argument for the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he ſaith; *It goeth not well with the Church when the High-prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplied the Stead of Chriſt, after God's Word, and the Conſent of his Fellow-Biſhops and the Agreement of the People.*

Cypr. l. 1. Ep. 2. c. 16. Nic. Conc. 3.

* *Cyprian* hath alſo theſe Words following in the ſame Epiſtle. It was declared amongſt us, and it is according to Juſtice and Equity, that every Man's Cauſe ſhould be heard where the Fault was committed, and to every ſeveral Paſtor there is a Portion of the Flock appointed to rule and govern, for which he muſt make an Account before God. *Cypr. lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.*

Dr. *Saverſon*. How can you avoid this Place which maketh ſo plainly for the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy?

Philpot. It maketh not ſo plain, Mr. Doctor, on your Side, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to underſtand. But firſt I challenge the Wager which we made, that your Book is mine. For here you may ſee, that he calleth *Cornelius* his Fellow Biſhop, as he doth alſo in other Places. And now for the Underſtanding of that Place, you do miſconſtrue it, to take the high Prieſt only for the Biſhop of *Rome*, and otherwiſe than it was in his Time. For there were by the *Nicene* Council four Patriarchs appointed, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Patriarch of *Rome*, of which four, the Patriarch of *Rome* was placed loweſt in the Council, and ſo continued many Years, for the Time of ſeven or eight general Councils, as I can ſhew.

Therefore St. *Cyprian* writing to *Cornelius* Patriarch of *Rome* (whom he calleth his Fellow-biſhop) findeth himſelf offended that certain Hereticks, being juſtly excommunicated by him (as the *Novatians* were) did flee from his Dioceſs, which was their chief Biſhop (refuſing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and there were received in Communion of the Congregation, in Derogation of good Order and Diſcipline in the Church, and to the Maintaining of Hereſies and Schiſms: And that Hereſies did ſpring up, and Schiſms daily riſe hereof, that Obedience was not given to the Prieſt of God, nor was it once conſidered him to be in the Church for the Time the Prieſt, and for the Time the Judge in Chriſt's ſtead (as in the Decree of *Nicene* Council was appointed) not the Biſhop of *Rome* only, but every Patriarch in his Precinct: who had every one of them a College or cathedral Church of learned Prieſts, in hearing of whom by a Convocation of his Fellow-biſhops, with the Conſent of the People, all Hereſies were determined by the Word of God: And this is the Meaning of St. *Cyprian*.

Dr. *Saverſon*. You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwiſe.

Philpot. Upon what Ground it ſhould ſeem otherwiſe unto you I know not, but this Meaning which I have declared, the general Councils, ſeven or eight one after another confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one Supreme Head only.

Pendleton. There were not ſo many general Councils, but four only allowed.

Philpot. That is not ſo Mr. *Pendleton*, altho' there be four ſpecially allowed for the Confirmation of the Trinity: But beſides theſe Four, there were many other general Councils, as you may learn by many Writers.

A Chaplain. Did not Chriſt build his Church upon *Peter?* St. *Cyprian* ſaith ſo.

How St. *Cyprian* meaneth Chriſt to build his Church upon *Peter*.

Philpot. St. *Cyprian De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſaid; *God gave in Perſon of one Man the Keys to all, that he might ſignify the Unity of all Men.* And alſo St. *Auguſtine* ſaith in the tenth Treatiſe of St. *John*, *If in* Peter *had not been the Myſtery of the Church, the Lord had not ſaid unto him, I will give unto thee the Keys. For if that were ſaid to* Peter, *the Church hath them not; if the Church have them when* Peter *received them, he ſignify'd the whole Church.* And alſo St. *Hierom* a Prieſt of *Rome*,

Cypr. de Simplicitate Prælatorum. Tract. 10. in Joan.

writing to *Nepotian*, ſaith, *That all Churches do lean to their own Paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy or Regiment*, where he maketh no mention of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And to *Evagrius*, he ſaith, *That whereſoever a Biſhop be, whether it be at* Rome, *or at* Evagi, *or at* Rhegium, *he is of one Power and of one Juriſdiction.*

Dr. *Saverſon.* St. *Hierome De cœleſti Hierarchia?* It was *Dionyſius* you mean.

Philpot. I ſay not that *Hierome* wrote any Book ſo intituled. But I ſay, that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the eccleſiaſtical Regiment.

Dr. *Saverſon.* I wonder you will ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your Error to your own Deſtruction.

Philpot. I am ſure we are in no Error, by the Promiſe of Chriſt made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true Church ſuch a Spirit of Wiſdom, that the Adverſaries thereof ſhould never be able to reſiſt. And by this I know we are of the Truth, for that neither by reaſoning, neither by writing, your Synagogue of *Rome* is able to anſwer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to anſwer any of the godly learned Miniſters of *Germany*, who have diſcloſed your counterfeit Religion? Which of you all (at this Day) is able to anſwer *Calvin*'s Inſtitutions, who is Miniſter of *Geneva*.

Dr. *Saverſon.* A godly Miniſter indeed, a Receiver of Cut-purſes and runagate Traitors. And of late I can tell you, there is ſuch Contention fallen between him and his own Sects, that he was oblig'd to fly the Town, about Predeſtination. I tell you Truth, for I came by *Geneva* hither.

Philpot. I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly Man, and that godly Church where he is Miniſter; as it is your Church's Condition, when you cannot anſwer Men by Learning, to oppreſs them with Blaſphemies and falſe Reports. For in the Matter of Predeſtination, he is in none other Opinion than all the Doctors of the Church be, agreeing to the Scriptures.

Saverſon. Men be able to anſwer him if they liſt. I pray you which of you have anſwered Biſhop *Fiſher*'s Book.

Philpot. Yes (Mr. Doctor) that Book is anſwered, and anſwered again, if you liſt to ſeek what hath been written againſt him.

And after this Dr. *Story* came in. To whom I ſaid, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great Injury, and without Law have ſtraitly impriſon'd me, more like a Dog than a Man. And beſides this you have not kept Promiſe with me, for you promiſed that I ſhould be judged the next Day after.

Happy are you when they revile you, and ſay all Evil againſt you for my Name's ſake, *Matth.* 5.

Story. I am come now to keep Promiſe with thee. Was there ever ſuch a fantaſtical Man as this is? Nay, he is no Man, he is a Beaſt, yea, theſe Hereticks be worſe than brute Beaſts: For they will upon a vain Singularity take upon them to be wiſer than all Men, being indeed very Fools and Aſs-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant Obſtinacy they do ſtand in.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I am content to abide your railing Judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your Feet to be trodden on by you as you liſt. God forgive it you; yet I am no Heretick. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to prove that I hold any Jot againſt the Word of God, otherwiſe than a chriſtian Man ought.

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Story. The Word of God? forſooth the Word of God? It is but a Folly to reaſon with theſe Hereticks, for they are incurable and deſperate. But yet I may reaſon with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: Whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the Word whereto thou ſtandeſt?

The Papiſts will not be ruled by the Scriptures without their own Judge.

Philpot. Verily the Word itſelf.

Story. Do you not ſee the Ignorance of this beaſtly Heretick? he willeth the Word to be judged of the Word. Can the Word ſpeak?

Philpot. If I cannot prove that which I have ſaid by good Authority, I will be content to be counted an Heretick and an ignorant Perſon, and further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let us hear what wiſe Authority thou canſt bring in.

Philpot. It is the Word of Chriſt in St. *John. The Word which I have ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt Day.* If the Word ſhall judge in the laſt Day, much more it ought to judge our Doings now: And I am ſure I have my Judge on my Side, who will abſolve and juſtify me in another World. Howſoever now it ſhall pleaſe you by Authority unrighteouſly to judge of me and others, ſure I am in another World to judge you.

John 12. What ſay you now Mr. Doctor?

Story. What? you purpoſe to be a ſtinking Martyr, and to ſit in Judgment with Chriſt at the laſt Day to judge of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael?*

Dr. *Story* having nothing to anſwer, raileth at Mr. *Philpot.*

Philpot. Yea Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the Promiſe of Chriſt, if I die for Righteouſneſs ſake, which you have begun to perſecute in me.

Story. I told you it was but vain to argue with this Heretick; he is drowned in Hereſies without all Learning.

Philpot. Sir, I have brought you good Authority for that I have ſaid out of God's Book, to which you anſwer nothing, but go about ſtill to give railing Judgment againſt me without any Cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When the Judge in *Weſtminſter-Hall* giveth Sentence, doth the Word give Sentence, or the Judge? Tell me.

Philpot. Civil Matters be ſubject to civil Men, and they have Authority by the Word to be Judges of hem. But the Word of God is not ſubject to Man's Judgment, but ought to judge all the Wiſdom, Thoughts and Doings of Men, and therefore your Compariſon diſproveth nothing that I have ſaid, neither anſwereth any whit thereto.

God's Judgment and civil Judgment not alike.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the Interpretation of the Church upon the Scriptures?

Philpot. Yes, if it be according to the Word of the true Church: And this I ſay to you, as I have ſaid heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of *Rome* (whereof ye are) to be the true catholick Church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be ſo proved) as you may deſire me.

The Judgment of the Church how far it ſerveth.

Story. What a Fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he liſt himſelf. Are we not in Poſſeſſion of the Church? Have not our Forefathers theſe many hundred Years taken this Church for the catholick Church whereof we are now? And if we had no other Proof but this, it were ſufficient; for the Preſcription of Time maketh a good Title in the Law.

Philpot.

Anno 1555.

Philpot. You do well, Mr. Doctor, to alledge Preſcription of many Years, for it is all that you have to ſhew for yourſelves. But you muſt underſtand, that Preſcription hath no Place in Matters belonging unto God, as I am able to ſhew by the Teſtimony of many Doctors.

Story. Well Sir, you are like to go after your Father *Latimer* the Sophiſter, and *Ridley*, who had nothing to alledge for himſelf, but that he had learned his Hereſy of *Cranmer*. When I came to him with a poor Batchelor of Art, he trembled as though he had the Palſy, as theſe Hereticks have always ſome Token of Fear whereby a Man may know them, as you may ſee this Man's Eyes to tremble in his Head. But I diſpatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never an one burnt, but I have ſpoke with him, and have been a Cauſe of his Diſpatch.

Dr. *Story* confeſſeth himſelf to be the chief Diſpatcher of all the Martyrs that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

Philpot. You have the more to anſwer for Mr. Doctor, as you ſhall feel in another World, how much ſoever you do now triumph of your Proceedings.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confeſſed thereof. And becauſe I cannot now tarry to ſpeak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my Coming was to ſignify to his Lordſhip, That he muſt out of Hand rid this Heretick out of the Way. And going away he ſaid to me, I certify thee, that thou mayſt thank no other Man but me.

Philpot. I thank you therefore with all my Heart, and God forgive it you.

Story. What, doſt thou thank me? If I had thee in my Study half an Hour, I think I ſhould make you ſing another Song.

Philpot. No, Mr. Doctor, I ſtand upon too ſure a Ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left alone. And afterwards going with my Keeper to the Coal-houſe, as I went I met with my Lord of *London*, who ſpake unto me gently, ſaying,

Bonner. Philpot, if there be any Pleaſure I may ſhew you in my Houſe, I pray you require it, and you ſhall have it.

Philpot. My Lord, the Pleaſure that I will require of your Lordſhip, is to haſten my Judgment which is committed unto you, and to diſpatch me forth of this miſerable World unto my eternal Reſt. And for all this fair Speech I cannot attain hitherto this Fortnight's Space, neither Fire nor Candle, neither yet good Lodging. But it is good for a Man to be brought low in this World, and to be counted amongſt the Vileſt, that he may in time of Reward receive Exaltation and Glory. Therefore praiſed be God that hath humbled me, and given me Grace with Gladneſs to be content therewithal. Let all that love the Truth ſay *Amen*.

The hard Uſage of Mr *Philpot* in Priſon.

Thus endeth the fifth Tragedy.

The ſixth Examination of Mr. Philpot, *before the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Viſcount* Hereford, *commonly called Lord* Ferras, *the Lord* Rich, *the Lord St.* John, *the Lord* Windſor, *the Lord* Shandois, *Sir* John Bridges *Lieutenant of the* Tower, *and two others whoſe Names I know not, with the Biſhop of* London *and Dr.* Chedſey, Nov. 6. 1555.

WHILE the Lords were ſeating themſelves, the Biſhop of *London* came aſide to me and whiſpered in mine Ear, willing me to behave myſelf prudently before the Lords of the Queen's Majeſty's Council, and to take heed what I ſaid; and thus he pretended to give me Counſel, becauſe he wiſhed me to do well, as I might now if I would.

And after the Lords and other worſhipful Gentlemen were ſate, my Lord of *London* placed himſelf at the End of the Table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper End againſt him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to ſtand up, and the Biſhop ſpake to me in the following Manner.

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, I have heretofore both privately myſelf, and openly before the Lords of the Clergy, more Times than once cauſed you to be talked withal, to reform you of your Errors, but I have not yet found you ſo tractable as I would wiſh: Wherefore now I have deſired theſe honourable Lords of the Temporalty, and of the Queen's Majeſty's Council, who have taken Pains with me this Day, I thank them for it, to hear you what you can ſay, that they may be Judges whether I have ſought all Means to do you good or no: And I dare be bold to ſay in their Behalf, that if you ſhew your ſelf conformable to the Queen's Majeſty's Proceedings, you ſhall find as much Favour for your Deliverance as you can wiſh. I ſpeak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the Church. Now let them hear what you can ſay.

The Words of Bp. *Bonner* to Mr. *Philpot.*

Philpot. My Lord, I thank God that I have this Day ſuch an honourable Audience to declare my Mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordſhip's Equity in this Behalf, which agreeth with the Order of the primitive Church, which was, if any Body had been ſuſpected of Hereſy, as I am now, he ſhould be called firſt before the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſs where he was ſuſpected; ſecondly in the Preſence of others his Fellow-biſhops and learned Elders; and thirdly in hearing of the Laity: Where after the Judgment of God's Word declared, and with the Aſſent of our Biſhops and Conſent of the People, he was condemned for an Heretick, or abſolved. And the ſecond Point of that good Order I have found at your Lordſhip's Hands already, in being called before you and your Fellow-biſhops; and now have the third Sort of Men, at whoſe Hands I truſt to find more Righteouſneſs in my Cauſe, than I have found with

Philpot's Anſwer to the Biſhop.

with my Lords of the Clergy: God grant I may have at the laſt the Judgment of God's Word concerning the ſame.

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my Procurement committed to Priſon or not, and whether I have ſhewed you any Cruelty ſince ye have been committed to my Priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to give me Leave to declare forth my Matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Anſwer firſt of all to my Lord's two Queſtions, and then proceed forth to the Matter. How ſay you? Were you impriſoned by my Lord or no? Can you find any Fault ſince with his cruel uſing of you?

Bp. *Bonner* not the Cauſe of Mr. *Philpot*'s Imprisoment.

Philpot. I cannot lay to my Lord's Charge the Cauſe of my Impriſonment, neither may I ſay that he hath uſed me cruelly; but rather for my Part I may ſay, that I have found more Gentleneſs at his Lordſhip's Hands, than I did at mine own Ordinary's, for the Time I have been within his Priſon, becauſe he hath called me three or four Times to mine Anſwer, to which I was not called in a Year and a Half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your Matter.

Philpot. The Matter is, that I am impriſoned for the Diſputations had by me in the Convocation-houſe againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, which Matter was not moved principally by me, but by the Prolocutor, with the Conſent of the Queen's Majeſty and of the whole Houſe, and that Houſe, being a Member of the Parliament-houſe, ought to be a Place of free Speech for all Men of the Houſe, by the ancient and laudable Cuſtom of this Realm. Wherefore I think myſelf to have ſuſtained hitherto great Injury, for ſpeaking my Conſcience freely in ſuch a Place as I might lawfully do it: And I deſire your honourable Lordſhips Judgment who be of the Parliament-houſe, whether of right I ought to be impeached for the ſame, and ſuſtain the Loſs of my Living (as I have done) and moreover of my Life, as it is ſought.

The Convocation no part of the Parliament-houſe, ſaith the Lord *Rich.*

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the Convocation-houſe is no Part of the Parliament-houſe.

Philpot. My Lord, I have always underſtood the contrary, by ſuch as are more expert Men in Things of this Realm than I: And again, the Title of every Act leadeth me to think otherwiſe, which alledgeth the Agreement of the Spiritualty and Temporalty aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the ſpiritual Lords of the upper Houſe.

Whether the Convocation be Part of the Parliament-houſe or no, yet free Liberty was given by the Queen to every Man to ſpeak his Conſcience.

Windſor. Indeed the Convocation-houſe is called together by one Writ of the Summons of the Parliament of an old Cuſtom; notwithſtanding that Houſe is no Part of the Parliament-houſe.

Philpot. My Lords, I muſt be contented to abide your Judgments in this Behalf.

Rich. We have told you the Truth. Marry yet we would not that you ſhould be troubled for any Thing that there was ſpoken, ſo that you having ſpoken amiſs do declare now that you are ſorry for what you have ſaid.

Bonner. My Lords, he hath ſpoken there manifeſt Hereſy, yea, and there ſtoutly maintained the ſame againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that he put off his Cap, that all the Lords might Reverence and Vail their Bonnets at that Idol as he did) and would not allow the real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the ſame: Yet my Lords, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him Extremity for ſo doing, in caſe he will repent and revoke his wicked Sayings; and if in Faith he will ſo do, with your Lordſhips Conſent, he ſhall be releaſed by and by; if he will not, he ſhall have the Extremity of the Law, and that ſhortly. Anno 1555.

Lord Chamberlain. My Lord of *London* ſpeaketh reaſonably unto you: Take it while it is offered you.

Rich. How ſay you? will you acknowledge the real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as all learned Men of this Realm do, in the Maſs, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do proteſt it?

Philpot. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, ſuch a Preſence as the Word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That ſhall be no otherwiſe than you liſt.

Bonner. A Sacrament is the Sign of a holy Thing; ſo there is both the Sign, which is the Accident (as the Whiteneſs, Roundneſs, and Shape of Bread) and there is alſo the Thing itſelf, as very Chriſt both God and Man. But theſe Hereticks will have the Sacrament to be but bare Signs. How ſay you? declare unto my Lords here, whether you do allow the Thing itſelf in the Sacrament, or no.

Philpot. I do confeſs that in the Lord's Supper there is in due Reſpects both the Sign and the Thing ſignified, when it is duly adminiſtred after the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

Bonner. You may ſee how he goeth about the Buſh (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the Clergy, and dare not utter his Mind plainly.

Rich. Shew us what Manner of Preſence you allow in the Sacrament.

Philpot. If it pleaſe you, my Lord of *London*, to give me Leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my Mind without Interruption, I will thoroughly open my Mind therein.

Lord *Shandois.* I pray you, my Lord, let him ſpeak his Mind.

Philpot. My Lords, that at firſt I have not plainly declared my Judgment unto you, the Reaſon is this, becauſe I cannot ſpeak hereof without the Danger of my Life.

Ye ſay ye ſeek not his Life, and yet ye know to anſwer to what ye require will be his Death.

Rich. There is none of us here that ſeeketh thy Life, or means to take any Advantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeak.

Philpot. Although I miſtruſt not your honourable Lordſhips that be here of the Temporalty; yet here is one that ſitteth againſt me (pointing to the Lord of *London*) that will lay it to my Charge even to Death. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing your Honour do require me to declare my Mind of the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, neither do maintain any Opinion without probable and ſufficient Authority of the Scripture, I will ſhew you frankly my Mind without all Colour, whatſoever ſhall enſue unto me therefore, if my Lord of *London* will not hinder me to utter my Mind.

Rich. My Lord, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeeing he is willing to ſhew his Mind.

Bonner.

Anno 1555.

Bonner. I am content, my Lords, let him say what he can, I will hear him.

Mr. *Philpot's* Protestation before the Lords.

Philpot. That which I do intend to speak unto you (right honourable Lords) I do protest here, first before God and his Angels, that I speak it not of Vain-glory, neither of Singularity, neither of wilful Stubbornness, but truly upon a good Conscience, grounded on God's Word, against which I dare not do for Fear of Damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to Knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the Proceedings of this Realm in the Religion, in that I love not the Queen (whom I love from the Bottom of my Heart) but because I ought to love and fear God in his Word more than Man in his Laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this Consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness.

There be two Things principally, by which the Clergy at this Day doth deceive the whole Realm; that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Name of the catholick Church; which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they term of the Altar, I say now as I said in the Convocation House, that it is not the Sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any Manner of Christ's Presence. Wherefore they deceive the Queen's Majesty, and you of the Nobility of this Realm, in making you to believe that to be a Sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest Idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in Testimony of this to be true, besides manifest Proof, which I am able to make to the Queen's Majesty, and to all you of her Nobility, I will yield my Life; which to do, if it were not upon sure Ground, it were to my utter Damnation.

And where they take on them the Name of the catholick Church (whereby they blind many Folks Eyes) they are nothing so, calling you from the true Religion which was revealed and taught in King *Edward*'s Time, unto vain Superstition. And this I will say for the Trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholick Church (as they shall never be able to do) I will never be against their Doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a Means for me to the Queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just Trial hereof.

Mr. *Philpot* doth challenge ten of the most learned Men in the Realm to Disputation.

Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this Realm. And if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by Writing or by Reasoning, with good and lawful Authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all Points.

And in the Declaration of these Things more at large, which now I write in Sum, the Bishop of *London* would have interrupted me, but the Lords procured my Liberty to make out my Argument, to the great Grief of the Lord Bishop of *London*, as it appeared by the Dumps he was in.

Bonner. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long Tale.

Rich. All Hereticks do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a Church by himself; as *Joan* of *Kent*, and the Anabaptists. I had myself *Joan* of *Kent* a Week in my House after the Writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of *Canterbury*, and Bishop *Ridley* resorted almost daily unto her: But she was so high in the Spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their Learning. But she went wilfully unto the Fire, was burnt, and so do you now.

Philpot. As for *Joan* of *Kent*, she was a vain Woman (I knew her well) and an Heretick indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest Articles of our Faith, contrary to the Scriptures: And such vain Spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his Church, for that the same abideth within the Limits of God's Word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any Thing contrary to the Word, as I have God's Word thoroughly on my Side to shew for that I stand in.

Bonner. I pray you, how will you join me these two Scriptures together; *Pater major me est; & pater & ego unum sumus.* I must interpret the same, because my Lords here understand not the *Latin*, that is to say, *The Father is greater than I; and I and the Father are one.* But I cry you Mercy, my Lords, I have misspoken, in saying you understand no *Latin*; for the most Part of you understand *Latin* as well as I. But I speak in Consideration of my Lord *Shandois* and Mr. *Bridges* his Brother, whom I take to be no great *Latin* Men. Now shew your cunning, and join these two Scriptures by the Word if you can.

Philpot. Yes that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two Natures, the Divinity and Humanity, and in respect of his Humanity it is spoken of Christ, *The Father is greater than I.* But in respect of his Deity he said again, *The Father and I be one.*

Bonner. But what Scripture have you?

Philpot. Yes, I have sufficient Scripture for the Proof of that I have said. For the First, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, *Psal.* 8. 5. *Thou hast made him a littler lower thanthe Angels.* It is the 19th Psalm, beginning, *The Heavens declare.* And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me.

Bonner. It is in *Psal.* 8. *O Lord, our Lord.* Ye may see, my Lords, how well this Man is used to say his Mattins.

Philpot. Though I say not Mattins in such Order as your Lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *O Lord our Lord*, and *The Heavens declare* be not far asunder: And albeit I mis-named the Psalm, it is no Prejudice to the Truth that I have proved.

Bonner. What say you then to the second Scripture? how couple you that by the Word to the other?

Philpot. The Text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human Nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scripture joined these two Scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other Articles of Faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest Word of God to expound them.

Bonner. How can that be, seeing St. *Paul* saith, *That the Letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth Life.*

Philpot. St. *Paul* meaneth not the Word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the Word of Life, and faithful Testimony of the Lord; but that the Word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although

How the Letter killeth, and whom.

although he be the wiſeſt Man of the World, and therefore St. *Paul* ſaid, 2 *Cor.* 3. *That the Goſpel to ſome was a Savour of Life unto Life, and to others a Saviour of Death unto Death.* Alſo an Example hereof we have in the Sixth of *John*, of them who hearing the Word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby? wherefore Chriſt ſaid, *John* 6. *The Fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickneth.*

Bonner. What? do you underſtand that of St. *Paul* and of St. *John* ſo?

Philpot. It is not mine own Interpretation, it is agreeable to the Word in other Places; and I have learned the ſame of ancient Fathers interpreting it likewiſe. And to the *Corinthians* it is written, 1 *Cor.* 2. *The natural Man perceiveth not the Things that be of the Spirit of God, but the ſpiritual Man, who is endued with the Spirit judgeth all Things.*

1 *Cor.* 6.

Bonner. You ſee my Lords, that this Man will have his own Mind, and will wilfully caſt himſelf away. I am ſorry for him.

Philpot. The Words that I have ſpoken be none of mine but the Goſpel, whereon I ought to ſtand. And if you my Lord of *London* can bring better Authority for the Faith you will draw me unto, than that which I ſtand upon, I will gladly hear the ſame by you or by any other in this Realm.

Mr. *Philpot*'s Requeſt to the Lords.

Wherefore I kneeling down beſought the Lords, to be good unto me a poor Gentleman, that would fain live in the World if I might, and teſtify as you have heard me to ſay this Day, that if any Man can prove that I ought to be of any other Manner of Faith than that of which I am now, and can prove the ſame ſufficiently, I will be neither wilful nor deſperate, as my Lord of *London* would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What Country-man be you? are you of the *Philpots* of *Hampſhire*.

Philpot. Yea, my Lord, I was Sir *P. Philpot*'s Son of *Hampſhire*.

Rich. He is my near Kinſman; wherefore I am the more ſorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your Lordſhip that it pleaſeth you to challenge Kindred of a poor Priſoner.

Rich. In Faith I would go a hundred Miles on my bare Feet to do you good.

Lord Chamberlain. He may do well enough if he liſt.

St. *John. Philpot*, you are my Countryman, and I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich. You ſaid even now, that you would deſire to maintain your Belief before ten of the beſt in the Realm. You did not well to compare with the Nobility of the Realm. But what if you have ten of the beſt in the Realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

Philpot. My Lord, your Lordſhip miſtaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the beſt of the Nobility in this Realm. It was no Part of my Mind, but I meant of the beſt learned on the contrary Side.

John Philpot will not be judged by his Adverſaries, but by the Hearers, ſo far as they ſhall judge by God's Word.

Rich. Well, I take your Meaning: What if Means be made to the Queen's Majeſty that you ſhall have your Requeſt, will you be judged by them?

Philpot. My Lord, it is not meet that a Man ſhould be judged by his Adverſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Philpot. I will make your Honours Judges, that ſhall be Hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queen's Majeſty that you ſhall have ten learned Men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty of the Nobility to hear, ſo you will promiſe to abide their Judgment. How ſay you, will you promiſe here before my Lords ſo to do? Anno 1555.

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promiſe to agree to their Judgment?

Philpot. There be Cauſes why I may not ſo do, unleſs I were ſure they would judge according to the Word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no Man judge but yourſelf, and think yourſelf wiſer than all the learned Men in this Realm.

The true Order of Judgment uſed in the primitive Church.

Philpot. My Lord, I ſeek not to be mine own Judge, but am willing to be judged by others, ſo that the Order of Judgment in Matters of Religion be kept that was in the primitive Church, which is, firſt that God's Will by his Word was ſought, and thereunto both the Spiritualty and Temporalty was gatherded together, and gave their Conſents and Judgment, and ſuch Kind of Judgment I will ſtand to.

Bp. *Bonner* bewrayeth his own Ignorance.

Bonner. My Lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly ſeen in ancient Writers of the Judgments of the primitive Church, and there was never any ſuch Manner of Judgment uſed as he now talketh of.

Philpot. In the Epiſtles of St. *Cyprian* I am able to ſhew it you.

Bonner. Ah, I tell you there is no ſuch Thing; fetch me *Cyprian* hither.

Bp. *Bonner* dares not reach out his Book.

Philpot. You ſhall find it otherwiſe when the Book cometh. And Dr. *Chedſey* his Chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his Book) whiſpered the Biſhop in his Ear, and fetch'd not the Book, by likelihood that he ſhould have ſuſtained the Reproach thereof if the Book had been brought. Well my Lord, quoth I, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or elſe he would have brought the Book ere this.

Rich. You would have no other Judge, I ſee, but the Word.

Philpot. Yes my Lord, I will be tried by the Word, and by ſuch as will judge according to the Word. As for an Example, if there were a Controverſy between your Lordſhip and another upon the Words of a Statute, muſt not the Words of the Statute judge and determine the Controverſy?

Rich. No marry, the Judges of the Law may determine of the Meaning thereof.

Bp. *Bonner* triumphs before the Victory.

Bonner. He hath brought as good an Example againſt himſelf as can be.

And here the Biſhop thought he had a good Argument againſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many Words to the Judgment of the Church.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himſelf by his own Argument.

Philpot. My Lords, it ſeemeth to your Honours that you have great Advantage of me by the Example I brought in to expreſs my Cauſe, but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing againſt me, as my Lord of *London* hath pretended. For I will ask of my Lord *Rich* here, whom I know to have good Knowledge in the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, albeit a Judge may diſcern the Meaning of a Statute agreeable to the Words, whether the ſame may judge

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judge a Meaning contrary to the expreſs Words or no?

Rich. He cannot ſo do.

Philpot. Even ſo ſay I, that no Man ought to judge the Word of God to have a Meaning contrary to the expreſs Words thereof, as this falſe Church of *Rome* doth in many Things: And with this the Lords ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and made no further Application herein.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the expreſs Words of Chriſt in the Sacrament, ſaying, *This is my Body:* And yet you will not ſtick to ſay it is not his Body. Is not God Omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his Omnipotency to make it his Body, as he was to make Man Fleſh of a Piece of Clay? Did not he ſay, *This is my Body which ſhall be betrayed for you?* And was not his very Body betrayed for us? Therefore it muſt needs be his Body.

Bonner. My Lord *Rich*, you have ſaid wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before alſo in the Sixth of *John*, where Chriſt promiſed to give his Body in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaying, *The Bread which I will give is my Fleſh.* How can you anſwer to that?

Philpot. If it pleaſe you to give me Leave to anſwer firſt my Lord *Rich*, I will alſo anſwer this Objection.

Rich. Anſwer my Lord of *London* firſt, and after come to me.

Philpot. My Lord of *London* may be ſoon anſwered: That Saying of St. *John* is, that the Humanity of Chriſt, which he took upon him for the Redemption of Man, is the Bread of Life whereby our Souls and Bodies are ſuſtained to eternal Life, of which the ſacramental Bread is a lively Repreſentation, and an effectual Coaptation to all ſuch as believe on his Paſſion. And as Chriſt ſaith in the ſame Sixth of *John*, *I am the Bread that came down from Heaven*; but yet he is not material neither natural Bread: Likewiſe the Bread is his Fleſh, not natural or ſubſtantial, but by Signification, and by Grace in the Sacrament.

And now to my Lord *Rich*'s Argument. I do not deny the expreſs Words of Chriſt in the Sacrament, *This is my Body:* But I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: They muſt be taken ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſs Declaration of Chriſt, ſaying, that the Words of the Sacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the Papiſts now do, ought to be taken ſpiritually and not carnally, as they falſly imagine, not weighing what Interpretation Chriſt hath made in this Behalf, neither following the Inſtitution of Chriſt, neither the Uſe of the Apoſtles and of the primitive Church, who never taught, neither declared any ſuch carnal Manner of Preſence as is now exacted of us violently without any Ground of Scripture or Antiquity, who uſed to put out of the Church all ſuch as did not receive the Sacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the Canon of the Apoſtles, and by the Decree of the Council of *Antioch* may appear.

Bonner. No, that is not ſo; they were only *Catechumeni*, which went out of the Church at the Celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Philpot. It was not only of ſuch as were Novices in Faith, but all others that did not receive.

Bonner. What ſay you to the Omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he ſpake, as my Lord *Rich* hath very well ſaid? I tell thee, that God by his Omnipotency may make himſelf to be this Carpet if he will.

Philpot. As concerning the Omnipotency of God, I ſay that God is able to do (as the Prophet *David* ſaith) whatſoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his Word; as that is Blaſphemy which my Lord of *London* hath ſpoken, that God may become a Carpet. For as I have learned of ancient Writers, God cannot do that which is contrary to his Nature, as it is contrary to the Nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a Creature; and God is the Creator; and the Creator cannot be the Creature: Wherefore unleſs you can declare by the Word, that Chriſt is otherwiſe preſent with us than ſpiritually and ſacramentally by Grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the Omnipotency of God in vain.

Pſal. 135.

Bonner's irreverent and blaſphemous ſpeaking of God.

Bonner. Why, wilt thou not ſay that Chriſt is really preſent in the Sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Philpot. I deny not that Chriſt is really preſent in the Sacrament to the Receiver thereof according to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Bonner. What mean you by really preſent?

Philpot. I mean by really preſent, preſent indeed.

Bonner. Is God really preſent every where?

Philpot. He is ſo.

Bonner. How prove you that?

Philpot. The Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, *That God filleth all Places:* And whereſoever there be two or three gathered together in Chriſt's Name, there is he in the midſt of them.

Bonner. What, his Humanity?

Philpot. No my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My Lord of *London*, I pray you let Mr. Dr. *Chedſey* reaſon with him, and let us ſee how he can anſwer him, for I tell thee he is a learned Man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whoſe Doctrine the Queen's Majeſty and the whole Realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

Bonner too weak for Mr. *Philpot.*

Bonner. My Lords, I pray you will it pleaſe you to drink? You have talked a great while, and much Talk is thirſty. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reaſoning together a-while, with your Leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went, as I ſuppoſe, to make room for more drink, after the Lords had drank.

The Lords falls to drinking.

My Lord *Rich* ſaid to the Lords, I pray you let the poor Man drink, for he is thirſty, and with that he called for a Cup of Drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God requite it him, for I was a-thirſt indeed. Afterwards Dr. *Chedſey* began in this wiſe, making a great Proceſs, of which this is the Effect.

Lord *Rich* biddeth Mr. *Philpot* drink.

Chedſey. Mr. *Philpot* findeth Fault with the Convocation-houſe before your Lordſhips, that he hath lain thus long in Priſon, and that he had there a dozen Arguments, whereof he could not be ſuffered to proſecute one throughly, which is not ſo; for he had Leave to ſay what he could, and was anſwered to as much as he was able to bring; and

Four untruths of Dr *Chedſey* at one Clap.

** 1 Untruth.

† 2 Untruth. when he had † nothing elſe to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtify thereof; albeit there is a Book Abroad of the Report of the Diſputation to the contrary, in which there is * never a true Word. And whereas you require to be ſatisfied of the Sacrament, I will ſhew you the † Truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

* 3 Untruth.

† 4 Untruth.

Mr. *Philpot* anſwered Dr. *Chedſey*.

Philpot. It is a ſhrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any Truth, ſince you have begun with ſo many Untruths, as to ſay that I was anſwered while I had any Thing to ſay; and that I wept for lack of Matter to ſay, and that the Book of the Report of the Diſputation is not true. God be praiſed, there were a good many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and worſhipful Men that heard and ſaw the Doings thereof, which can teſtify that you here have made an unjuſt Report before theſe honourable Lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of Matter, as you ſlander me; for I thank God I have more Matter than the beſt of you all ſhall ever be able to anſwer, as little Learning as I have; but my weeping was, as Chriſt was upon *Jeruſalem*, ſeeing the Deſtruction that ſhould fall upon her: And I foreſeeing then the Deſtruction which you (through Violence and Unrighteouſneſs which you there declared) would work againſt the true Church of Chriſt and her faithful Members, as this Day beareth witneſs, was compelled to weep in Remembrance of that which I with many more have felt and ſhall feel.

All theſe Words I did then ſpeak out, being interrupted by my Lord *Rich*, ſaying, that I ſhould ſuffer him to proceed out in this Matter, and afterwards I ſhould have leiſure to anſwer him in every Article. But he promiſed more than he could perform, as the End did well declare, for he had not the Conſent of the Spiritualty to his Promiſe, which now rule the Roaſt. God ſhorten their cruel Days, for his Elect's ſake. And therefore I add this, which I had purpoſed to have ſpoken, if then I might have been ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the Things done in the Convocation-houſe and now laid to my Charge if they ſhould not be anſwered by me, might reckon Dr. *Chedſey*'s Saying to be true. And as concerning the Book of the Report of the Diſputations, I wrote the ſame, and it is true in every Argument, as Mr. Dean of *Rocheſter*, and Mr. *Cheney* Archdeacon of *Hereford* (yet being alive, and within the Realm) can teſtify.

Chedſey. You have of Scriptures the four Evangeliſts for the Probation of Chriſt's real Preſence to be in the Sacrament after the Words of Conſecration, with St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*; which all ſay, *This is my Body.* They ſay not, as you would have me believe, this is not the Body. But eſpecially the 6th of *John* proveth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to give his Body, which he performed in his laſt Supper, as it appeareth by theſe Words, *The Bread which I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World.*

Philpot. My Lord *Rich.* with your Leave I muſt needs interrupt him a little, becauſe he ſpeaketh open Blaſphemy againſt the Death of Chriſt: For if that Promiſe brought in by St. *John*, was performed by Chriſt in his laſt Supper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the Sacrament.

*

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an End of his Arguments, and afterward object to him what you can. Anno 1555.

Chedſey. You muſt note, that there is twice * *Dabo* in this Saying of St. *John*, and the Firſt is referred to the Sacrament of the Altar; and the Second to the Sacrifice upon the Croſs: And beſides theſe manifeſt Scriptures, there be many ancient Doctors proving the ſame, as *Ignatius*, *Irenæus*, St. *Cyprian* (whoſe Authority he recited at large) which I do omit, becauſe I was not permitted to anſwer the ſame.

* So is there twice *Ego* too, and yet but one natural Body.

Rich. Now anſwer, and object to him what you can, and you ſhall be heard.

Philpot. My Lord, the chief Ground whereon he with the reſt of his Side do ground themſelves againſt us, be theſe Words, *This is my Body*; with a falſe Pretence of the Omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular Anſwers of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordſhips may the better underſtand me, what I mean, and whereupon I ſtand, I will firſt require Mr. Doctor to anſwer me one Queſtion. But firſt of all I do proteſt to your Honours that I think as reverently of the Sacrament, as a chriſtian Man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, miniſtred after Chriſt's Inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt Treaſures and Comforts that he left us on the Earth: And contrariwiſe it is moſt diſcomfort and abominable, not being miniſtred as it ought to be, as it is uſed now-a-days.

A Queſtion of Mr. *Philpot.*

And now to my Queſtion, which is this: Whether theſe Words only, *This is my Body*, ſpoken by a Prieſt over the Bread and Wine, may make the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe, or no?

Chedſey ſtaggering what he might ſay, at laſt he ſaid, That theſe Words alone, pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſufficient to make the Bread and the Wine the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really.

Philpot. That is Blaſphemy to ſay, and againſt all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the Form and Subſtance in Conſecration muſt be obſerved which Chriſt uſed and did inſtitute, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *In the Sacrifice which is Chriſt, only Chriſt is to be followed.* And by the Law it is forbidden to add or to take away from God's Word. And St. *Peter* ſaith, *If any Man ſpeak let him ſpeak as the Word of God.* Wherefore whoſoever ſaith that theſe Words only, *This is my Body*, do make a Preſence of Chriſt, without *Bleſs*, *Take*, *and Eat*, which be three as ſubſtantial Points of the Sacrament, as *This my Body*, he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Let the Word be joined to the Element, and it becometh a Sacrament*: So that if the entire Words of Chriſt's Inſtitutions be not obſerved in the Miniſtration of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament; as the Sacrifices which the ten Tribes did offer at *Bethel* to God, were not acceptable, becauſe they were not in all Points done according to God's Word. Wherefore except Bleſſing be made after the Word (which is a due Thankſgiving for our Redemption in Chriſt) and alſo a ſhewing forth of the Lord's Death in ſuch wiſe as the Congregation may be edify'd: And moreover a taking and eating after Chriſt's Commandment: Except (I ſay) theſe three Parts be firſt performed (which is not

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not done in the Maſs) theſe Words *This is my Body*, which are laſt placed in the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, cannot be verify'd. For Chriſt commanded as well, *Take ye, eat ye*, as *This is my Body*.

Chedſey. Chriſt ſaid, *Take, Eat, this is my Body*, and not Take ye, Eat ye.

Philpot. Did he not, Mr. Doctor? be not theſe the Words of Chriſt, *Accipite, Manducate?* and do not theſe Words in the plural Number ſignify, *Take ye, eat ye*, and not Take thou, Eat thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

Chedſey. I grant it is as you ſay.

Philpot. Likewiſe of Conſequence, you (Mr. Doctor) muſt needs deny what you have ſaid, that theſe Words, *This is my Body*, being only ſpoken, be ſufficient to make the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as you have untruly ſaid.

Then the Biſhop came in again and ſaid, What is it that you would have Mr. Doctor deny?

The Words of Chriſt (This is my Body) except a Prieſt ſpeak them make no Body.

Philpot. My Lord, Mr. Doctor hath affirmed that theſe Words, *This is my Body*, ſpoken by the Prieſt only, do make the Sacrament.

Bonner. Indeed if Mr. *Bridges* ſhould ſpeak theſe Words over the Bread and Wine, they would be of none Effect: But if a Prieſt ſpeak them after a due Manner, they are effectual, and make a real Body.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor hath ſaid otherwiſe.

Bonner. I think you miſtake him; for he meaneth of the Words duly pronounced.

Philpot. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was ſaid; that, *This is my Body*, hath no Place, except Bleſs, Take, and Eat, duly go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame Words do not go before, *This is my Body*, but prepoſterouſly follow in your Sacrament of the Maſs, it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſent.

Chedſey. If, *This is my Body* only do not make the Sacrament, no more do, *Bleſs, take, and Eat.*

Philpot. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament unleſs the whole Action of Chriſt doth concur together according to the firſt Inſtitution.

Chedſey. Why, then you would not have it to be the Body of Chriſt, unleſs it be received?

Philpot. No verily, it is not the very Body of Chriſt to any other, but ſuch as condignly receive the ſame after his Inſtitution.

Bonner. Is not a Loaf a Loaf, being ſet on the Table though no Body eat thereof?

Philpot. It is not alike, my Lord; for a Loaf is a Loaf before it be ſet on the Table: But ſo is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacrament before it be duly adminiſtred at the Table of the Lord.

Bonner. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Philpot. It is my Lord, a Sign begun of a holy Thing, and yet no perfect Sacrament until it be received. For in the Sacrament there be two Things to be conſidered, the Sign, and the Thing itſelf, which is Chriſt and his whole Paſſion; and it is that to none but to ſuch as worthily receive the holy Signs of Bread and Wine, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Windſor. There were never any that denied the Words of Chriſt as you do. Did not he ſay, *This is my Body?*

Philpot. My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the Words of Chriſt: But we ſay, theſe Words be of none Effect, being ſpoken otherwiſe than Chriſt did inſtitute them in his laſt Supper. For an Example; Chriſt biddeth the Church to baptize in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: If a Prieſt ſay theſe Words over the Water, and there be no Child to be baptized, theſe Words only pronounced do not make Baptiſm. And again, Baptiſm is only Baptiſm to ſuch as be baptized, and to none other ſtanding by.

As Baptiſm is no Baptiſm but to the Child that is baptized, and not to the Standers by: So the Sacrament of the Body is no Sacrament but to them that worthily receive.

Lord Chamberlain. I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one Queſtion. What Kind of Preſence in the Sacrament (duly adminiſtred according to Chriſt's Ordinance) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confeſs the Preſence of Chriſt wholly to be with all the Fruits of his Paſſion, unto the ſaid worthy Receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Chriſt is thereby joined to him, and he to Chriſt.

Lord Chamberlain. I am anſwered.

Bonner. My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His Similitude that he bringeth in of Baptiſm, is nothing like to the Sacrament of the Altar. For if I ſhould ſay to Sir *John Bridges* being with me at Supper, and having a fat Capon, Take, eat, this is of a Capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a Capon ſtill? And likewiſe of a Piece of Beef, or of a Cup of Wine? if I ſay, Drink, this is a Cup of Wine? is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not thereof?

Philpot. My Lord, your Similitudes are too groſs for ſo high Myſteries as we have in Hand, as if I were your Equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more Diſſimilitude between common Meats and Drinks, than there is between Baptiſm and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpiritual Things with ſpiritual, and not ſpiritual Things with corporal Things. And Meats and Drinks be of their own Natures Good or Evil, and your Words, commending or diſcommending, do but declare what they are. But the Sacraments be to be conſidered according to the Word which Chriſt ſpake of them, of which, *Take ye, and eat ye*, be ſome of the Chief, concurrent to the making of the ſame, without which there can be no Sacraments: And therefore the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is called Communion: And likewiſe in the Goſpel Chriſt commanded, ſaying, *Divide it among you.*

Chedſey. St. *Paul* calleth it a Communication.

Philpot. That doth more expreſly ſhew, that there muſt be a Participation of the Sacrament together.

Bonner. My Lords, I am ſorry I have troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate Man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that the Lords roſe up, none of them ſaying any evil Word unto me, half amazed, in my Judgment, God work it to good.

You are too weak, my Lord, you may riſe when you will.

Thus ended the ſixth Part of this Tragedy: The ſeventh look for with Joy.

The ſeventh Examination of Mr. John Philpot, *on the 19th of* November, *before the Biſhops of* London *and* Rocheſter, *the Chancellor of* Litchfield, *and Dr.* Chedſey.

BONNER. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no ſooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this Hour? By the Faith of my Body, half an Hour before Maſs, and half an Hour even at Maſs, looking for your coming.

Philpot. My Lord, it is well known to you that I am a Priſoner, and that the Doors be ſhut upon me, and I cannot come when I pleaſe; but as ſoon as the Doors of my Priſon were open, I came immediately.

Bonner. We ſent for thee to the Intent thou ſhouldſt have come to Maſs. How ſay you, would you have come to Maſs or no, if the Doors had ſooner been opened?

Philpot. My Lord, that is another Manner of Queſtion.

Bonner. Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we ſhould have a froward Fellow of him; he will anſwer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the Spiritual Lords and Temporal, thus he fareth ſtill; yet he reckoneth himſelf better learned than all the Realm. Yea, before the Temporal Lords the orher Day, he was ſo fooliſh to challenge the beſt: He would make himſelf learned, and is a very ignorant Fool indeed.

You ſaid before that he was learned.

Philpot. I reckoned I anſwered your Lordſhip before the Lords plain enough.

Bonner. Why anſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldſt have gone to Maſs or no, if thou hadſt come in Time?

Philpot. Mine Anſwer ſhall be thus, that if your Lordſhip can prove your Maſs, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true Service of God, whereunto a Chriſtian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good Will.

Bonner. Look, I pray you; the King and Queen, and all the Nobility of the Realm do come to Maſs, and yet he will not. By my Faith, thou art too well handled: Thou ſhalt be worſe handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Note how ſubſtantially Bp. *Bonner* proveth the Maſs.

Philpot. If to lie in a blind Coal-houſe, may be counted good handling, without both Fire and Candle, then may it be ſaid, I am well handled. Your Lordſhip hath Power to treat my Body as you pleaſe.

Bonner. Thou art a Fool, and a very ignorant Fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good Faith I have handled him and his Fellows with as much Gentleneſs as they can deſire. I did let their Friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other Day they had gotten themſelves up into the Top of the Leads with a many of Apprentices, gazing Abroad as though they had been at Liberty; but I will cut off your Reſort: And as for the Apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot. My Lord, we have no ſuch Reſort to us as your Lordſhip imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of Apprentces I kno w not one, neither have we any Leads to walk on over our Cole-houſe, that I know of: Wherefore your Lordſhip hath miſtaken your Mark.

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Bonner. Nay, now you think (becauſe my Lord Chancellor * is gone) that we will burn no more: Yes I warrant thee, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, unleſs you do recant.

* He meaneth *Stephen Gardiner*, who in this Month died a little before.

Philpot. My Lord, I had not thought that I ſhould have been alive now, neither ſo raw as I am, but even well roaſted to Aſhes.

Chancellor. Caſt not yourſelf wilfully away, Mr. *Philpot.* Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned Men of this Realm, and you may do well enough.

Philpot. My Conſcience beareth me record that I ſeek to pleaſe God, and that the Love and Fear of God cauſeth me to do as I do: And I were of all other Creatures moſt miſerable, if for mine own Will only I do loſe all the Conveniencies I might have in this Life, and afterwards be caſt into Damnation. But I am ſure it is not my Will whereon I ſtand, but God's Will, who will not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chancellor. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceived.

Bonner. Well, ſince thou wilt not be conformable by fair Means, I will proceed againſt thee *Ex Officio*, and therefore hearken here to ſuch Articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make anſwer to them. And with that he read a Libel which he had in his Hand of divers Articles, and when he had done, he bade me anſwer.

Two Untruths in the Biſhop's Articles.

Philpot. Your Libel, my Lord, containeth in Sum two ſpecial Points: The Firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your Dioceſs, and therefore your Lordſhip, upon divers ſuſpects and infamies of Hereſy going upon me, is moved to proceed againſt me by your ordinary Office; which firſt is not true, for that I am not of your Lordſhip's Dioceſs, as the Libel doth pretend. And the Second is, that I being baptized in the catholick Church, and in the catholick Faith, am gone from them, which is not ſo, for I am of that catholick Faith and Church as I was baptized into.

Bonner. What? art thou not of my Dioceſs? where are ye now I pray you?

Philpot. I cannot deny but I am in your Coal-houſe, which is your Dioceſs: Yet I am not of your Dioceſs.

Bonner. You were ſent hither unto me by the Queen's Majeſty's Commiſſioners, and thou art now in my Dioceſs: Wherefore I will proceed againſt thee as thy Ordinary.

Philpot. I was brought hither through Violence, and therefore my preſent being now in your Dioceſs is not enough to abridge me of mine own Ordinary's Juriſdiction, neither maketh it me willingly ſubject to your Juriſdiction, ſince it cometh by Force, and by ſuch Men as had no juſt Authority ſo to do; no more than a Sanctuary-man, being by Force brought forth of his Place of Privilege, doth thereby loſe his Privilege, but always may challenge the ſame whereſoever he be brought.

Chedſey. Hath not the Queen's Majeſty Authority, by her Commiſſioners, to remove your Body whither ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Philpot. I grant that the Queen's Majeſty (of her juſt Power) may tranſpoſe my Body, whither it ſhall pleaſe her Grace to command the ſame. But yet by your Laws, Spiritual Cauſes be not ſubject to the Temporal Power.

Anno 1555.

As for Example; you, Mr. Doctor, if the Queen's Majeſty would appoint two temporal Men to be Judges over you in certain ſpiritual Matters, might not you alledge the Privilege of a Clerk, and demand competent ſpiritual Judges in your Cauſes?

Spiritual Things are not ſubject to temporal Powers, and therefore the temporal Commiſſioners had no Power to remove him into another Man's Dioceſe.

Bonner. Doth not a Judge (I pray you) appoint a Court at his own Diſcretion?

Philpot. My Lord, your Rule is true in temporal Matters, but in ſpiritual Cauſes it is not ſo; which be otherwiſe privileged.

Bonner. What ſayeſt thou then to the ſecond Article, and to the other?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſay that I am not bound to anſwer the ſecond, neither the reſt, unleſs the firſt be proved.

Bonner. Well, ſuppoſe the firſt may be proved, as it will be, what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame catholick Faith, neither of the ſame Church now as you were baptized in?

Philpot. I am of the ſame catholick Faith, and of the ſame catholick Church, which is of Chriſt, the Pillar and Eſtabliſhment of Truth.

Bonner. Nay, that you are not.

Philpot. Yes that I am.

Bonner. Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of another Faith than you be now.

Philpot. I was not baptized either into my Godfather's Faith or my Godmothers, but into the Faith and into the Church of Chriſt.

Bonner. How know you that?

Philpot. By the Word of God, which is the Touchſtone of Faith, and the Limits of the Church.

Bonner. How long hath your Church ſtood I pray you.

Philpot. Even from the Beginning, from Chriſt, and from his Apoſtles, and from their immediate Succeſſors.

Chancellor. He will prove his Church to be before Chriſt.

Philpot. If I did ſo I go not amiſs: For there was a Church before the coming of Chriſt, which maketh one catholick Church.

Chancellor. It is ſo indeed.

Philpot. I will deſire no better Rule than the ſame which is oftentimes brought in of your Side, to prove both my Faith and the catholick Church; that is, Antiquity, Univerſality, and Unity.

Bonner. Do you not ſee what a bragging fooliſh Fellow this is? He would ſeem to be very well ſeen in the Doctors, and he is but a Fool. By what Doctor art thou able to prove thy Church? Name him, and thou ſhalt have him.

Philpot. My Lord, let me have all your ancient Writers, with Pen, and Ink, and Paper, and I will prove both my Faith and my Church out of every one of them.

Becauſe you dare not.

Bonner. No that thou ſhalt not have. You ſhall ſee how he lieth. St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *There muſt be one High-prieſt, to which the Reſidue muſt obey*; and they will allow no Head, neither Vicar General.

St. *Cyprian* meaneth every Church to have his own Governor, not all Churches to be under one.

Philpot. St. *Cyprian* ſaith not, that there ſhould be a Vicar General over all. For in his Book *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, I am ſure he ſaith the contrary. *There is but one Biſhoprick, which is wholly poſſeſſed of every Biſhop in part.*

Bonner. Fetch hither the Book, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt Place againſt thee.

Dr. *Chedſey* brought the Book, and turned to the Place in an Epiſtle written unto *Cornelius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, and recited theſe Words in Sum: *That it went not well with the Church, where the High-prieſt was not obeyed*; and ſo would have concluded for the Confirmation of the Biſhop's Saying. *Cypr. lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 3.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you miſconſtrue the Place of St. *Cyprian*; for he meaneth not there by the High-prieſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, but every Patriarch in his Precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his Time. And in writing unto *Cornelius* he meaneth by the High-prieſt himſelf, who was then Biſhop of *Africa*, whoſe Authority the Hereticks began to deſpiſe. Whereof he complaineth to *Cornelius*, and ſaith, the Church cannot be well ordered, where the chief Miniſter by Order after the Judgment of the Scriptures, after the Agreement of the People, and the Conſent of his Fellow-Biſhops, is not obey'd. The Place of St. *Cyprian* expounded.

Bonner. Hath not the Biſhop of *Rome* always been ſupreme Head of the Church, and Chriſt's Vicar in Earth even from *Peter?*

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the Word of God he hath no more Authority, than the Biſhop of *London* hath.

Bonner. Was not *Peter* Head of the Church, and hath not the Biſhop of *Rome*, who is his Succeſſor, the ſame Authority?

Philpot. I grant that the Biſhop of *Rome*, as he is the Succeſſor of *Peter*, hath the ſame Authority as *Peter* had: But *Peter* had no more Authority than every one of the Apoſtles had.

Chancellor. Yes that St. *Peter* had; for Chriſt ſaid ſpecially unto him, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; which he ſpake to none other of his Diſciples ſingularly, but to him.

Philpot. St. *Auguſtine* anſwereth otherwiſe to the Objection, and ſaith, *That if in* Peter *there had not been the Figure of the Church, the Lord had not ſaid to him, To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Which if* Peter *received not, the Church hath them not; if the Church hath them, then* Peter *hath them not.* *Peter* beareth but a Figure of the Church.

Bonner. What if I can prove and ſhew you out of the civil Law, that all Chriſtendom ought to follow the holy catholick Church of *Rome*, as there is a ſpecial Title thereof, *De catholica Fide & ſancta Romana Eccleſia?* Bp. *Bonner*'s Divinity lieth much in the civil Law.

Philpot. That is nothing material, ſeeing the Things of God be not ſubject to Man's Laws; and the divine Matters muſt be ordered by the Word of God, and not of Man.

A Doctor. What will you ſay, if I can prove that Chriſt built his Church upon *Peter*, and that out of St. *Cyprian?* will you then believe that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be ſupreme Head of the Church?

Philpot. I know what St. *Cyprian* writeth in that Behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. St. *Cyprian* hath theſe Words, That upon *Peter* was built the Church, as upon the firſt Beginning of Unity.

Philpot. He declareth that in an Example, that Unity muſt be in the Church; he grounded on *Peter* his Church alone, and not upon Men. Which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the Book *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, ſaying, in the Perſon of one Man God gave the Keys to all, that he in Signification thereby might declare the Unity of all Men. The Place of St. *Cyprian* expounded.

A Doctor. What will you underſtand St. *Cyprian* ſo? That were good indeed.

Philpot.

Philpot. I think you cannot underſtand St. *Cyprian* better, than he doth declare himſelf.

Bonner. I will deſire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take ſome Pains with Mr. Doctor *Chedſey*, about his Examination, for I muſt go to the Parliament Houſe. And I will deſire you to dine with me.

Philpot. Then the Doctor again took his former Authority in Hand for want of another, and would have made a further Circumſtance, digreſſing from his Purpoſe. To whom I ſaid, he knew not whereabouts he went, and therewith he laughed. And I ſaid his Divinity was nothing but ſcoffing.

A Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and ſo went away.

Philpot. You are too young in Divinity to teach me in the Matters of my Faith. Tho' you may be more learned in other Things than I, yet in Divinity I have been longer practiſed than you, for any Thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too haſty to judge what you do not perfectly know.

Chancellor. Peter and his Succeſſors from the Beginning have been allowed for the ſupreme Head of the Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Chriſt ſaid unto him in St. *John* thrice, *Feed my Sheep.*

The Words of Chriſt to *Peter, Feed my Sheep,* expounded by *Go ye and preach.*

Philpot. That is no otherwiſe to be taken, than *Go ye and preach*; which was ſpoken to all the Apoſtles as well as unto *Peter*. And that Chriſt ſaid thrice, *Feed my Sheep*; it ſignifieth nothing elſe but the earneſt Study that the Miniſters of God ought to have in preaching the Word. God grant that you of the Clergy would weigh your Duty in this Behalf more than you do. Is this a juſt Interpretation of the Scripture, to take *Feed my Sheep*, for to be Lord of the whole World?

In this mean while a Batchelor of Divinity came in, which is a Reader of *Greek* in *Oxford*, belonging to the Biſhop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

Scholar. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a *Greek* Author called *Theophylact*, to interpret it ſo? Will you believe his Interpretation?

Philpot. Theophylact is a late Writer, and one that was a Favourer of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and therefore not to be credited, ſince his Interpretation is contrary to the manifeſt Words of the Scripture, and contrary to the Determination of many General Councils.

Scholar. In what General Council was it otherwiſe, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was not ſupreme Head over all?

In *Nice* Council the Biſhop of *Rome* was not ſupreme Head nor Preſident.

Philpot. In the Council of *Nice* I am ſure it was otherwiſe; for *Athanaſius* was there the chief Biſhop and Preſident of the Council, and not the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Scholar. Nay that is not ſo.

Philpot. Then I perceive you are better ſeen in Words than in Knowledge of Things; and I will gage with you what you will it is ſo, as you may ſee in the Epitome of the Councils.

Scholar. I will fetch *Euſebius* and ſhew the contrary, and the Book of General Councils. He went into my Lord's Cloſet, and brought *Euſebius*, but the General Councils he brought not, ſaying (for ſaving of his Honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwiſe in *Euſebius*, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhrank away confounded.

Chancellor. The Church of *Rome* hath been always taken for the catholick Church: Therefore I would adviſe you to come into the ſame with us. You ſee all the Men of this Realm do condemn you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

Philpot. I have ſaid, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the Church, which you make ſo much of, is a falſe Church, and a Synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned Men of the Realm do perſecute the true Church, and condemn ſuch as be more righteous than you.

Chancellor. Do you hear, Mr. Doctor, what he ſaith, that the Church of *Rome* is the Devil?

Chedſey. I wiſh you did think more reverently of the Church of *Rome*. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of St. *Auſtin*, in his Epiſtle written unto Pope *Innocent*, that the whole General Council of *Carthage* did allow the Church of *Rome* to be chiefeſt over all others?

Philpot. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch Thing. And with that he fetch'd me the Book of St. *Auſtin*, and turned to the Epiſtle, but he could not prove his Allegation manifeſtly, but by Conjectures in this wiſe.

Three blind Conjectures out of the Epiſtle of St. *Auſtin* to Pope *Innocent*, proving the See of *Rome* to be ſupreme Head.

Chedſey. Here you may ſee, that the Council of *Carthage* writing to *Innocent*, the Biſhop, calleth the See of *Rome* the apoſtolick See. And beſides this, they write to him certifying him of Things done in the Council for the Condemnation of the *Donatiſts*, requiring his Approbations in the ſame; which they would not have done if they had not taken the Church of *Rome* for the ſupreme Head of others. And moreover you may ſee how St. *Auſtin* doth prove the Church of *Rome* to be the catholick Church, by continual Succeſſion of the Biſhops until his Time, which Succeſſion we can prove until our Days: Therefore by the ſame Reaſon of St. *Auſtin* we ſay now, that the Church of *Rome* is the catholick Church.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I have conſidered how you do weigh St. *Auſtin*; and contrary to his Meaning and Words, you would infer your falſe Concluſion. As concerning that it was called by him the apoſtolical See, that is not material to prove the Church of *Rome* now to be the catholick Church. I will grant it now that it is the apoſtolick See, in Reſpect that *Paul* and *Peter* did once preach there the Goſpel, and abode there for a certain Seaſon. I would you could prove it to be the apoſtolical See of the true Religion and Sincerity as the Apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame; which if ye could do, you might boaſt of *Rome* as of the apoſtolical See; otherwiſe it is now of no more Force, than if the *Turk* at *Antioch* and at *Jeruſalem* ſhould boaſt of the apoſtolick Sees, becauſe the Apoſtles once did there abide, and founded the Church of Chriſt.

How the See of *Rome* may be called apoſtolical.

And whereas the whole Council of *Carthage* did write unto Pope *Innocent*, certifying him of what was done in the General Council, and willing him to ſet his helping Hand to the ſuppreſſing of the *Donatiſts*, as they had done; that Fact of the Council doth not prove the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, no more than if the whole Convocation-houſe now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain Articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome Biſhop that upon certain Impediments is not preſent, deſiring him to agree thereto, and to ſet them forth

Anno 1555. forth in his Dioceſs. Which Fact doth not make any ſuch Biſhop of greater Authority than the reſt, becauſe his Conſent is brotherly required.

The Scope of St. *Auguſtine*'s Argument is not to prove the Church of *Rome* therefore to be ſound in the Doctrine, becauſe it hath Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, but to prove the *Donatiſts* to be Schiſmaticks, for that the Church of *Rome* continuing both ſound in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and alſo in retaining ſtill Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles Time, yet they would forſake the Unity of that Church, and ſet up another Church of their own.

The Argument is this.

To diſſever from that Church which by continual Succeſſion of Biſhops deſcendeth from the Apoſtles, and keepeth the ſame Inſtitution ſtill in Faith and Doctrine, is to break the Unity of the Church, and to be Schiſmaticks.

The *Donatiſts* do ſo from the Church of *Rome*, having no juſt Cauſe of Doctrine ſo to do.

Ergo, The *Donatiſts* be Schiſmaticks.

And touching the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, brought in by St. *Auguſtine*, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the ſame catholick Church, unleſs you can conclude with the ſame Reaſon as St. *Auguſtine* doth. And the Rehearſal of the Succeſſion of the Biſhops doth tend to this only, to prove the *Donatiſts* to be Hereticks, becauſe they began as well at *Rome* as in *Africa*, to found another Church of their own ſetting up, than was grounded by *Peter* and *Paul*, and by their Succeſſors, whom he reciteth until his Time, which all taught no ſuch Doctrine, neither ſuch Church as the *Donatiſts*. And if preſently you be able to prove by the Biſhops of *Rome* (whereof you do glory) that ſuch Doctrine hath not been taught by any of the Succeſſors of *Peter*'s See, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good Reaſon againſt us: Otherwiſe it is of no Force, as I am able to declare.

Chancellor. Well Mr. Doctor, you ſee we can do no good in perſuading of him? Let us adminiſter the Articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How ſay you Mr. *Philpot* to theſe Articles? Mr. *Johnſon*, I pray you write his Anſwers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no Authority to enquire of me my Belief in ſuch Articles as you go about, for I am not of my Lord of *London*'s Dioceſs; and to be brief with you, I will make no further Anſwer herein than I have already to the Biſhop.

Chancellor. Why then let us go our Ways, and let his Keeper take him away.

Thus ended the ſeventh Part of his Tragedy.

A private Conference between Mr. Philpot *and Biſhop* Bonner.

EARLY the next Morning the Biſhop ſent one of his Men to me, to call me up into his Chappel to hear Maſs.

Biſhop's-man. Mr. *Philpot*, Where be you?

Philpot. Who is it that calleth me?

Biſhop's-man. My Lord's Will is, you ſhould riſe and come to hear Maſs: Will you come or no?

Philpot. My Stomach is not very good this Morning: You may tell my Lord I am ſick. After this the Keeper was ſent to bring me to my Lord.

The Keeper. Mr. *Philpot*, you muſt riſe and come to my Lord.

Philpot. I am at your Command, Mr. Keeper, as ſoon as I can: And going out of the Priſon, he asked me, ſaying:

The Keeper. Will ye go to Maſs?

Philpot. My Stomach is too raw to digeſt ſuch raw Meats of Fleſh, Blood, and Bone, this Morning.

After this my Keeper preſented me to the Biſhop in his Hall.

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, I charge you to anſwer unto ſuch Articles as my Chaplain and my Regiſter have from me to object againſt you; go and anſwer them.

Philpot. My Lord, all Judgments ought to be publick. Therefore if your Lordſhip have any Thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in Judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will anſwer according to my Duty; otherwiſe in Corners I will not.

Bonner. Thou art a fooliſh Knave I ſee well enough, thou ſhalt anſwer whether thou wilt or no; Go thy Ways with them, I ſay.

Philpot. I will go with them at your Lordſhip's Pleaſure; but I will make them no further Anſwers than I have ſaid already.

Bonner. No, wilt thou not Knave? Have him away, and ſet him in the Stocks: What, fooliſh Knave?

Philpot. Indeed my Lord, you handle me, with others, like Fools: And we muſt be content to be made Fools at your Hands, Stocks and Violence be your Biſhop-like Alms. You go about by Force in Corners to oppreſs, and be aſhamed that your Doings ſhould come to Light; God ſhorten your cruel Kingdom for his Mercies ſake. And I was put by and by into the Stocks, into an Houſe alone, ſeparate from my Fellows: God be praiſed that he hath thought me worthy to ſuffer any Thing for his Name's ſake. Better it is to ſit in the Stocks of this World, than to ſit in the Stocks of a damnable Conſcience.

Another Conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot, *and other Priſoners.*

PHILPOT. The next Day after, an Hour before Day, the Biſhop ſent for me again by the Keeper.

The Keeper. Mr. *Philpot* ariſe, you muſt come to my Lord.

Philpot. I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he ſendeth for me thus early, I fear he will uſe ſome Violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this Anſwer, That if he did ſend for me by an Order of Law, I will come and anſwer; otherwiſe, ſince I am not of his Dioceſs, neither is he mine Ordinary, I will not (without I be violently conſtrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will go and tell my Lord what Anſwer you make: And ſo he went away to the Biſhop, and immediately returned with two of the Biſhop's Men, ſaying, that I muſt come whether I would or no.

Philpot. If by Violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I muſt go, otherwiſe I will not; and therewith one of them took me with Force by the Arm, and led me up into the Biſhop's Gallery.

Bonner. What, thou art a fooliſh Knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetch'd.

Philpot. I am brought indeed (my Lord) by Violence unto you, and your Cruelty is ſuch, that I am afraid to come before you, I would your Lordſhip would gently proceed againſt me by the Law.

Bonner. I am blamed by the Lords the Biſhops,

ſhops, for that I have not diſpatched thee ere this. And in Faith I made Sute to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the Convocation-houſe, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of *Lincoln* ſtood up, and ſaid, that thou wert a frantick Fellow, and a Man that will have the laſt Word. And they all have much blamed me, becauſe I have brought thee ſo often before the Lords openly: And they ſay, it is Meat and Drink to you to ſpeak in an open Audience, you glory ſo of yourſelf. Wherefore I am commanded to take a farther Order with thee, and in good Faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further Delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is paſt, and thou ſhalt have no Hurt for any Thing that is already ſpoken or done.

This Biſhop of *Lincoln* was Dr. *White*.

Philpot. My Lord, I have anſwered you already in this Behalf, what I will do. And as for the Report of Mr. *White*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, I paſs not: Who is known to be mine Enemy, for that I being Archdeacon did excommunicate him preaching naughty Doctrine. If Chriſt my Maſter was called a mad Man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantick.

Mr. *Philpot* when Archdeacon excommunicated Biſhop *White* for preaching falſe Doctrine.

Bonner. Hadſt thou not a Pig brought thee the other Day with a Knife in it? Wherefore was it (pray thee) but to kill thyſelf? or, as it is told me (marry I am counſelled to take heed of thee) to kill me? But I fear thee not. I think I am able to tread thee under my Feet; do the beſt thou canſt.

Philpot. My Lord, I cannot deny but that there is a Knife in the Pig's Belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what Purpoſe, I know not, unleſs it were becauſe he that ſent the Meat thought I was without a Knife, and ſo put it in. But other Things your Lordſhip needeth not to fear: For I was never without a Knife ſince I came to Priſon. And touching your own Perſon, you ſhall live long if you ſhould live till I go about to kill you; and I confeſs by Violence your Lordſhip is able to overcome me.

Bonner. I charge thee to anſwer to mine Articles. Hold him a Book. Thou ſhalt ſwear to anſwer truly to all ſuch Articles, as I ſhall demand of thee.

Philpot. I will firſt know your Lordſhip to be mine Ordinary, before I ſwear herein.

Bonner. What, we ſhall have an Anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to ſwear before a Judge?

Philpot. My Lord, I am no Anabaptiſt, I think it lawful to ſwear before a competent Judge, being lawfully required. But I refuſe to ſwear in theſe Cauſes before your Lordſhip, becauſe you are not mine Ordinary.

Bonner. I am thine Ordinary, and here do pronounce by Sentence peremptory, that I am thine Ordinary, and that thou art of my Dioceſs: And here he ordered others to be called in to bear him witneſs. And I make thee (taking one of his Servants by the Arm) to be my Notary. And now hearken to my Articles, to which (when he had read them) he moniſhed me to make Anſwer, and ſaid to the Keeper, Fetch me his Fellows, and I ſhall make them to be Witneſſes againſt him.

In the mean while came in one of the Sheriff's of *London*, whom the Biſhop (calling for two Chairs) placed by him, ſaying, Mr. Sheriff, I would you ſhould underſtand how I do proceed againſt this Mar. Mr. Sheriff, you ſhall hear what Articles this Man doth maintain; and ſo read a Rabblement of feigned Articles: That I ſhould deny Baptiſm to be neceſſary to them that were born of chriſtian Parents, that I deny'd Faſting and Prayer, and all other good Deeds, and I maintained only bare Faith to be ſufficient to Salvation, whatſoever a Man did beſides, and I maintained God to be the Author of all Sin and Wickedneſs.

Falſe Articles feigned againſt Mr. *Philpot*.

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Philpot. Ha, my Lord, have ye nothing of Truth to charge me withal, but ye muſt be fain to imagine theſe blaſphemous Lies againſt me? You might as well have ſaid I had killed your Father. The Scriptures ſay, *That God will deſtroy all Men that ſpeak Lies.* And is not your Lordſhip aſhamed to ſay before this worſhipful Gentleman (who is unknown to me) that I maintain theſe abominable Blaſphemies which you have rehearſed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an Heretick, and to be burnt an hundred Times if it were poſſible.

Bonner. I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt ſay in them, and how thou canſt clear thyſelf of them.

Philpot. Then it was not juſtly ſaid of your Lordſhip in the Beginning, that I did maintain them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe Articles you have read, in Form as they are written.

Bonner detected in a Lie.

Bonner. How ſaiſt thou? wilt thou anſwer to them or no?

Philpot. I will firſt know you to be mine Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch Things, and then afterward being lawfully called in Judgment, I will ſhew my Mind fully thereof, and not otherwiſe.

Bonner. Well, then I will make thy Fellows to be Witneſſes herein againſt thee: Where are they? come.

Other Priſoners called in to bear Witneſs againſt Mr. *Philpot*.

Keeper. They be here, my Lord.

Bonner. Come hither Sirs (hold them a Book) You ſhall ſwear to the Contents of that Book, that you ſhall (all Manner of Affections laid apart) ſay the Truth of all ſuch Articles as you ſhall be demanded of concerning this Man here preſent, who is a very naughty Man, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much Hurt, and ſtrengtheneth you in your Errors.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not ſwear, except we know whereto: We can accuſe him of no Evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

The Priſoners refuſed to be ſworn againſt Mr. *Philpot*.

Philpot. I wonder your Lordſhip knowing the Law, will go about, contrary to the ſame, to have infamous Perſons to be Witneſſes, for your Lordſhip doth take them to be Hereticks, and by the Law an Heretick cannot be a Witneſs.

Bonner. Yes, one Heretick againſt another may be well enough. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a Witneſs againſt another.

Bonner againſt proceedeth againſt the Law.

Philpot. You have the Law in your Hand, and you will do what you liſt.

Priſoners. No, my Lord.

Bonner. No, will you not? I will make you ſwear, whether you will or no. I think they be Anabaptiſts, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to ſwear before a Judge.

Note how the Biſhops make Anabaptiſts.

Philpot. We think it lawful to ſwear for a Man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind Corner.

Bonner. Why then, ſeeing you will not ſwear

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ſwear againſt your Fellow, you ſhall ſwear for yourſelves, and I do here in the Preſence of Mr. Sheriff object the ſame Articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you under pain of Excommunication, to anſwer particularly unto every one of them when ye ſhall be examined, as ye ſhall be by and by examined by my Regiſter and ſome of my Chaplains.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not accuſe our ſelves. If any Man can lay any Thing againſt us we are here ready to anſwer thereto: Otherwiſe we pray your Lordſhip not to burden us; for ſome of us are here before you, we know no juſt Cauſe why.

Bonner. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward Men. And ſo he roſe up, and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

Philpot. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth againſt us in Corners, without all Order of Law, having no juſt Cauſe to lay againſt us. And after this were all commanded to be put in the Stocks, where I ſat from Morning until Night; and the Keeper at Night upon Favour let me out.

Another private Conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot *in the Coal-houſe.*

PHILPOT. The *Sunday* after, the Biſhop came into the Coal-houſe at Night with the Keeper, and viewed the Houſe, ſaying, that he was never there before: Whereby a Man may gueſs how he hath kept God's Commandment in viſiting the Priſoners, ſeeing he was never with them that have been ſo nigh his Noſe: And he came not then for any good Zeal, but to view the Place, and thought it too good for me, and therefore after Supper, between eight and nine, he ſent for me, ſaying;

Bp. *Bonner* viewing his Coal-houſe.

Bonner. Sir, I have great Diſpleaſure of the Queen and the Council for keeping you ſo long, and letting you have ſo much Liberty; and beſides that, you be yonder and ſtrengthen the other Priſoners in their Errors, as I have laid wait for your Doings, and am certify'd of you well enough; I will ſequeſter you therefore from them, and you ſhall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of Hand diſpatch you as I am commanded, unleſs you will be a conformable Man.

Philpot. My Lord, you have my Body in your Cuſtody, you may tranſport it whither you pleaſe; I am content. And I wiſh you would make as quick Expedition in my Judgment as you ſay; I long for it: And as for Conformity, I am ready to yield to all Truth, if any can bring better than I.

Bonner. Why, will you believe no Man but yourſelf, whatſoever they ſay?

Philpot. My Belief muſt not hang upon Mens Sayings, without ſure Authority of God's Word, which if any can ſhew me, I will be pliant to the ſame; otherwiſe, I cannot go from my certain Faith to that which is uncertain.

Bonner. Have you then the Truth only?

Philpot. My Lord I will ſpeak my Mind freely unto you, and upon no Malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the Truth, neither are you of the Church of God; but you perſecute both the Truth and the true Church of God, for which Cauſe you cannot proſper long. You ſee God doth not proſper your Doings according to your Expectation: He hath of late ſhewed his juſt Judgment againſt one of your greateſt Doers, who by Report died miſerably. I envy not your Authority you are in. You that have Learning ſhould know beſt how to rule. And ſeeing God hath reſtored you to your Dignity and Living again, uſe the ſame to God's Glory, and to the ſetting forth of his true Religion; otherwiſe it will not continue, do what you can. With this Saying he pauſed, and at length ſaid;

He meaneth *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Good Counſel given to Biſhop *Bonner.*

Bonner. That good Man was puniſhed for ſuch as thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him have him to the Place that is provided for him. Go your Way before.

Philpot. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aſide, commanding to keep all Men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the Sequel did declare) and brought me to his Privy-door that goeth into the Church, and commanded two of his Men to accompany the Keeper, and to ſee me placed.

Mr. *Philpot* conveyed into a cloſe Tower joining to *Paul's* Church.

And afterwards I paſſed through *Paul's* up to *Lollard's* Tower, and after that turned along the Weſt-ſide of St. *Paul's* through the Wall; and paſſing through ſix or ſeven Doors, came to my Lodging through many Straits; where I called to Remembrance, that ſtrait is the Way to Heaven. And it is in a Tower right on the other Side of *Lollard's* Tower, as high almoſt as the Battlements of *Paul's*, eight Foot in Breadth, and thirteen in Length, and almoſt over the Priſon where I was before, having a Window opening toward the Eaſt, by which I may look over the Tops of a great many Houſes, but ſee no Man paſſing into them: And whoſo walketh in the Biſhop's upper Gallery going to his Chappel, may ſee my Window, and me ſtanding in the ſame.

Mr. *Philpot* ſearched for Writings.

And as I came to my Place, the Keeper pluck'd off my Gown, and ſearched me very narrowly, and took away Penner, Inkhorn, Gridle, and Knife, but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an Errand to the Stool, where (full ſore againſt my Will) I caſt away many a ſweet and friendly Letter: But that which I had written of my laſt Examination before, I thruſt into my Hoſe, thinking the next Day to have made an End thereof; and with walking it was fallen down to my Leg, which he by feeling did ſoon eſpy, and asked what that was. I ſaid, they were certain Letters: And with that he was very buſy to have them out: Let me alone, ſaid I, I will pluck them out: With that I put in my Hand having two other Letters therein, and brought up the ſame Writing into my Breeches, and there left it, given him the other two Letters that were not of any great Importance; which to make a Shew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they ſnatched them from me, and ſo deluded him (I thank God) of his Purpoſe.

The Copy of his Examinations by God's great Providence preſerved.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, ſaid, that I did not deliver the Writing I had in my Hoſe, but two other Letters I had in my Hand before. Did he not? quoth he; I will go and ſearch him better: Which I hearing, convey'd my Examination I had written, into another

Place

Place near my Bed, and took all my Letters I had in my Purſe, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the ſame out of the Window, ſaying, That I heard what he ſaid; wherefore I did prevent his ſearching again, and I was right glad. God be prailed that gave me that preſent Shift to blind their Eyes from the Knowledge of my Writings, which if they had known, it would have been a great Occaſion of ſtraiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth Examination of Mr. Philpot, *before the Biſhop of* London, *the Biſhop of* St. David's, *Mr.* Mordant, *and others, in the Biſhop's Chapel.*

THE next Day after, my Keeper came in the Morning before Day to call me down, and ſo I was brought down into his Wardrobe, wherewith a Keeper I was left, and there continued all the Day. But after Dinner I was called down into the Chapel, before the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *St. David*'s, Mr. *Mordant* one of the Queen's Council, Mr. Archdeacon of *London*, and before a great many more *Baalamites*. And the Biſhop ſpake unto me in this wiſe.

Bonner. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the Preſence of my Lord of *St. David*'s, and of Mr. *Mordant*, and of theſe worſhipful Men, theſe Articles here in this Libel contained; and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have anſwered to ſome of his Blaſphemies, he would not permit me; but ſaid, I ſhould have leiſure to ſay what I would when he had ſpoken.

And unto theſe here I add another Schedule. Alſo I require thee to anſwer to the Catechiſm ſet forth in the ſchiſmatical Time of King *Edward*. Alſo I will thee to anſwer to certain Concluſions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. And I here do bring forth theſe Witneſſes againſt thee in thine own Preſence, namely, my Lord of *St. David*'s, Mr. *Mordant*, and Mr. *Harpsfield*, with as many as were preſent in the Diſputation he made in the Convocation-houſe: Willing you to teſtify, of your Oaths taken upon a Book, his ſtubborn and irreverent Behaviour he did there uſe againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. Give me a Book, and receiving one, he opened the ſame, ſaying, I will teach him here one Trick in our Law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of *St. David*'s, becauſe you are a Biſhop, you have this Privilege, that you may ſwear by looking on the Goſpel-book, without touching of the ſame. And ſo he opened the Book in his Sight, and ſhut it again, and cauſed the others to put their Hands on the Book, and took their Oath, and deſired them to reſort to his Regiſter to make their Depoſitions when they might be beſt at leiſure: And afterwards he turned to me and ſaid, Now Sir, you ſhall anſwer but two Words, whether you will anſwer to theſe Articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?

Philpot. My Lord, You have told a long Tale againſt me, containing many lying Blaſphemies, which cannot be anſwered in two Words: Beſides this, you promiſed me at the Beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my Defence, and now will you not give me Leave to ſpeak? What Law is this? Anno 1555. Papiſts keep no Promiſe.

Bonner. Speak yea or nay, for you ſhall ſay no more at this Time,

The Cauſe was, as I gueſs, that he ſaw ſo many there gathered to hear.

Philpot. Then my two Words you would have me ſpeak, ſhall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient Judge. Mr. *Philpot* appealeth from Biſhop *Bonner*.

Bonner. Indeed Mr. *Mordant*, he hath appealed to the King and to the Queen; but I will be ſo bold with her Majeſty, to ſtay that Appeal in mine own Hands.

Philpot. You will do what you pleaſe, my Lord, you have the Law in your Hands.

Bonner. Wilt thou anſwer or no?

Philpot. I will not anſwer otherwiſe than I have ſaid.

Bonner. Regiſter, note his Anſwer that he maketh.

Philpot. Knock me on the Head with an Hatchet, or ſet up a Stake and burn me out of Hand, without further Law; you may as well do ſo, as do what you do, for all is without Order of Law: Such Tyranny was never ſeen as you uſe now-a-days; God of his Mercy deſtroy your cruel Kingdom. And whilſt I ſpake this, the Biſhop went away in haſte.

St. Davids. Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you be quiet, and have Patience with you.

Philpot. My Lord, I thank God I have Patience to bear and abide all your cruel Intents againſt me: Notwithſtanding I ſpeak this earneſtly, being juſtly moved thereto, to notify your unjuſt and cruel dealing with Men in Corners, without all due Order of Law.

After this at Night I was conducted again by three or four into the Coal-houſe.

The ninth Examination of Mr. Philpot *before Biſhop* Bonner *and his Chaplains.*

THE next Day, betimes in the Morning I was called down by my Keeper, and brought again into the Wardrobe, where I remained till the Biſhop had heard his Maſs, and afterward he ſent up for me into his inward Parlour, and there he called for a Chair to ſit down, and brought his infamous Libel of his forged Articles in his Hand, and ſate down, willing me to draw near unto him, and ſaid:

Bonner. I am this Day appointed to tarry at Home from the Parliament-houſe, to examine you and your Fellows upon theſe Articles, and you ſtand dallying with me, and will neither anſwer to nor fro. I know all your Exceptions will not ſerve you. Will it not be a fair Honeſty for you, think ye, that when thou comeſt before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, and other worſhipful Audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I have had thee many Times before me, and before ſo many learned Men, and then thou couldſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy Brags of Learning, neither wouldſt anſwer directly to any Thing?

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Philpot. My Lord, I have told you my Mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to loſe that Privilege the Law giveth me, which is free Choice to anſwer where I am not bound, and this Privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compell'd otherwiſe.

Bonner. Well, I perceive you will play the obſtinate Fool. Lay thine Appellation when thou comeſt in Judgment, and anſwer in the mean while to theſe Articles.

Philpot. No, my Lord, by your Leave I will not anſwer to them, until my lawful Appeal be tried.

Bonner. Well, thou ſhalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

Philpot. I ſhrank back into the Window, and looked on a Book, and after he had read them over he ſaid unto me:

Bonner. I have read them over, although it hath not pleaſed you to hear me, I marvel, in good Faith, what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilful and ſtubborn, ſeeing thou mayeſt do well enough if thou liſt. It is but a Singularity; doſt thou not ſee all the Realm againſt thee?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſpeak unto you in the Witneſs of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded to mine own Will, neither ſtand upon my own Stubbornneſs or Singularity, but upon my Conſcience inſtructed by God's Word: And if your Lordſhip can ſhew better Evidence than I have for a good Faith, I will follow the ſame.

Bonner. What thou wilt not, lo, for all that. Well, all that is paſt ſhall be forgotten; if thou wilt be conformable unto us. I know thou mighteſt find as much Favour as thou wouldſt deſire.

Then I perceiving that he fawned ſo much upon me, thought it good to give him ſome Hope of my relenting, to the Intent I might give him and his hypocritical Generation openly a further Foil, perceiving that they dare reaſon with none but ſuch as are unlearned, and for lack of Knowledge not able to anſwer, or elſe with ſuch as they have a Hope that for Fear or Love of the World will recant: I ſaid, my Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the Audience of a great Number, ſtood to the Maintenance of theſe Opinions I am in, and by Learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the World that I am won by Learning, or elſe what will they ſay, but that either for Fear, or Love of the World, I am without any Ground turned from the Truth? And if I hear any kind of Learning openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may require me.

Bonner. Yea marry, now ye ſpeak ſomewhat like a reaſonable Man. You might have had a great Deal more Favour in my Houſe, and Liberty than you have had; and you ſhall lack nothing that is within my Houſe; call for it and you ſhall have it. And what is it that you would openly by Learning ſomewhat be ſatisfied in? Tell me.

Philpot. My Lord, I have openly ſaid, and do believe it alſo, that your Sacrifice of the Maſs is no Sacrament.

Bonner. What do you deny the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament?

Philpot. No, my Lord, I deny not the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, but I have denied the Sacrament of the Altar as it is uſed in your Maſs, to be the true Sacrament of Chriſt's Inſtitution; and firſt it muſt be proved a Sacrament before there can be any Preſence granted.

Bonner. Why, do you deny the Maſs to be a Sacrament? I pray you what is a Sacrament? Is it not a Sign of a holy Thing, as St. *Auſtin* doth define it?

Philpot. Yes verily that it is.

Bonner. Then I make this Argument unto you: A Sacrament is the Sign of a holy Thing: But the Maſs is the Sign of a holy Thing: *Ergo*, It is a Sacrament.

This Argument in the ſecond Figure concluding affirmatively, doth not hold by Logick.

Philpot. You muſt add this to your Major, or firſt Propoſition, as St. *Auguſtine* doth mean, that a Sacrament is the Sign of a holy Thing inſtituted of God, and commanded; for otherwiſe it can be no Sacrament; for all Men cannot make a Sacrament.

Bonner. I grant that; and ſuch a Sign of a holy Thing is the Maſs of Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Philpot. I deny that, my Lord.

Bonner. I will prove this by St. *Auguſtine* by and by. I will go ſhew you the Book, and you ſhall have any Book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there? Call me Mr. Doctor *Chedſey*, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. *Coſins*, and other Chaplains hither.

The Biſhop being brought to a narrow Strait, is fain to call for more Help.

Here, my Lord: Mr. Doctor *Chedſey* is gone to *Weſtminſter*, and Mr. Archdeacon *Harpsfield* was here even now.

Bonner. Mr. *Coſins*, I pray you examine him upon theſe Articles, and write the Anſwer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his Fellows, and ſend you St. *Auguſtine* by and by. I find this Man more conformable than he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my Lord, you ſhall find him at length a good catholick Man. Marry, here be a Sight of Hereſies; I dare ſay you will hold none of them, nor ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the Firſt:

Philpot. Mr. *Coſins*, I have told my Lord already, that I will anſwer to none of theſe Articles he hath objected againſt me; but if you will with Learning anſwer to that which is in Queſtion between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.

Coſins. Will you not? Why what is that then that is in Queſtion between my Lord and you.

Philpot. Whether your Maſs be a Sacrament or no.

Coſins. What, the Maſs to be a Sacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Philpot. If it be an undoubted Truth, you may the ſooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why, I will prove it. It is the Sign of a holy Thing; *Ergo*, it is a Sacrament.

Philpot. I deny your Antecedent.

Coſins. What, will you ſo? then there is no reaſoning with you.

Mr. *Coſins* giveth out in the plain Field.

Thus Mr. *Coſins* gave over in the plain Field for want of further Proof. And then the Morrow Maſs Chaplain began to ſpeak for his Occupation: And with that Mr. *Harpsfield* came out from my Lord with St. *Auguſtine*'s Epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpsfield. My Lord hath ſent you here St. *Auguſtine* to look upon, and I pray you look what he ſaith in a certain Epiſtle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the Celebration of the Maſs, and how it reproveth them that went a Hawking and Hunting before the Celebration of the ſame, on the Sabbath and Holidays.

Philpot. I perceive the Contents of this Epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither any Thing that maketh for the Proof of your Sacrament of the Maſs.

Harpsfield. No, doth he not make mention of the Maſs, and the Celebration thereof? what can be ſpoken more plain?

The Epiſtle of St. *Auguſtine* alledged for Confirmation of the Maſs, anſwered how it is derived.

Philpot. St. *Auſtin* meaneth of the Celebration of the Communion, and of the true Uſe of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and not of your private Maſs, which you of late Years have erected in the Stead thereof; for this Word Maſs hath been an old Term, attributed to the Communion even from the primitive Church. And I pray you tell me what *Miſſa* doth ſignify? I think not many that ſay Maſs can well tell.

Coſins. No, can they not? that is a marvel.

Philpot. Then tell me if you can. But Mr. *Coſins* and my Morrow Maſs Chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Mr. *Harpsfield* for help, and at length he ſpake.

Harpsfield. You think it cometh of the *Hebrew* Word *Maſſah*, as though none were ſeen in the *Hebrew* but yourſelf.

Philpot. I have not gone ſo long to School, to derive the Signification of *Miſſa*, which is a *Latin* Word, out of *Hebrew:* But I have learned to interpret *Greek* Words by *Greek*, and *Latin* by *Latin*, and *Hebrew* by *Hebrew*; I take the Communion to be called *Miſſa*, *a Mittendo*, of ſuch Things as at the Celebration of the Communion were ſent by ſuch as were of Ability, to the Relief of the Poor, where the Rich brought according to their Devotion and Ability, and required the Miniſter in the Celebration of the Communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common Alms, which they at ſuch Times did ſend for the Help of their poor Brethren and Siſters; and for this Cauſe was it called *Miſſa*, as learned Men do witneſs. At which Celebration of the Maſs, all that were preſent did communicate under both Kinds, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, as they did in St. *Auguſtine*'s Time. But unleſs you can ſhew that your Maſs is uſed as it then was, ye ſhall never by the Name of Maſs (which St. *Auguſtine* attributed to the true Uſe of the Communion) prove your private Maſs to be a Sacrament, unleſs ye can prove the ſame now to be in your Maſſes as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpsfield. What, deny you the Maſs to be a Sacrament? for Shame ſpeak it not.

Philpot. I will not be aſhamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

Harpsfield. Why, it is a Sacrifice, which is more than a Sacrament.

Philpot. You may make of it as much as you liſt: But you ſhall never make it a Sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but firſt it muſt be a Sacrament, for of the Sacrament you deduce your Sacrifice.

Harpsfield. Why? doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* and doth not the Prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt did?

A Sacrament is no Sacrament without its Uſe.

Philpot. The Pronunciation only is not enough, unleſs the Words be therewithal apply'd to the Uſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For though ye ſpeak the Words of Baptiſm over Water never ſo many Times, yet there is no Baptiſm unleſs there be a chriſtian Perſon to be baptized.

Harpsfield. Nay, that is not alike; for, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, is an indicative Propoſition, ſhewing a Working of God in the Subſtance of Bread and Wine. Anno 1555.

Philpot. It is not only an indicative Propoſition, but alſo imperative or commanding. For he that ſaid, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, that is, *This is my Body*, ſaid alſo, *Accipite, manducate*, that is, *Take ye, eat ye.* And except the former Part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt's Sacrament be accompliſhed according to the Communion; the latter, *This is my Body*, can have no Verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-maſs Chaplain. Why then you will make the Sacrament to ſtand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament.

Receiving maketh not the Sacrament, yet the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper without it be received, is no Sacrament.

Philpot. I do not ſay, that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament, but I ſay, that a common receiving muſt needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a neceſſary Member, without which it cannot be a Sacrament, becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principal Part of the Sacrament, *Take ye, eat ye*, which you do not in your Maſs according to Chriſt's Inſtitution; wherefore, it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Coſins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as liſt may be Partakers with us at the Maſs if they require it.

Philpot. Nay, that they ſhall not, though they require it, you will miniſter but one Kind unto them, which is not after Chriſt's Inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you go to Maſs, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, for Chriſt's Paſſion with you, and exhort them to be Partakers with you, according to Chriſt's Commandment, ſaying unto all that be preſent, *Take ye, eat ye:* And likewiſe by preaching ſhew forth the Lord's Death, which you do not.

Coſins. What if all Things be done, even as you would have it, and whilſt the Miniſter is about to adminiſter the Sacrament, before any have received it there ariſe a ſudden Hurly-burly, that the Communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a Sacrament for all that none hath communicated beſides the Prieſt?

Philpot. In this Caſe, where all Things are appointed to be done according to God's Word, if incident Neceſſity had not hindered, I cannot ſay but it is a Sacrament, and that he who hath received, hath received the true Sacrament. After this, the Morrow-maſs Prieſt made this Apiſh Reaſon.

Morrow-maſs Prieſt. If the Sacrament of the Maſs be no Sacrament, unleſs all do receive it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *Take ye, eat ye*, then the Sacrament of Baptiſm is no Sacrament where there is but one baptized, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Go preach the Goſpel to all Creatures, baptizing all Nations, In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

Philpot. In that Saying of Chriſt, *Baptizing all Nations*, is a Commandment to the Apoſtles, to baptize all Sorts of Men, and to exclude none that believe, be he *Gentile* or *Jew*, not meaning all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many Examples that Baptiſm may be ſingularly miniſtred to one Perſon, as we have Example of Chriſt baptized of *John*, and in the Eunuch baptized of *Philip*, with many more ſuch like: But ſo have you not of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe by the expreſs Words of St. *Paul*, you are commanded to

Anno 1555. to uſe it in a Communion and Participation of many together; 1 *Cor.* 11. *As oft as ye come together to eat* (meaning the Lord's Supper) *tarry one for another.* And alſo the Miniſter in the Celebration of the Sacrament ſpeaketh unto all that be preſent in Chriſt's Behalf, to communicate with him, ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye.* Wherefore, as many as be preſent and do not communicate, break God's Commandment in not receiving the ſame, and the Miniſter is no juſt Miniſter that doth not diſtribute the Sacrament as Chriſt did, to all that are preſent; and where God's Word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no Sacrament.

At the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper all that be preſent ought to communicate.

Harpsfield. What, would you have it no Sacrament without it be a Communion?

Philpot. I make it not ſo, but God's expreſs Word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo all the ancient Writers; as *Chryſoſtom* writing upon the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, ſaith, That the Oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the Prieſt. If by his Judgment the Action of the Prieſt alone is in vain, where is no Communion, how can that be a Sacrament, which he calleth a vain Oblation, and a vain Standing at the Altar?

Chryſoſt. in ep. ad Eph.

It is no Sacrament without it be a Communion.

Coſins. Such a Fellow I have never heard, you will not have the Maſs to be a Sacrament; you are no Man for me to reaſon withal. Come let us go, pointing to the Morrow Maſs Chaplain: We will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and ſo they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earneſt Perſwaſions with me, ſaying:

Harpsfield. Mr. *Philpot*, you and I have been acquainted theſe many Years; we were School Fellows both in *Wincheſter* and in *Oxford.* Wherefore I muſt wiſh you as well to do as myſelf, and I pray you ſo think of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your Good-will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am ſure you are) I ſhall deſire you not to wiſh me deceived with you. For before God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain falſe Religion, and be not thoſe Men you take yourſelves for: And if you do not repent, and leave off your perſecuting of Chriſt's Truth, you will go to the Devil for it. Therefore conſider it in Time, I give you warning, for elſe in the Day of Judgment I ſhall be a Witneſs againſt you, that I told you this here talking together.

Harpsfield. Fie, that is but your own ſingular Opinion; I perceive you are now ſtill that Man you were at *Oxford.*

Philpot. I truſt you can report no notorious Evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harpsfield. I can ſay no Evil of your Converſation, but I knew you to be a ſtudious Man. Marry, if you remember when we met in Diſputation in *Parvis*, you would not lightly give over, and for that Cauſe I ſpeak what I have ſaid.

Philpot. Mr. *Harpsfield*, you know in the Schools of *Oxford*, when we were young Men, we did ſtrive much upon Vain-glory, and upon Contention, more than for the Truth; but now our Years and our riper Learning teach us to fall to a Truth, which muſt be our Portion for ever. And if I was then, in my Time of Ignorance, earneſt in my own Cauſe, I ought now to be earneſt in my Maſter Chriſt's Cauſe, and his Truth. I know now that nothing done upon Vain-glory and Singularity can pleaſe God, have it never ſo godly a Shew: Wherefore I pray you judge not ſo of me now.

Harpsfield. What, will you think yourſelf better learned, than all the learned Men in this Realm?

Philpot. My Faith hangeth not upon the Learned of the World, but upon the Learned of God's Word.

Harpsfield. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your Heart.

Philpot. I pray God open both our Hearts, to do more his Will, than we have done in Times paſt.

Harpsfield. Ho, Keeper, take him away with you.

Philpot. I pray you Mr. *Harpsfield*, tell me what this Pronoun *(Hoc)* doth demonſtrate, and ſhew, in this indicative Propoſition, as you call it, *Hoc eſt Corpus meum*, This is my Body?

Harpsfield. It doth demonſtrate the Subſtance of Bread, which by the Words ſpoken by the Prieſt, and by the Omnipotency of God, is turned into the Subſtance of Chriſt's very Body.

Philpot. Is the Subſtance of Bread, as you ſay, turned into Chriſt's Body?

Harpsfield. Yea, that it is.

Philpot. Why, then Chriſt's Body receiveth daily a great Increaſe of many thouſand Pieces of Bread into his Body, and that is his Body become now, which was not before, and by this you would ſeem to make, that there is an Alteration in Chriſt's glorify'd Body, which is a wicked Thing to think.

Harpſ. Then he fetch'd about again, and remembring himſelf better, and ſeeing the Inconvenience of his firſt Aſſertion, of the Tranſubſtantiation of Bread into Chriſt's Body, he ſaid, That the Subſtance of Bread, after the Words ſpoken by the Prieſt, was evacuated or vaniſhed away by the Omnipotency of God.

Mr. *Harpsfield* in a double Tale.

Philpot. This is another Song than you ſang firſt: And here you may ſee how contrary you are to yourſelves. For indeed your Schoolmen do hold, That the very Subſtance of Bread is really turned into the very Subſtance of Chriſt's Body. And now you perceiving of late the Inconvenience which is objected againſt you in that Opinion, you are driven to imagine a new Shift, and ſay, The Subſtance of Bread is evacuated, contrary to that which your Church hath at firſt believed and taught. O what Contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere Truth?

Contrariety in Popiſh Doctrine.

Harpsfield. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath ſaid?

Philpot. But his Omnipotence will not do as you ſay, contrary to his Word and to his Honour. It is not God's Honour to include him bodily into a Piece of Bread, and of Neceſſity to tie him thereto. It is not God's Honour for you to make a Piece of Bread God and Man, which you ſee before your Face doth putrify after a certain Time. Is not God's Omnipotence as able to give his Body with the ſacramental Bread, as to make ſo many Turnings away of the Bread, as you do, and that directly againſt the Scripture, which calleth it Bread many Times after Conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many Alterations of the Lord's holy Inſtitution as you do, and to take away the ſubſtantial Parts of the Sacrament, as, *Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this; do ye this in Remembrance of me:* And

The ſubſtantial Parts of the Sacrament taken away by the Papiſts.

to place in their Stead, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worſhip ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the Quick and the Dead? If this be not Blaſphemy to God and his Sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this Sort, and that contrary to the Mind of all ancient Writers, and contrary to the Example of Chriſt and all his Apoſtles, tell me.

Harpsfield. I know you have gathered the Sayings of the Doctors together which make for your Purpoſe; I will talk no longer with you.

Mr. *Harpsfield* giveth over for lack of good Matter.

Philpot. I pray God open both our Hearts, to do more his Will than we have done in Times paſt.

Harpsfield. Ho, Keeper, take him away with you.

The tenth Examination of Mr. Philpot *before Biſhop* Bonner, *his Regiſter, and others.*

THE next Day after Dinner I was brought into my Lord's upper Hall, and there he called me before him and his Regiſter, and before Dr. *Chedſey*, in the Preſence of two homely Gentlemen, and a Prieſt that I knew not: At which Time the Biſhop ſaid:

Bonner. I do here lay unto this Man in your Preſence (requiring you to be a Witneſs againſt him, as much as you know in any of them) theſe Articles, this Book of the Catechiſm made in King *Edward*'s Days, alſo theſe Concluſions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; alſo I lay unto him, that he hath deſpiſed the Cenſures of the Church, and hath ſtood accurſed above this Twelve-month, and never required Abſolution thereof. How ſay you, wert thou not accurſed by my Lord Chancellor?

Mr. *Philpot* excommunicated by *Stephen Gardiner* without Order of Law.

Philpot. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any juſt Cauſe, and without Order of Law, being never perſonally cited.

Bonner. Didſt thou not tell me the other Day when I required thee to come to the Maſs, that thou waſt excommunicated, and therefore by the Law couldſt not hear Maſs? How long haſt thou been thus excommunicated?

Philpot. More than a Year and a Half.

Bonner. Lo, you may hear what he ſaith: Write it.

Philpot. But as you would have written that I have ſaid, I have been thus long excommunicated; ſo alſo let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my Abſolution, but he would not give it me, ſaying, That I was *Excommunicatus ipſo jure*, becauſe I was an Heretick, as it pleaſed him to call me, therefore accurſed by your Law, and ſo commanded me to Priſon, where I remain.

Gentleman. Why do you not require Abſolution at my Lord's Hands here now?

Philpot. Becauſe he is not mine Ordinary, neither hath by the Law any Thing to do with me of right.

Bonner. What an obſtinate Fool is this? I tell thee I will be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. *Philpot* again appealeth from the Biſhop of *London*.

Philpot. And becauſe of this your unrighteous Force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Mr. Regiſter, that my Appeal may be entered in Writing.

Anno 1555.

Bonner. Have you heard ſuch a froward Fellow as this? He ſeemed Yeſterday to be very tractable, and I had a good Hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my Dioceſs.

Philpot. I am of *Wincheſter* Dioceſs, and not of *London* Dioceſs.

Bonner. I pray you may not a Man be of two Dioceſſes at once?

Philpot. No, that he cannot.

Bonner. Lo, will you ſee what an ignorant Fool this is in the Law, in which he would ſeem to be ſeen? I tell thee a Man may be of three Dioceſſes at once: As if thou wert born in *London*, by reaſon thereof thou ſhouldſt be of my Dioceſs; or elſe if thou wert not born, but hadſt a Dignity here, alſo thou art to be counted of my Dioceſs, or elſe by reaſon of thy Habitation in my Dioceſs.

Philpot. In none of theſe Reſpects am I of your Lordſhips Dioceſs. But for all that, this will not follow, that I dwelling at *Wincheſter*, am at that preſent of *London* Dioceſs.

Bonner. What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Philpot. But what ſhall I win if you do not?

Bonner. I will give thee my Biſhoprick if I prove it not.

Philpot. Yea, but who ſhall deliver it me if I win?

Bonner. Thou art an arrogant Fool, enter their Oaths, and take the Witneſſes Depoſitions, I muſt be gone to the Parliament-houſe.

After this a Prieſt who was ſtanding by asked me, whether I was Kin to my Lord *Rich* or no.

I ſaid, my Lord *Rich* ſaid ſo himſelf to me the other Day, but how I know not.

Chedſey. I heard him ſay he was his nigh Kinſman.

Baalamite. Why then you and I muſt be of Kin, for he is my nigh Kinſman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary Judgments?

Philpot. It is no marvel, for Chriſt propheſied, *That the Father ſhall be divided againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father, for my Truth ſake.*

Baalamite. You do hold, as I underſtand, againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the holy Maſs.

Philpot. If you can prove it a Sacrament, I will not hold againſt you.

Baalamite. What prove it a Sacrament, ſaid he? Doth not St. *Paul* ſay, *That ſuch Things as the Eye hath not ſeen, neither Ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?*

Philpot. That Saying of St. *Paul* concerneth nothing your Sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly Joys that are prepared for all faithful Believers.

Baalamite. Why then I perceive you underſtand not St. *Paul.* By God, you are deceived.

Philpot. You ought not to ſwear Kinſman, if you will that I ſhall ſo call you: And without diſ-worſhip of our Kindred, I underſtand St. *Paul* as well as you, and know what I ſay; and with that ſhewed him a *Greek* Teſtament with *Eraſmus*'s Tranſlation, and with the old alſo, demanding him which Text he was beſt acquainted withal.

Baalamite. I knew *Greek* too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Anno 1555.

Philpot. You know them then all alike; you underſtand the one as well as the other. With this my *Baalamite* Kinſman departed in a Fury.

The next Day after I was brought down again after Dinner to the Chappel, and there my *Baalamite* Kinſman (to verify the Scriptures, that a Man's own Kinsfolks ſhall be his Enemies) came in with the Biſhop as a Witneſs againſt me: And there the Biſhop cauſed another that came to him about other Matters, to ſwear alſo to be a Witneſs againſt me, who was a Prieſt alſo, ſaying,

A Witneſs ſworn againſt Mr. *Philpot.*

Bonner. You ſhall ſwear to depoſe all the Truth of certain Articles you ſhall be enquired of concerning this Man; and here I (according to the Law) do bring them forth in thy Preſence.

Philpot. My Lord, I do not agree to the Production of them, but do appeal from all theſe and other your Proceedings againſt me; and require you Mr. Regiſter, that my Appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your Labour.

Regiſter. Your Appeal ſhall be entered at leiſure. Whom do you appeal unto? Tell me.

Philpot. I appeal to a higher Judge, as to the Lieutenant of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, for I know not who is Biſhop thereof at this preſent. With that the Biſhop went away, and my *Baalamite* Kinſman looking big upon me, but ſaid never a Word.

Thus have I in haſte ſcribbled out all mine Examinations hitherto, that the ſame which hath been done unto me in Dark might come to Light, and that the Papiſts unjuſt Proceedings, and Nakedneſs in their falſe Religion, might be known to their Confuſion. Jeſus is *Emanuel*, that is, God with us, *Amen.* 1555.

The eleventh Examination of Mr. Philpot, *on St.* Andrew's *Day, before the Biſhops of* Durham, Chicheſter, Bath, *and* London, *Mr.* Chriſtopherſon, *Dr.* Chedſey, *Mr.* Morgan *of* Oxford, *Mr.* Huſſey, *Dr.* Weſton, *Dr.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon, Mr.* Coſins, *and Mr.* Johnſon *Regiſter to the Biſhop of* London, *in his Palace.*

BEING ſent for with my Keeper, the Biſhop of *London* met me in his Hall-door, and full mannerly he played the Gentleman-uſher to bring me before the Lords, ſaying,

My Lords, I ſhall deſire you to take ſome Pains with this Man, he is a Gentleman, and I would he ſhould do well, but he will wilfully caſt away himſelf.

Durham. Come hither Sir, what is your Name?

Philpot. My Name is *Philpot.*

Durham. I have heard of that Name to be a worſhipful Stock, and ſince you are a Gentleman, do as you may live worſhipfully among other Gentlemen. What is the Cauſe of your Trouble now?

I told him the Cauſe, as in my former Examinations is expreſſed.

Durham. Well, all Cauſes ſet apart, will you now be a conformable Man to the catholick Faith, and leave all new-fangled Opinions and Hereſies? I was in *Germany* with *Luther* at the Beginning of theſe Opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholick Church throughout the whole World, as the whole Realm now doth.

Philpot. My Lord, I am in the catholick Faith, and deſire to live and die in the ſame: But it is not unknown to your Lordſhip that I with others theſe twenty Years have been taught another Manner of Faith than you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requiſite that we have a Time to weigh the ſame, and to hear how it agreeth with God's Word. For Faith is at a ſudden neither won, neither removed, but as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word.*

Papiſts will have Faith to be compelled.

Chicheſter. And if you will give me Leave, my Lord, I will ſhew him how he taketh the Saying of St. *Paul* amiſs, as many others now-a-days alledging the ſame do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas St. *Paul* meaneth of Infidels, and not of the Faithful; and ſo St. *Auſtin* writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, ſaith, That the Faithful may be compelled to believe.

Faith ought not to be compelled.

Philpot. St. *Bernard* (if it pleaſe your Lordſhip) doth take that Senſe of St. *Paul* as I do, ſaying, that Faith muſt be perſuaded to a Man, and not injoined. And St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of ſuch as were firſt thoroughly perſuaded by manifeſt Scriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubborn Wilfulneſs.

Chicheſter. So *Bernard* meaneth of Infidels alſo.

Philpot. No, my Lord, that he doth not, for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he writeth of ſuch as were deceived by Errors.

Chicheſter. My Lord of *Durham*, I have been ſo bold to interrupt your Lordſhip of your Tale, I pray you now proceed on.

Durham. Mr. *Philpot*, will you be of the ſame catholick Faith and Church with us you were baptized in, and your Godfathers promiſed for you, and hold as we do, and then may you be rid out of Trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is Pity but you ſhould do well.

Philpot. I am of the ſame catholick Faith and catholick Church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die.

Durham. That is well ſaid; if you hold there you cannot but do well.

Chicheſter. Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwiſe than you do. Are you of the ſame Faith your Godfathers and Godmothers were, or no?

Philpot. I cannot tell what Faith they were of certainly, but I am of the Faith I was baptized unto, which is the Faith of Chriſt: for I was not baptized into the Faith of my Godfathers, but in the Faith of Chriſt.

Chicheſter. St. *Auſtin* ſaith, That Infants are baptized in the Faith of their Godfathers.

Philpot. St. *Auguſtine* in ſo ſaying, meaneth of the Faith of Chriſt, which the Godfathers do, or ought to believe, and not otherwiſe.

Durham. How ſay you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the Realm, or no? and be of one Church with us?

Philpot. My Lords, it is not unknown to you, that there hath been always two Churches.

Chicheſter. Nay, that is not ſo: There is but one catholick Church.

Philpot. I ſhall deſire your Lordſhips to hear out my Tale, and to take my Meaning. For I know there is but one true Church; but always from the Beginning there hath been joined to the ſame true Church a falſe Church, Adverſary to the true: And that was declared at the Firſt in *Abel* and *Cain*, who perſecuted and ſlew his Brother, in whom (as St. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) is repreſented the falſe and true Church. And after that, as ſoon as God had choſen his peculiar People, and ſhewed unto them his Sanctuary, holy Statutes, and Will, anon after roſe the falſe Church, and ten of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael* divided themſelves from the true Church of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and made to themſelves at *Bethel*, and ſet up golden Calves, and yet pretended therewith to ſerve God, and ſo abuſed his Word. Notwithſtanding, God was diſpleaſed with them, and ceaſed not his Wrath, until he had utterly deſtroyed them.

Dr. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* driven to a Strait.

Chicheſter. I will grant you before the coming of Chriſt, there were two Churches in the old Law; but in the new Law ſince Chriſt's coming, you cannot ſhew it to be ſo by the Scripture.

Philpot. Yes, my Lord, that I can, if you will give me Leave. After Chriſt had choſen his twelve Apoſtles, was there not a *Judas* in the new Law, and a *Simon Magus?* and were not they of the falſe Church?

Chicheſter. Yea, but I mean after the Goſpel was written, where can you find me two Churches after Chriſt had aſcended, and ſent the Holy Ghoſt?

Philpot. The Goſpel was within eight Years after the Aſcenſion written by St. *Matthew*, and the Writing thereof is not material to the Declaration of theſe two Churches to have been always from Time to Time, as by Example it may be ſhewed: And yet as bad as my Memory is, I remember in the New Teſtament is mention made of two Churches, as it appeareth in the *Revelations*, and alſo as St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians* maketh mention, that Antichriſt with his falſe Generation, ſhall ſit in the Temple of God. To which *Chicheſter* reply'd not.

Durham. The Church in the Scripture is likened to a great Fiſher's Net, which containeth in it both good Fiſh and bad Fiſh. I truſt you will be of the better Sort, and lean to the Truth.

Philpot. My Lord, it is my whole Deſire now to follow that which is good, whatſoever I have done in Times paſt, and to cleave to God's Truth.

Durham. Do you ſo, and then ſhall you do well: It is almoſt Night, my Lord of *London*, I muſt needs be gone.

The Biſhops begin to be weary of their Part.

Bonner. Nay, my Lord of *Durham*, I muſt deſire your Lordſhip, and my Lord of *Chicheſter*, to tarry a little while. And before he had ſo ſaid, the Biſhop of *Bath* went his Way without ſaying any Word. What, my Lord of *Bath*, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My Lords, I have earneſt Matters to charge this Man withal, whereof I would your Lordſhips to be made privy, and I have them here written in a Libel, I pray you ſit down again, or elſe I will.—— Firſt, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous Saying, *Quod Spiritus eſt Vicarius Chriſti in terra*, that is, *The Holy Ghoſt is Chriſt's Vicar in Earth.* Wilt thou abide by this Saying of thine; that the Spirit is Chriſt's Vicar on Earth? Anno 1555.

Philpot. My Lord, it is not my Saying, it is a more learned Man's than mine: For I uſe not to write my own Sayings, but the notable Sayings of other ancient Writers, as all others be where ye find the ſame written. And as I remember, it is even the Saying of St. *Bernard*, and a Saying that I need not be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my Lord of *Durham*, and my Lord of *Chicheſter*, by their Learning can diſcern, and will not reckon it ill ſaid.

Bonner. Will they not? Why, take away the firſt Syllable, and it ſoundeth *Arius*.

Philpot. That is far fetch'd indeed; if your Lordſhip will ſcan Men's Sayings in ſuch wiſe, you may find out what you liſt.

Bonner. But to help this, I find moreover with his own Hand in another Book; *In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, ſuperabundavit & gratia*; that is, *In me* John Philpot, *where Sin did abound, Grace hath ſuperabounded.* I pray you what ſuperabundant Grace have you more than other Men? So ſaid *Arius*, That he had the Abundance of Grace above all others.

Philpot. My Lord, you need not be offended with that Saying more than the other, for it is the Saying of St. *Paul* himſelf, and I did apply it to myſelf for my Comfort, knowing that though my Sins be huge and great in the Sight of God, yet is his Mercy and Grace above them all. And concerning *Arius* and his Adherents, I defy them, and it is well known that I have written againſt them. *Rom.* 5. 1 *Tim.* 1.

Bonner. Alſo I lay to thy Charge that thou killeſt thy Father, and waſt accurſed of thy Mother in her death-bed, as I can bring Witneſs thereof.

Philpot. O Lord, what Blaſphemy is this! Hath your Lordſhip nothing of Truth to charge me withal, (but as I may ſpeak it with your Honour) ſuch blaſphemous Lies? If any of theſe can be proved, I will promiſe here to recant at *Paul*'s Croſs, what you will have me: I am ſo ſure they are as great Blaſphemies as may be objected againſt any Man. Ha, my Lords, I pray you conſider how my Lord of *London* hath hitherto proceeded againſt me: For indeed he hath none other but ſuch pretenſed ſlanderous Lies.

Chicheſter. They be *Parerga*; that is, Matters beſide the Purpoſe.

Durham. My Lord, I muſt needs bid you farewel.

The Biſhops are quite tired of *Bonner*'s Nonſenſe.

Bonner. Nay my Lord, here is a Letter which I ſhall deſire you to hear e're you go. This Man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write Letters out of Priſon, and pervert a young Gentleman called Mr. *Green*, in my Houſe, (call him hither) and hath made a falſe Report of his Examination, as you ſhall hear, not being content to be Evil himſelf, but to make others as bad as himſelf. He tore the Letter when he ſaw my Man went about to ſearch him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and cauſed a Copy to be written thereof; and he read the torn Letter, bidding Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* and *Morgan* to mark the Copy thereof.

The Contents of the Letter was the Examination

Anno 1555. tion of Mr. *Green* before the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of Mr. *Fecknam* Dean of *Paul*'s, and of divers others, whoſe ready Anſwers in the Scriptures and in the Doctors were wondered at by the Dean himſelf, and of many others, as *Fecknam* did report: And that he was committed to Dr. *Chedſey*, and to have his Meat from the Biſhop's own Table. How ſay you, my Lords, was this well done of him, being my Priſoner, to write this? and yet he hath written a ſhameful Lie, that he was in Dr. *Chedſey*'s keeping. How ſay you, Mr. Dr. *Chedſey*, is it not a ſhameful Lie?

Chedſey. Yes, my Lord, he was never in my keeping.

Bonner. Art thou not aſhamed to write ſuch ſhameful Letters? Come hither Mr. *Green*, Did not I ſhew you this Letter?

Green. Yea forſooth, my Lord, you ſhew'd it me.

Bonner. How think you, my Lords, is not this an honeſt Man to belie me?

Philpot. Your Lordſhip doth miſtake all Things. This Letter (as your Lordſhip may perceive, and all others that have heard the ſame) was not written by me, but by a Friend of mine, certifying me at my Requeſt, how Mr. *Green* ſped at the Biſhop of *London*'s Hands: And there is nothing in the Letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my Report.

Bonner. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Philpot. No, my Lord, it is not my Duty to accuſe my Friend: And eſpecially ſeeing you will take all Things at the worſt: Neither ſhall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your Lordſhip may ſee in the End of the Letter, that my Friend did write unto me upon the Occaſion of my Appeal which I have made to the whole Parliament-houſe about ſuch Matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Bonner. I would ſee any ſo hardy to put up thine Appeal.

Philpot. My Lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, ſpeed it as it may.

Bonner. My Lords, I have uſed him with much Gentleneſs ſince he came to me. How ſayſt thou, have I not?

Note *Bonner*'s great Gentleneſs to a Gentleman by Birth, and an Archdeacon, as Mr. *Philpot* properly and legally was.

Philpot. If to lie in the vileſt Priſon in this Town (being a Gentleman and an Archdeacon) and in a Coal-houſe, for the Space of five or ſix Weeks already, without Fire or Candle, may be counted Gentleneſs at your Hands, I muſt needs ſay I have found Gentleneſs. But there were never Men ſo cruelly handled as we are at theſe Days.

Bonner. Lo, what a Varlet is this. Beſides this, my Lords, even Yeſterday he procured his Man to bring a Bladder of black Powder, I cannot tell for what Purpoſe.

Philpot. Your Lordſhip needeth not to miſtruſt the Matter: It is nothing but to make Ink withal for lack of Ink, as I had it before in the King's-Bench when the Keeper took away my Inkhorn.

Bonner. And why ſhouldſt thou go about any ſuch Thing unknown to me, being thy Keeper? for I am thy Keeper in this Houſe, I tell thee.

Philpot. My Lord, becauſe you have cauſed my Pen-caſe and Inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet be glad my Friends ſhould know what I lack, not that I intend to write any Thing that I would be afraid ſhould come to your Sight.

Bonner. More than this, my Lords, he cauſed a Pig to be roaſted, and made a Knife be put between the Skin and the Fleſh, for what Purpoſe judge you. How ſayſt thou, didſt thou not ſo?

Philpot. I cannot deny but there was half a Pig ſent me, and under the ſame a Knife lying in the Sauce, but for no ill Purpoſe that I know; your Lordſhip may judge what you will. It was not to kill myſelf nor any other, as you would have Men to believe? for I was never yet without a Knife ſince I came to Priſon. Therefore all theſe are but falſe Surmiſes, and not worth Rehearſal.

Bonner. I have here to lay to his Charge (chiefeſt of all) his Book of the Report of the Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, which is the rankeſt Hereſy that may be againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you, Mr. Dr. *Weſton*, did he maintain the ſame there ſtubbornly, or no?

Weſton. Yea, my Lord, that he did, and would never be anſwered. And it is pity that the ſame worſhipful Congregation ſhould be ſlandered with ſuch untrue Reports.

Philpot. You anſwered me indeed, Mr. Doctor (being then Prolocutor) goodly, with, Hold thy Peace, and, Have him to Priſon, and, Put him out of the Houſe. I have read the Book, and I find the Report of every Man's Argument to be true in all Points. And if there be any Fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your Doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did uſe me, being an Archdeacon, and not of the worſt in the Houſe.

Dr. *Weſton*'s chief Arguments in the Convocation-Houſe.

Weſton. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Philpot. Indeed, Mr. Doctor, ye have amongſt you un-archdeacon'd me as now, (I thank God for it) and that without all Order of Law.

Bonner. I pray you, my Lords, hearken to what he writeth of himſelf, I read it over this Morning, and made a Note of it. He ſaid that Dr. *Weſton* called him Frantick and Madman, and ſaid, he ſhould go to Bedlam.

Philpot. Indeed my Lord, ſo it pleaſed Dr. *Weſton* to taunt at me, and ſay his ſhameful Pleaſure, but yet I was not one Whit the more ſo for all his Sayings, than Chriſt was when the Scribes and Phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a Devil moſt blaſphemouſly.

Durham. My Lord of *London*, I can tarry no longer, I muſt needs bid you farewel. Mr. *Philpot*, methinketh you have ſaid well that you will abide in the catholick Faith, and in the catholick Church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo departed with Dr. *Weſton* and Mr. *Huſſey*.

The Biſhop of *Durham* and Dr. *Weſton* give over the Matter.

Philpot. I have purpoſed ſo to do, howſoever I ſpeed, by God's Grace.

Bonner. I pray you, my Lord of *Chicheſter*, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Dr. *Morgan*, to commune with him while I bring my Lord of *Durham* going.

Chriſtopherſon. Mr. *Philpot* I was acquainted with you at *Rome*, if you remember it, but you have forgotten me, and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe Matters, and I find you now the ſame Man that you were then, I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For God's ſake be conform-

able

able to Men that be better learned than you, and ſtand not in your own Conceit.

Philpot. Whereas you call me in Remembrance of Acquaintance had at *Rome*, indeed it was ſo, tho' it were but very ſtrange on your Part to me-ward, being driven to Neceſſity.

Chriſtopherſon. You know the World was dangerous at that Time.

Wiſdom in God's Matters conſiſteth not in Man's Learning.

Philpot. Nothing ſo dangerous as it is now; but let that paſs. Whereas you ſay, you find me to be the ſame Man I was then, I praiſe God that you ſee me not like a Reed wavering with every Wind. And whereas you would have me follow better and learned Men than myſelf; indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whoſe Books, in reſpect of Learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: But Faith and the Wiſdom of God conſiſteth not in Learning only, and therefore St. *Paul* willeth that our Faith be not grounded upon the Wiſdom of Man. If you can ſhew by Learning out of God's Book, that I ought to be of another Faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other Man whatſoever he be.

Chriſtopherſon. I marvel why you ſhould diſſent from the catholick Church, ſince it hath thus long univerſally been received, except within theſe five or ſix Years here in *England*.

Philpot. I do not diſſent from the true catholick Church, I do only diſſent from the Biſhop of *Rome*, which if you can prove to be the catholick Church of Chriſt, I will be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſtopherſon. Will you believe St. *Cyprian*, if I can ſhew out of him, That the Church of *Rome* is ſuch a one, unto which Misbelief cannot approach?

Philpot. I am ſure you cannot ſhew any ſuch Saying out of St. *Cyprian*.

Chriſtopherſon. What will you lay thereon?

Philpot. I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promiſe to recant, if I ſhew his Saying to be true.

Philpot. My Faith ſhall not hang upon any Doctor's Saying, further than he ſhall be able to prove the ſame by God's Word.

Chriſtopherſon. I will go fetch the Book, and ſhew it him by and by, and therewithal he went into the Biſhop's Study, and brought *Cyprian*, and pointed out theſe Words in one of his Epiſtles, *Ad Romanos autem, quorum Fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt accedere perfidia*; that is, *But unto the* Romans, *whoſe Faith by the Teſtimony of the Apoſtle is praiſed, Misbelief can have no Acceſs.*

Cyprian ad Cornel. lib. 1. epiſt. 3.

Philpot. Theſe Words of *Cyprian* do nothing prove your pretended Aſſertion, which is, That to the Church of *Rome* there could come no Misbelief.

Chriſtopherſon. Good Lord, doth it not? What can be ſaid more plainly?

Philpot. He ſpeaketh not of the Church of *Rome* abſolutely.

Chriſtopherſon. By God, a Child that can but ſay his Grammar, will not deny that you do, the Words be ſo plain.

Philpot. Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh *Cyprian*'s Words with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I have ſaid.

Chriſtopherſon. I am no Doctor, but I perceive it is but Labour loſt to reaſon with you.

Dr. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, ſhrinketh away.

And with that the Biſhop of *London* came in blowing again, and ſaid, What, is my Lord of *Chicheſter* gone away alſo? (for he even a little before departed alſo without any other Word, than that he muſt needs be gone.) What (ſays *Bonner*) is the Matter you now ſtand upon?

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Morgan. Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* hath ſhew'd Mr. *Philpot* a notable Place of the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and he maketh nothing of it.

Bonner. Where is the Place? Let me ſee. By my Faith here is a Place alone. Come hither, Sir, what ſay you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this Place with St. *Paul*'s own Teſtimony, in the firſt Chapter to the *Romans*, where he ſaith, That their Faith is preached throughout the World: How can you be able to anſwer to this?

Philpot. Yes, my Lord, it is ſoon anſwer'd, if you will conſider all the Words of *Cyprian*; for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his Time were faithful at *Rome*, and followed the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, as he had taught them, and as it was notify'd throughout the World, by an Epiſtle which he had written in the Commendation of their Faith. With ſuch as are praiſed by St. *Paul* at *Rome*, for following the true Faith, Misbelief can have no Place. And if you can ſhew, that the Faith which the Church of *Rome* holdeth now, is that Faith which the Apoſtle praiſed and allowed in the *Romans* in his Time, then will I ſay what St. *Cyprian* then ſaid, and with you, That Infidelity can have no Place there; but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſtopherſon. You underſtand *Cyprian* well indeed; I think you never read him in your Life.

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can ſhew you a Book noted with mine own Hand: Though I have not read ſo much as you, yet I have read ſomewhat. It is a Shame for you to wreſt and wreath the Doctors as you do, to maintain a falſe Religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright; and indeed your falſe packing of Doctors together, hath given me and others occaſion to look upon them, whereby we find you ſhameful Liars, and Miſreporters of the ancient Doctors.

Morgan. What, will you be in Hand to allow Doctors now? they of your Sect do not ſo. I marvel therefore that you will allow them.

Philpot. I do allow them in as much as they do agree with the Scriptures, and ſo do all they which be of the Truth, howſoever you term us, and I praiſe God for that good Underſtanding I have received by them.

Chriſtopherſon. What, you underſtand not the Doctors, you may be aſham'd to ſay it.

Philpot. I thank God, I underſtand them better than you; for you have *Excæcationem Cordis*, The Blindneſs of Heart; ſo that you underſtand not truly what you read, no more than the Wall here, as your taking of *Cyprian* doth declare. And before God you are but Deceivers of the People, for all the Brag you make of Learning; neither have ye Scripture or ancient Doctor on your Side, being truly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the Doctors be on our Side, and againſt you altogether.

Philpot. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your Pulpits alone, and none to anſwer you. But if you will come to caſt Accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a Recantation, that I (as little Sight as I have in the Doctors)

Anno 1555. Doctors) will bring more Authorities of ancient Doctors on my Side than you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other Side yield. Are ye willing ſo to do.

Chriſtopherſon. It is but Folly to reaſon with you, you will believe no Man but your ſelf.

Philpot. I will believe you or any other learned Man, if you can bring any Thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain Words from my Faith. Before God there is no Truth in you.

Morgan. What, no Truth? no Truth? Ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. Except the Articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other Things, and found in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you, do we not believe well on the Sacrament?

Philpot. It is the Thing which (among all others) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Philpot. I have told you before Mr. Doctor, in the Convocation-houſe.

Morgan. Yes marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your Knees, and fell to weeping, Ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. I did weep indeed, and ſo did Chriſt upon *Jeruſalem*, and am not to be blamed for it, if you conſider the Cauſe of my weeping.

Morgan. What, make you yourſelf Chriſt, Ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. No Sir, I make not myſelf Chriſt; but I am not aſhamed to do as my Maſter and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your Infidelity and Idolatry, which I there foreſaw thro' Tyranny you would bring again to this Realm, as this Day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your Argument.

Chriſtopherſon. Wherein do we abuſe the Sacrament? tell us.

Philpot. As I may touch but one of the leaſt Abuſes, you adminiſter it not in both Kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the People, contrary to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

Chriſtopherſon. Why, is not there as much contained in one Kind, as in both? And what need is it then to miniſter in both Kinds?

Philpot. I believe not ſo: For if it had, Chriſt would have given but one Kind only; for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous: And therefore you cannot ſay that the whole Effect of the Sacrament is as well in one Kind, as in both, ſince the Scripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Chriſtopherſon. What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may adminiſter it in one Kind? The Apoſtles did ſo, as it may appear in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* in one or two Places, where it is written, that the Apoſtles continued *in Prayers and in breaking of Bread*, which is meant of the Sacrament.

Philpot. Why, Mr. Doctor, do you not know that St. *Luke*, by making mention of breaking of Bread, meaneth the whole Uſe of the Sacrament according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, by a Figure which you have learned in Grammar, * *Synecdoche*, where Part is mentioned and the whole underſtood to be done, as Chriſt commanded it?

* *Synecdoche* is a Figure when by one Thing or by Part, the whole is underſtood.

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo: For I can ſhew you out of *Euſebius*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that there was a Man of God, whom he named, that ſent the Sacrament in one Kind by a Boy, to one that was ſick.

Philpot. I have read indeed that they did uſe to give what was left of the Communion-bread to Children, to Mariners, and to Women, and ſo peradventure the † Boy might carry a Piece of what was left to the ſick Man.

† *Euſebius* hath theſe Words, *He gave a little of the Sacrament to the Boy.* Which Words may very well comprehend both Parts: And it ſeemeth by the Words that follow, that Part of it was Liquor, for it is written in the ſame Place, *He commanded that he ſhould pour it and drop it into the Man's Mouth, and ſo he did.* *Euſeb.* in *eccl. hiſt. l.* 6. *cap.* 44.

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, as a Sacrament it was purpoſely ſent unto him.

Philpot. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay, that he had not the Cup adminiſtred unto him alſo by ſome other ſent unto him: But though one Man did uſe it thus, doth it follow that all Men may do the like? St. *Cyprian* noteth many Abuſes of the Sacrament in his Time, which roſe upon ſingular Mens Examples, as uſing of Water inſtead of Wine: Therefore he ſaith, *We muſt not look what any Man hath done before us, but what Chriſt firſt of all did and commanded.*

Chriſtopherſon. Hath not the Church taught us ſo to uſe the Sacrament? And how do we know that Chriſt is Homousios, that is, of one Subſtance with the Father, but by the Determination of the Church? How can you prove that otherwiſe by expreſs Words of Scripture, and where find you Homousios in all the Scriptures?

Philpot. Yes that I do in the Firſt of the *Hebrews*, where it is written that Chriſt is the expreſs Image of God's own Subſtance, *Ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ.*

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo. That is, there is no more but *Expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ*, The expreſs Image of God's Subſtance, and Image is Accident.

Philpot. It is in the Text, Of his Subſtance, *Subſtantiæ illius*, or of his own Subſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf in St. *John* manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying, *I and the Father be one Thing, Ego & pater unum ſumus.* And whereas you ſay, *Imago* here is Accidence, the ancient Fathers uſe this for a ſtrong Argument to prove Chriſt to be God, becauſe he is the very Image of God.

Chriſtopherſon. Do they? Is this a good Argument, becauſe we are the Image of God, *Ergo*, We are God?

Philpot. We are not called the expreſs Image of God, as it is written of Chriſt, and we are but the Image of God by Participation; and as it is written in *Geneſis*, We are made to the Likeneſs and Similitude of God. But you ought to know, Mr. *Chriſtopherſon*, that there is no Accident in God, and therefore Chriſt cannot be the Image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame Subſtance with God.

Chriſtopherſon. Tuſh.

Morgan. How ſay you to the Preſence of the Sacrament? Will you ſtand here to the Judgment of your Book, or no? Or will you recant?

Philpot. I know you go about to catch me in Words. If you can prove that Book to be of my ſetting forth, lay it to my Charge when I come to Judgment.

Morgan. Speak, be you of the ſame Mind as this Book is of, or no? Sure I am, you were once, unleſs you are become another Manner of Man than you were.

Philpot. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now, but this I will ſay to you by the Way, that if you can

prove the Sacrament of the Maſs (as you now uſe it) to be a Sacrament, I will then grant you a Preſence; but firſt you muſt prove the ſame a Sacrament, and afterward treat of the Preſence.

Morgan. Ho, do you doubt that it is a Sacrament?

Philpot. I am paſt doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a Sacrament.

Chriſtopherſon. Yea, do you? Good Lord, doth not St. *Auguſtine* call it the Sacrament of the Altar? How ſay you to that?

Philpot. That maketh nothing for the Probation of your Sacrament. For ſo he with other ancient Writers do call the Holy Communion or Supper of the Lord, in reſpect that it is the Sacrament of the Sacrifice which Chriſt offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, which Sacrifice all the Altars and Sacrifices done upon the Altars in the old Law did prefigure and ſhadow, which pertaineth nothing to you Sacrament hanging upon your Altars of Lime and Stone.

Chriſtopherſon. Doth it not? I pray you what ſignifieth Altar?

Philpot. Not as you falſly take it materially, but for the Sacrifice of the Altar of the Croſs.

Chriſtopherſon. Where find you it ever ſo taken?

Philpot. Yes that I do in St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* the thirteenth Chapter, where he ſaith, *We have an Altar, of which it is not lawful for them to eat that ſerve the Tabernacle.* Is not Altar in this Place taken for the Sacrifice of the Altar, and not for the Altar of Lime and Stone?

Chriſtopherſon. Well, God bleſs me out of your Company. You are ſuch an Heretick, as I have not heard the like.

Philpot. I pray God keep me from ſuch blind Doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they ſay, then they fall to reviling (as ye do now) for lack of better Proof. In the mean while the Biſhop of *London* was talking with ſome others hard by, and at length came in to ſupply his Part, and ſaid:

Bonner. I pray you Maſters, hearken what I ſhall ſay to this Man. Come hither Mr. *Green:* And now, Sir, (pointing to me) you cannot think it ſufficient to be naught yourſelf, but muſt go about to procure this young Gentleman by your Letters to do the like.

Philpot. My Lord, he cannot ſay that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any ſuch Matter, as he here can teſtify.

Green. No, you never wrote unto me.

Bonner. Why, is not this your Letter which you did write concerning him.

Philpot. I have ſhewed your Lordſhip my Mind concerning that Letter already: It was not written to Mr. *Green*, neither was he privy to the Writing thereof.

Bonner. How ſay you then, if a Man be in an Error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a Caſe?

Philpot. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Bonner. If Mr. *Green* here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

Philpot. Yes that I am, and will do the uttermoſt of my Power therein.

But the Biſhop remembring himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his Expectation be holpen at my Mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an Error, ceaſed to go any farther in his Demand, and called Mr. *Green* aſide, and before his Regiſter read him a Letter, I know not the Contents thereof: And therewithal he gave Mr. *Green* the Book of my Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, and afterwards went aſide, communing with Mr. *Chriſtopherſon*, leaving Mr. *Morgan*, Mr. *Harpsfield* and Mr. *Coſins*, to reaſon with me in the hearing of Mr. *Green*. Anno 1555.

Morgan. Mr. *Philpot*, I would ask you how old your Religion is?

Philpot. It is older than yours by a thouſand Years and more.

Morgan. I pray you where was it fifty Years ago?

Philpot. It was in *Germany* apparent by the Teſtimony of *Huſs*, *Jerome* of *Prague* and *Wickliff*, whom your Generation an hundred Years ago and more, did burn for preaching the Truth unto you; and before their Time and ſince hath been, although under Perſecution it hath been put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous ſtrange Religion, which no Man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to ſee God's Truth through Violence oppreſſed; for ſo it hath been from the Beginning from Time to Time, as it appeareth by Hiſtory, and as Chriſt's true Religion is now to be found here in *England*, although Hypocriſy hath by Violence the upper Hand. And in the *Revelations* you may ſee it was propheſied, that the true Church ſhould be driven into Corners, and into the Wilderneſs, and ſuffer great Perſecutions.

Morgan. Ah, are you ſeen in the *Revelations?* there are many ſtrange Things. Scoffing *Morgan.*

Philpot. If I tell you the Truth which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out ſo earneſt Matters: Methinks you are more like a Scoffer in a Play, than a reaſonable Doctor to inſtruct a Man, you are barearſed, and dance naked in a Net, and you ſee not your own Nakedneſs.

Morgan. What I pray you, be not ſo quick with me, let us talk a little more coldly together.

Philpot. I will talk with you as mildly as you can deſire, if you will ſpeak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with Taunts to delude the Truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why, will not you ſubmit your Judgment to the learned Men of this Realm?

Philpot. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good Conſcience ſettle my Faith, more ſurely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifeſt Word.

Morgan. Can they not? it is a marvel that ſo many learned Men ſhould be deceived.

Philpot. It is no marvel by St. *Paul*, for he ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 2. *That not many wiſe, neither many learned after the World be called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel.*

Morgan. Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I ſay not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true Faith of Chriſt, have the Spirit of God as well as I.

Morgan. How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

Philpot.

Anno 1555.

Philpot. By the Faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan. Ah, by Faith do you ſo? I think it is the Spirit of the Buttery, which your Fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the Night before they went to their Death, and I believe went drunken unto it.

Philpot. It appeareth by your Communication, that you are better acquainted with the Spirit of the Buttery than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I muſt now tell thee, thou painted Wall and Hypocrite, in the Name of the Living Lord, whoſe Truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain Fire and Brimſtone upon ſuch Scorners of his Word and Blaſphemers of his People as thou art.

Morgan. What, you rage now.

Philpot. Thy fooliſh Blaſphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to ſpeak that which I have ſaid to thee, thou Enemy of all Righteouſneſs.

Morgan. Why do you judge me ſo?

Philpot. By thine own wicked Words I judge of thee, thou blind and blaſphemous Doctor; for as it is written, *By thy Words thou ſhalt be juſtified, and by thy Words thou ſhalt be condemned.* I have ſpoke on God's Behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morgan. Why then I tell thee *Philpot*, thou art an Heretick, and ſhalt be burned for thine Hereſy, and afterwards go to Hell-fire.

Philpot. I tell thee, thou Hypocrite, that I mind not thy Threats of Fire and Faggots; neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand in fear of the ſame: My Faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them. But the Hell-fire with which thou threatneſt me, is thy Portion, and is prepared for thee, (unleſs thou ſpeedily repent) and for ſuch Hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What, thou ſpeakeſt upon Wine, thou haſt tippled well to Day by likelihood.

Philpot. So ſaid the curſed Generation to the Apoſtles, being repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſpeaking the wondrous Works of God, they ſaid they were drunk, when they had nothing elſe to ſay, as thou doſt now.

Morgan. Why, I am of Opinion I am able to anſwer thee.

Philpot. So it ſeemeth, with Blaſphemies and Lies.

Morgan. Nay, even with Learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Philpot. That appeared well at my Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, where thou didſt undertake to anſwer thoſe few Arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wert not able to anſwer one; but in thine Anſwers did fumble and ſtammer, that the whole Houſe was aſhamed of thee: And the final Concluſions of all thine Anſwer was, that thou couldſt anſwer me if I were in the Schools at *Oxford.*

Morgan. What, did I ſo? thou belieſt me.

Philpot. I do not bely thee, the Book of the Report of the Diſputation beareth Record thereto, and all that were preſent then can tell thou ſayſt ſo, if they liſt. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that Spirit of Truth which ſpeaketh in me for the Defence of Chriſt's true Religion. I am able by the Might thereof to drive thee round about this Gallery before me: And if it would pleaſe the Queen's Majeſty and her Council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for Shame ſhrink behind the Door.

Morgan. Yea, would you ſo?

Philpot. Thou haſt the Spirit of Illuſion and Sophiſtry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of Truth. Thou art but an Aſs in the true Underſtanding of Things appertaining unto God. I call thee Aſs, not in reſpect of Malice, but in that thou kickeſt againſt the Truth, and art void of all godly Underſtanding, not able to anſwer to that thou braggeſt in.

Morgan. Why, have I not anſwered thee in all Things thou haſt ſaid unto me? I take them to record.

Philpot. Ask of my Fellow whether I be a Thief.

Coſins. Hark, he maketh us all Thieves.

Philpot. You know that Phraſe of the Proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am ſure you will not judge with me againſt him, ſpeak I never ſo true; and in this Senſe I ſpeak it. The ſtrongeſt Anſwer that he hath made againſt me is, that you will burn me.

Morgan. Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporal Men that burn you, and not we.

Philpot. Thus you would (as *Pilate* did) waſh your Hands of all your wicked Doings. But I pray you call upon the Secular Power to be Executioners of your unrighteous Judgments. And have you not a Title in your Law, *De hæreticis comburendis*, to burn Hereticks?

Harpsfield. I have heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I never heard ſo ſtout an Heretick as you are, Mr. *Philpot.*

Coſins. Neither I in all my Life.

Philpot. You are not able to prove me an Heretick, by one Jot of God's Word.

Herpsfield. You have the Spirit of Arrogancy, I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and Mr. *Coſins* alſo. And with that the Biſhop and *Chriſtopherſon* came in again, and ſaid:

Bonner. Mr. Doctor, how doth this Man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lord, I do ask him where his Church was fifty Years ago.

Bonner. Are you not half agreed? as one Man ſaid once to two Parties, in whom the one was equally diſagreeing from the other.

Chriſtopherſon. My Lord, it is but Folly to reaſon with him any further, your Lordſhip will but loſe Time, for he is incurable.

Bonner. Well then, let his Keeper have him away. And with that Dr. *Chedſey* led me a Way by which we could not paſs, and therefore came back again through the Biſhop's Chamber, where all theſe Doctors were cluſtered together; and as I was paſſing by, the Biſhop took me by the Gown, and ſaid, Know you what Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* telleth me? I pray you Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* rehearſe the Sentence in *Latin*; and ſo he did: The Contents whereof were, That an Heretick would not be won.

Chriſtopherſon. St. *Paul* ſaith, *Fly an Heretick after once or twice warning.*

All the Doctors. Yea, my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do, and trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Philpot. You muſt firſt prove me juſtly to be an Heretick, before you uſe the Judgment of St. *Paul* againſt me: For he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold Opinion againſt the manifeſt Word, which you cannot prove by me: And becauſe you want in your Proof, and be able to prove

nothing

nothing againſt me, therefore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an Heretick, for the Safeguard of your own counterfeit Honeſty; but before God you are the Hereticks which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubbornly maintain ſo many Things directly againſt God's Word, as God in his Time will reveal. As I went out of his Chamber, the Biſhop called me aſide, and ſaid:

Bonner. I pray thee in good Sadneſs, what didſt thou mean by writing in the Beginning of thy Bible, *Spiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terris, The Spirit is the Vicar of Chriſt on the Earth?* I ſuppoſe you have ſome ſpecial Meaning therein.

Philpot. My Lord, I have none other Meaning than as I have told you already, That Chriſt ſince his Aſcenſion worketh all Things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my Lord, let me have my Bible, with other lawful Books and Writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my Friends.

The Holy Ghoſt is Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, and how.

Bonner. Your Bible you ſhall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have peruſed the reſt, you ſhall have ſuch as I think good.

Philpot. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you would let me have Candle-light.

Bonner. To what Purpoſe I pray you?

Philpot. The Nights be long, and I would fain occupy myſelf about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my Time idly.

Bonner. Then you may pray.

Philpot. I cannot well ſay my Prayers without Light.

Bonner. Can you not ſay your *Pater-noſter* without a Candle? I tell you, Sir, you ſhall have ſome Meat and Drink of me, but Candles you ſhall have none.

Mr. *Philpot* denied to have Candle Light.

Philpot. I had rather have Candle than your Meat and Drink; but ſeeing I ſhall not have my Requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my Light.

Bonner. Have him down.

Chedſey. I will bring him to his Keeper, my Lord. Mr. *Philpot*, I wonder all theſe learned Men whom you have talked withal this Day can nothing at all perſwade you.

Philpot. Why, Mr. Doctor, would you have me to be perſwaded with nothing? or would you have me build my Faith upon Sand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any ſufficient Authority to be perſwaded to you?

Chedſey. I am ſorry you will ſo wilfully caſt yourſelf away, whereas you might live worſhipfully: Do you not think that others have Souls to ſave as well as you?

Philpot. Every Man ſhall receive according to his own Doings. Sure I am that you are deceived, and maintain a falſe Religion; and as for my eaſting away, I wiſh my burning Day were to-morrow, for this Delay is every Day to die, and yet not to be dead.

Chedſey. You are not like to die yet I can tell you.

Philpot. I am the more ſorry thereof. But the Will of God be done of me to his Glory. *Amen.*

Anno 1555.

The twelfth Examination of Mr. Philpot, *on* Wedneſday *the Fourth of* December, *before the Biſhop of* London, *the Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and the Biſhop of* Bangor.

IN the Morning I was brought down to the Wardrobe adjoining to the Chapel, and within a while after came three of the Biſhop's Chaplains unto me ſaying:

Chaplains. Mr. *Philpot*, my Lord hath ſent us unto you to deſire you to come to Maſs, certifying you that there is a Doctor of Divinity, a Chaplain of my Lord's, a notable learned Man, called Dr. *Chedſey*, going to Maſs: Therefore we alſo pray you, good Mr. *Philpot*, be content to come, it is hard hereby.

Philpot. I wonder my Lord would trouble you in ſending you about this Matter, ſeeing he knoweth I am a Man (by your Law) that cannot hear Maſs, becauſe I ſtand excommunicate.

Chaplains. Your Excommunication is but upon a Contumacy, and my Lord will diſpenſe with you if you will come.

Philpot. My Lord cannot, for he is not mine Ordinary, and I will not ſeek any ſuch Thing at his Hands. With this Anſwer they went away.

After Maſs the Biſhop called me before him into his Chappel, and there in the Preſence of his Regiſter (after he had ſaid his Mind becauſe I would not come to Maſs) recited the Articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that Behalf, with the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, of whom ſome were not examined.

Bonner. Sir, what can you now ſay why I ſhould not proceed to give Sentence againſt thee as an Heretick?

Philpot. Why my Lord, will you proceed to give Sentence againſt me before your Witneſſes be examined? that is plain againſt your own Law, as all your Doings have been hitherto.

Bonner. See what a Fool thou art in the Law. I need not to recite the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, but if I liſt: For I know them well enough already.

Philpot. It appeareth indeed you may do what you liſt.

Bonner. Tell me, I ſay, whether thou wilt anſwer, or no: And whether if thou wert abſolved of thine Excommunication, thou wouldſt come to Maſs, or no?

Philpot. I have anſwered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful Judgment: And as concerning my Conſcience, I will not make you God to ſit there as yet; it is God's Part only to be Searcher of my Heart.

Bonner. Look how fooliſhly he ſpeaks. Art thou God? and yet doſt thou not ſit in thine own Conſcience?

Philpot. I ſit not in mine own Conſcience, but I know it; and God there only ought to ſit, and none elſe.

Bonner. Thou art a naughty Fellow, and haſt done much Hurt, and haſt ſeduced other poor Fellows here in Priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their Errors, and haſt made them rejoyce and ſing with thee.

Mr. *Philpot* rebuked for ſinging.

Anno 1555.

Philpot. Yea, my Lord, we ſhall ſing, when you, and ſuch others as you are, ſhall cry, Wo, wo, except you repent.

Bonner. What an arrogant Fool is this? I will handle thee like an Heretick, and that ſhortly.

Philpot. I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do unto me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Bonner. Have him away, this is a Knave indeed.

And I was had into the Wardrobe again by my Keeper, and within an Hour after was ſent for to come before him and the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Bangor*.

Bonner. Sir, I have talked with you many Times, and have cauſed you to be talked with by many learned Men, yea and honourable, both temporal and ſpiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee before ſo many: For they ſay, thou glorieſt to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyſelf, for thy Time draweth near to an End, if thou do not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the Synod to offer you this Grace, that if you will come to the Unity of the Church of *Rome* with us, and acknowledge the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar with us, all that is paſt ſhall be forgiven, and you received to Favour.

Worceſter. Mr. *Philpot*, we are ſent (as you here have heard by my Lord of *London*) from the Synod, to offer you Mercy if you will receive it, and of good will I bear you I wiſh you to take it whilſt it is offered, and be not a ſingular Man againſt a whole Multitude of learned Men, which now in Faſting and Prayer are gathered together to deviſe Things to do you good. Many very learned Men have talked with you, why ſhould you think yourſelf better learned than them all? Be not of ſuch Arrogancy, but have Humility, and remember there is no Salvation but in the Church.

Bangor. Methinks my Lord hath ſpoken wonderfully well unto you, that you ſhould not think yourſelf ſo well learned, but other Men are as well learned as you; neither of ſo good Wit, but others be as wiſe as you; neither of ſo good Memory, but others have as good Memories as you. Therefore miſtruſt your own Judgment, aud come home to us again. I never liked your Religion, becauſe it was ſet forth by Violence and Tyranny, and that is no true Token of true Religion. And I was the ſame Manner of Man then that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our Peace, and bore with that Time. Wherefore, Mr. *Philpot*, I wiſh you well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the Catholick Church of *Rome*.

The Pope's Religion hath no other Ground to ſtand upon but Violence.

Philpot. Where, my Lord, (as I may begin firſt to anſwer you) you ſay, that Religion is to be miſliked which is ſet forth by Tyranny, I pray God you give not Men Occaſion to think the ſame by yours at this Day, which had no other Argument to ſtand by but Violence. If you can ſhew me any good ſufficient Ground whereby to ground my Conſcience, that the Church of *Rome* is the true Catholick Church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the ſame; otherwiſe I cannot ſo ſoon change the Religion I have learned theſe many Years.

Bangor. Where was your Religion to be found, I pray you, an hundred Years ago, that any Man knew of it?

Philpot. It was in *Germany*, and in divers other Places apparent.

Worceſter. Jeſus! will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a Man? What is *Germany* to the whole World?

Bonner. My Lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you, that I ſent for him to hear Maſs this Morning. And think you what Excuſe he made unto me, forſooth that he was accurſed, alledging his own Shame. He playeth as the Varlet *Latimer* did at *Cambridge*, when the Vice-chancellor ſent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for ſome of his Hereſies) and the Chancellor was coming to his Chamber, he hearing thereof, made Anſwer, that he was ſick of the Plague, and ſo deluded the Chancellor; even ſo this Man ſaith, he was accurſed, becauſe he will not come to Maſs.

Bonner raileth againſt Mr. *Latimer*.

Worceſter. My Lord (I am ſure) here doth behave himſelf like a Father unto you; therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your Fathers before you.

Philpot. It is forbidden us of God by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, to follow our Fathers, or to walk in their Commandments.

Worceſter. It is written alſo in another Place, Ask of your Fathers!

Philpot. We ought to ask indeed our Fathers that have more Experience and Knowledge than we of God's Will, but no more to allow them, than we perceive they agree with the Scripture.

Worceſter. You will be a contentious Man, I ſee well; and St. *Paul* ſaith, that neither we, nor the Church of God have any ſuch Cuſtom.

Philpot. I am not contentious but for the Verity of my Faith, in which I ought to contend with all ſuch as do impugn the ſame without any juſt Objection.

Worceſter. Let us riſe, my Lord, for I ſee we ſhall do no good.

Bonner. Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the Articles I lay to his Charge. And after he had recited them they aroſe, and after ſtanding they reaſoned with me a while.

Worceſter. Mr. *Philpot*, I am very ſorry that you will be ſo ſingular. I never talked with any yet in my Dioceſs, but after once Communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their Errors, and to teach the People how they were deceived, and ſo do much good, as you may if you liſt. For as I underſtand you were Archdeacon of *Wincheſter* (which is the Eye of the Biſhop) and you may do much Good in that Country if you would forſake your Errors, and come to the Catholick Church.

Philpot. Wherewithal you ſo ſoon perſuaded them to your Will, I ſee not. Error, that I know, I hold none; and of the Catholick Church I am ſure I am.

Worceſter. The Catholick Church doth acknowledge a real Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, and ſo will not you.

Philpot. That is not ſo; for I acknowledge a very eſſential Preſence in the * duly uſing of the Sacrament.

* Note, he ſaith not in the Sacrament but in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

Worceſter. What, a real Preſence?

Philpot. Yea, a real Preſence by the Spirit of God in the right Adminiſtration.

Worceſter. That is well ſaid: And do you agree with the Catholick Church alſo?

Philpot. I do agree with the true catholick Church.

Worceſter. My Lord of *London*, this Man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Bonner. You do agree in Generals, but when it ſhall come to Particulars, you will far diſagree.

Worceſter. Well, keep yourſelf here, and you ſhall have other learned Biſhops to commune further with you, as my Lord of *Dnrham*, and my Lord of *Chicheſter*, whom I hear ſay you do like well.

Philpot. I do like them as I do all others that ſpeak the Truth. I have once already ſpoken with them, and they found no Fault with me.

Worceſter. In the mean Seaſon pray to God for Grace.

Philpot. Prayer is the moſt comfortable Exerciſe I feel in my Trouble, and my Conſcience is quiet, and I have the Peace of Mind, which cannot be the Fruits of Hereſy.

Worceſter. We bid you farewel for this Time.

After Dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I ſpake before Dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I anſwered, That I would not go from what I had ſaid.

Worceſter. You ſaid at my departing from you before Dinner, that if we did burn you, we ſhould burn a catholick Man: Will you be a catholick Man, and ſtand to the catholick Church?

Philpot. I will ſtand to the true catholick Church.

Worceſter. Will you ſtand to the catholick Church of *Rome*?

Philpot. If you can prove the ſame to be the catholick Church, I will be one thereof.

Worceſter. Did not *Chriſt* ſay unto *Peter*, and to all his Succeſſors of *Rome*, *Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos? Feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs?* Which doth ſignify that he gave him more Authority than the reſt.

Philpot. That Saying pertaineth nothing to the Authority of *Peter*, above others, but declareth what *Chriſt* requireth of his beloved Apoſtles, that they ſhould with all Diligence preach to the Flock of *Chriſt* the Way of Salvation, and that doth the Iteration of feeding, ſpoken to *Peter*, only ſignify. But the Biſhop of *Rome* little regardeth the ſpiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an eaſier Way to make himſelf Lord of the whole World, yea and of the Word of God too, and doth not feed *Chriſt*'s Flock as *Peter* did.

Worceſter. How can you tell that?

Philpot. Yes I have been there, and I could not learn of all his Counttymen, that ever he preacheth.

Worceſter. Though he preacheth not one Way, he preacheth another, by procuring good Order for the Church to be kept in.

Philpot. I am ſure that it will be his Damnation before God, that he leaveth what he is commanded by *Chriſt*, and ſetteth forth his own Decrees to deface the Goſpel.

Worceſter. It is the evil Living that you have ſeen at *Rome*, that cauſeth you to have this ill Judgment of the Church of *Rome*. I cannot now tarry with you to reaſon further of the Matter. Anno 1555.

How ſay you to the real Preſence of the Sacrament, will you ſtand to that?

Philpot. I do acknowledge (as I have ſaid) a real Preſence of the Sacrament, in the due Adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy Receivers by the Spirit of God. By really he meaneth truly.

Worceſter. You add now a great many more Words than you did before: And yet you ſay more of the Sacrament, than a great many will do.

Thus they departed, and after them came unto me Dr. *Chedſey* and Dr. *Wright*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, with a great many more.

Chedſey. Mr. *Philpot*, here is Mr. Archdeacon of *Oxford* come to you to give you good Counſel, I pray hear him.

Philpot. I will refuſe to hear none that will counſel me any Good; and if any can bring any Matter better than I have, I will ſtick thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſh you, Mr. *Philpot*, to agree with the catholick Church, and not to ſtand in your own Conceit: You ſee a great many learned Men againſt you.

Philpot. I am, Mr. Doctor, of the unfeigned catholick Church, and will live and die therein; and if you can prove your Church to be the true catholick Church, I will be one of the ſame.

Wright. I came not to diſpute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I, that can inform you better than I.

Chedſey. What Proof would you have? I will prove unto you our Church to have its Being and Foundation by the Scriptures, by the Apoſtles, and by the primitive Church, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and with the Teſtimony of all Confeſſors.

Philpot. Give me your Hand, Mr. Doctor, prove that, and have with you.

Chedſey. If I had my Books here, I could ſoon prove it, I will go fetch ſome; and with that he went and brought his Book of Annotations, ſaying, I cannot well bring my Books, therefore I have brought my Book of Annotations, and turned there to a common Place of the Sacrament, asking me whether the catholick Church did allow the Preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body in the Sacrament, or no? I hear ſay you do confeſs a real Preſence: But i'll be hang'd if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by. You promiſe more *Chedſey* than you can prove.

Philpot. What I have ſaid I cannot deny, neither intend, whatſoever you ſay.

Chedſey. If there be a real Preſence in the Sacrament, then evil Men receive *Chriſt*, which Thing you will not grant, I am ſure.

Philpot. I deny the Argument, for I do not grant in the Sacrament, by Tranſubſtantiation, any real Preſence, as you falſly imagine, but in the due Adminiſtration to the worthy Receivers.

Chedſey. I will prove that the evil and wicked Men eat the Body of *Chriſt*, as well as the good Men, by St. *Auguſtine* here. Whether evil Men receive the Body of Chriſt.

Philpot. And in the Beginning of his Text St. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to approve his Aſſertion; bur I bad him read out to the End, and there St. *Auſtin* declareth moſt evidently that it was *Quodammodo*, after a certain Manner the evil Men received the Body of *Chriſt*, which is ſacramentally, only in the outward Sign, and not really, or indeed as the Good *Quodammodo.*

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doth. And thus all the Doctors that you ſeem to bring in for your Purpoſe, be quite againſt you if ye did rightly weigh them.

Chedſey. By God you are a ſubtil Fellow. See how he would writhe St. *Auguſtine*'s Words.

Philpot. See which of us do writhe St. *Auguſtine* moſt, you or I who take his Meaning by his own expreſs Words. And ſeeing you charge me with Subtilty, what Subtilty is this of you, to ſay, that you will prove your Matter of the Church, even from the Beginning, promiſing to ſhew your Books therein, and when it cometh to the Proof, you are able to ſhew none, and for want thereof ſlip into a By-matter, and yet faint in the Proof thereof? Before God you are bare-ars'd in your Religion.

Dr. *Chedſey* faileth in his Proof.

Chedſey. You ſhall be conſtrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Philpot. Hold that Argument faſt; for it is the beſt you have, for you have nothing but Violence.

The thirteenth Examination of Mr. Philpot *before the Archbiſhop of* York, *and other Biſhops.*

THE *Thurſday* after, I was called in the Morning before the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Biſhop of *Bath*, and the Biſhop of *London*. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* being firſt come, began to talk with me.

Chicheſter. I am come of good Will to talk with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the catholick Church, and to exhort you to inſtruct your own Judgment, and to learn firſt to have Humility, and by the ſame to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of ſuch as were their Betters before them.

Philpot. We muſt all be taught of God, and I will with all Humility learn of them that will inform me by God's Word, what I have to do. I confeſs I have but little Learning in reſpect of you, that both of your Years and great Exerciſe do excel therein: But Faith conſiſteth not only in Learning, but in Simplicity of believing that which God's Word teacheth. Therefore I ſhall be glad to hear both of your Lordſhip, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his Word) the true Doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth pleaſe you to take Pains herein.

Chicheſter. You take the firſt alledged amiſs, as though all Men ſhould be taught by Inſpiration, and not by Learning. How do we believe the Goſpel, but by the Authority of the Church, and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it?

Philpot. St. *Paul* ſaith, *He learned not the Goſpel by Men, neither of Men, but by the Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.* Which is a plain and ſufficient Proof that the Goſpel taketh not its Authority of Man, but of God only.

Chicheſter. St. *Paul* ſpeaketh but of his own Knowledge how he came thereto.

Philpot. Nay he ſpeaketh of the Goſpel generally, *Which cometh not from Man, but from God*; and that the Church muſt only teach that which cometh from God, and not Man's Precepts.

Chicheſter. Doth not St. *Auguſtine* ſay theſe Words, *I would not believe the Goſpel if the Authority of the Church did not move me thereto.*

Philpot. I grant, that the Authority of the Church doth move the Unbelievers to believe; but yet the Church doth not give the Word its Authority; for the Word hath its Authority only from God, and not of Men, Men be but Diſpoſers thereof. For firſt, the Word had its Being before the Church, and the Word is the Foundation of the Church, and firſt is the Foundation ſure, before the Building thereon can be ſtedfaſt.

The Word is the Foundation of the Church, and not the Church of the Word.

Chicheſter. I perceive you miſtake me, I ſpeak of the Knowledge of the Goſpel, and not of the Authority; for by the Church we have all Knowledge of the Goſpel.

Philpot. I confeſs that; for Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary Means for Men to come unto the Knowledge now, and not miraculouſly, as he hath done in Times paſt; yet we that be taught by Men, muſt take heed that we learn nothing elſe but that which was taught in the primitive Church by Revelation. Here came in the Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Bath*; and after they had ſaluted one another, and communed a while together, the Archbiſhop of *York* called me unto them, ſaying,

York. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the Way, are come of Charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true Faith, and to the catholick Church again; willing you firſt to have Humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your Betters, for elſe we can do no good with you. And God ſaith by his Prophet; *On whom ſhall I reſt, but on the humble and meek, and ſuch as tremble at my Word?* Now if you will ſo be, we ſhall be glad to travel with you.

Philpot. I know that Humility is the Door whereby we enter unto Chriſt; and I thank his Goodneſs I have entered in at the ſame unto him, and with all Humility will hear whatſoever Truth you ſhall ſpeak unto me.

York. What be the Matters you ſtand on, and require to be ſatisfy'd in?

Philpot. My Lord, if it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, we were entered into a good Matter before you came, of the Church, and how we ſhould know the Truth but by the Church.

York. Indeed that is the Head we ought to begin at, for the Church being truly known we ſhall ſooner agree in the particular Things.

Philpot. If your Lordſhips can prove the Church of *Rome* to be the true catholick Church, it will do much to perſwade me toward what you would have me incline unto.

York. Why, let us go to the Definition of the Church. What is it?

Philpot. It is a Congregation of People diſperſed through the World, agreeing together in the Word of God, uſing the Sacraments and all other Things according to the ſame.

York. Your Definition is of many Words to no Purpoſe.

Philpot. I do not preciſely define the Church, but declare unto you what I think the Church is.

York. Is the Church viſible or inviſible?

Philpot. It is both viſible and inviſible. The inviſible Church is of the Elect of God only; the viſible conſiſts both of good and bad, uſing all Things in Faith, according to God's Word.

York.

York. The Church is an universal Congregation of faithful People in Christ through the World; which this word Catholick doth well expreſs; for what is Catholick elſe? doth it not ſignify Univerſal?

Philpot. The Church is defined by St. *Auguſtine* to be called Catholick in this wiſe, *The Church is called therefore Catholick, becauſe it is truly perfect, and halteth in nothing.*

Cathol ck defined by St. *Auguſtine.*

York. Nay, it is called Catholick, becauſe it is univerſally received of all chriſtian Nations for the moſt Part.

Catholick defined by Papiſts.

Philpot. The Church was Catholick in the Apoſtles Time, yet was it not univerſally received of the World; but becauſe their Doctrine which they had received of Chriſt was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole World, therefore it is called the catholick Faith, and all Perſons receiving the ſame, to be counted the catholick Church. And St. *Auguſtine* in another Place writeth, that the catholick Church is that which believeth aright.

York. If you will learn I will ſhew you St. *Auguſtine*, writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, that he proveth the catholick Church by two principal Points, which is, Univerſality and Succeſſion of Biſhops in one apoſtolical See from Time to Time. Now thus I will make mine Argument.

This Conſequence being reduced into a Syllogiſm of the firſt Figure, will ground upon a falſe Major.

Univerſality and Succeſſion make a true Church.

The Church of *Rome* hath univerſal Succeſſion.

Ergo, The Church of *Rome* is the true Church.

The Church of *Rome* is Univerſal, and hath her Succeſſion of Biſhops from Time to Time.

Ergo, It is the catholick Church.

How anſwer you to this Argument.

Philpot. I deny the Antecedent, that the catholick Church is only known by Univerſality and Succeſſion of Biſhops.

York. I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a Book which he had noted out of the Doctors, and turned to his common Places therein of the Church, and recited one or two out of St. *Auguſtine*, and eſpecially out of his Epiſtle written againſt the *Donatiſts*, where St. *Auguſtine* manifeſtly proveth, that the *Donatiſts* were not the catholick Church, becauſe they have no Succeſſion of Biſhops in their Opinion, neither Univerſality; and the ſame Force hath St. *Auguſtine*'s Argument againſt you.

To this he anſwered ſufficiently before, look in the latter End of the ſeventh Examination.

Philpot. My Lord, I have weighed the Force of that Argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing againſt me, neither cometh it to your Purpoſe; for I will ſtand to the Trial of St. *Auguſtine* for the Approbation of the catholick Church whereof I am. For St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of Univerſality joined with Verity, and of faithful Succeſſors of *Peter* before Corruption came into the Church. And ſo if you can deduce your Argument for the See of *Rome* now, as St. *Auguſtine* might do in his Time, I would ſay it might be of ſome Force, otherwiſe not.

Not principally, by your Leave, my Lord.

York. St. *Auguſtine* proveth the catholick Church principally by Succeſſion of Biſhops, and therefore you underſtand not St. *Auguſtine*. For what, I pray you, was the Opinion of the *Donatiſts*, againſt whom he wrote, can you tell? What Country were they of?

Philpot. They were a certain Sect of Men, affirming among other Hereſies, that the Dignity of the Sacraments depended upon the Worthineſs of the Miniſter; ſo that if the Miniſter were good, the Sacraments which he miniſtred were available, or elſe not.

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Chicheſter. That was their Error, and they had none other but that. And he read another Authority of St. *Auſtin* out of a Book which he brought, even to the ſame Purpoſe that the other was.

Philpot. I challenge St. *Auſtin* to be with me thoroughly in this Point, and will ſtand to his Judgment, taking one Place with another.

Chicheſter. If you will not have the Church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in Matters of Controverſy?

Philpot. I do not deny the Church to be certain; but I deny that it is neceſſarily tied to any Place, longer than it abideth in the Word; and for all Controverſies the Word ought to be Judge.

Chicheſter. But what if I take it one Way, and you another, how then?

Philpot. St. *Auſtin* ſheweth a Remedy for that, and willeth, *That one Place of the Scripture ought to be underſtood by the more.*

York. How anſwer you to this Argument:

Rome hath known Succeſſion of Biſhops, which your Church hath not.

Ergo, That is the catholick Church, and yours is not, becauſe there is no ſuch Succeſſion can be proved in your Church.

Philpot. I deny, my Lord, that Succeſſion of Biſhops is in infallible Point to know the Church by: For there may be a Succeſſion of Biſhops known in a Place, and yet there be no Church, as at *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, and in other Places, where the Apoſtles abode as well as at *Rome*. But if you put to the Succeſſion of Biſhops, Succeſſion of Doctrine withal, as St. *Auſtin* doth, I will grant it to be a good Proof for the catholick Church; but a Local Succeſſion only is nothing available.

Local Succeſſion without Succeſſion of Doctrine availeth nothing.

York. You will have no Church than I ſee well.

Philpot. Yes, my Lords, I acknowledge the catholick Church, as I am bound by my Creed; but I cannot acknowledge a falſe Church for the true.

Chicheſter. Why is there two catholick Churches then?

Philpot. No, I know there is but one catholick Church, but there have been, and be at this preſent that take upon them the Name of Chriſt and of his Church, which be not ſo indeed, as it is written, *Rev.* 2. *There be they that call themſelves Apoſtles, and be not ſo indeed, but the Synagogue of* Satan *and Liars.* And now it is with us as it was with the two Women in *Solomon*'s Time, which lay together, and the one over-laid the Child, and afterward went about to challenge the true Mother's Child. 1 *Kings* 3.

Chicheſter. What a Babbling is here with you now? I ſee you lack Humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

Philpot. My Lords, I muſt deſire you to bear with my haſty Speech; it is my Infirmity of Nature. All that I ſpeak is to learn by, I wiſh you did underſtand all my Mind, that I might be ſatisfied by you through better Authority.

Chicheſter. My Lord, if it pleaſe your Grace, turn the Argument upon him which you have made, and let him ſhew the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of his Church, as we can do. How

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say you, can you shew the Succession of Bishops in your Church from Time to Time? I tell you, this Argument troubled Dr. *Ridley* * so sore, that he could never answer it; yet he was well learned, I dare say you will say so.

* So ye say now, when ye would give him no Leave nor Time when he was alive to make his Answers.

Philpot. He was a Man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his Books for Learning.

Chichester. I promise you he was never able to answer that. He was a Man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers Times being in Prison, and conferred with me.

Philpot. I wonder, my Lord, you should make this Argument which you would turn upon me, for the Trial of my Church whereof I am, or that you would make Bishop *Ridley* so ignorant that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no Force. For behold, first I denied you, that Local Succession of Bishops in one Place is a necessary Point alone to prove the catholick Church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: And is it then reason that you should put me to the Trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no Force to conclude against me?

Chichester. I see, my Lords, we do but lose our Labours to reason with him, he thinketh himself better learned than we.

Philpot. I take upon me the Name of no Learning. I boast of no Knowledge but of Faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do.

Leave your reviling Terms, my Lord, and go to the Matter.

Chichester. These Hereticks take upon them to be sure of all Things they stand in. You should say rather with Humility, I trust I know Christ, than that you be sure thereof.

Philpot. Let him doubt of his Faith that listeth; God giveth me always Grace to believe that I am sure of true Faith and Favour in Christ.

Note, These Men ground their Faith upon the Determination of their own known Church, and not upon God's Word.

Bath. How will you be able to answer Hereticks, but by the Determination of the known catholick Church?

Philpot. I a mable to answer all Hereticks by the Word of God, and convince them by the same.

Chichester. How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare not say so.

Philpot. My Lords, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the Truth's Side, and I speak somewhat by Experience that I have had with Hereticks; and I know the *Arians* be the subtilest that ever were, and yet I have manifest Scriptures to beat them down withal.

Chichester. I perceive now you are the same Manner of Man I have heard of, which will not be satisfy'd by Learning.

Philpot. Alas, my Lord, why do you say so? I do most humbly desire to be taught, if there be any better Way that I should learn, and hitherto you have shewed me no better, therefore I pray your Lordship not to misjudge without a Cause.

Bath. If you be the true catholick Church, then will you hold with the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the true Church hath ever maintained.

Philpot. And I, my Lord, with the true Church do hold the same in the due Administration of the Sacrament: But I desire you, my Lord, there may be made a better Conclusion in our first Matter, before we enter into another; for if the Church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest. In the mean while my Lord of *York* was turning his Book for more Places to help forth his Cause.

My Lord of *York* driven to seek his Books.

York. I have found at length a very notable Place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. *Austin*, *De simplicitate credendi.*

Chichester. It is but Folly, my Lord, for your Grace to read any more Places to him, for he esteemeth them not.

Philpot. I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of Force, as your Lordship doth hear me deny no Doctors you bring, but only require the true Application of them, according to the Writer's Meaning, and as by his own Words may be proved.

York. I will read him the Place, and so make an End. After he had read the Sentence he said, that by four special Points here St. *Augustine* proveth the catholick Church, The First is by the Consent of all Nations; the Second by the apostolick See; the Third, by Universality, and the Fourth by this Word Catholick.

Chichester. That is a notable Place indeed, if it please your Grace.

Philpot. I pray you, my Lord, of what Church doth St. *Augustine* write the same, of *Rome*, or not?

York. Yea, he writeth it of the Church of *Rome.*

Philpot. I will lay with your Lordship as much as I can make, that it is not so; and let the Book be seen.

Bath. What art thou able to lay, thou hast nothing?

York. Doth he not make mention here of the apostolick See, whereby he meaneth *Rome?*

Philpot. That is very streightly interpreted, my Lord, as though the apostolick See had been no where else but at *Rome.* But let it be *Rome*, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other Conditions do go therewith, as St. *Augustine* doth proceed withall, whereof none except the apostolick See can now be verify'd of the Church of *Rome.* For the Faith which that See now maintaineth hath not the Consent of all Nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the Name of Catholick, because it differeth from the catholick Churches which the Apostles planted, almost in all Things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholick Church by Universality; and how can you shew your Church to be Universal fifty or an hundred Years ago?

Philpot. That is not material, neither any Thing against St. *Augustine:* For my Church (whereof I am) were to be accounted Universal, though it were but in ten Persons, because it agreeth with the same that the Apostles did universally plant.

York. I perceive you are an obstinate Man in your own Opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but lost Labour to talk with you any longer, you are a Member to be cut off.

Chichester. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good Bishop of *Winchester*, and now I see in you what I have heard.

Philpot. I trust you see no Evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure Ground to build my Faith on, and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.

* Because my Lord, you are not able to answer him.

Chichester. Thou art as * impudent a Fellow as any I have talked with.

Philpot. That is spoken uncharitably, my

Lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot juſtly reprove.

Chicheſter. Why, thou art not God: Blaſphemy is counted a Rebuke to God-ward, and not to Man.

Philpot. Yes, it may be as well verified of an Infamy laid to Man, ſpeaking in God's Cauſe, as you now do lay unto me, for ſpeaking freely the Truth before God, to maintain your vain Religion. You are void of all good Ground. I perceive you are blind Guides, and Leaders of the Blind: And therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very Hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecuting the Truth, which otherwiſe by juſt Order you are by no Means able to convince. Your own Doctors and Teſtimonies which you bring, be evidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſee the Truth.

Chicheſter. Have we theſe Thanks for our good Will, in coming to inſtruct thee?

Philpot. My Lords, you muſt bear with me, ſince I ſpeak in Chriſt's Cauſe; and becauſe his Glory is defaced, and his People cruelly and wrongfully ſlain by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the Diſhonour of God, and to Hypocriſy with you; if I told you not your Fault, it would be required at my Hands in the Day of Judgment. Therefore know you, ye Hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your Sin, and not I; I thank God, I value not all your Cruelty. God forgive you, and give you Grace to repent. And ſo they departed.

Another Conference the ſame Day.

THE ſame Day at Night before Supper, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chappel, in the Preſence of Archdeacon *Harpsfield*, Dr. *Chedſey*, and his other Chaplains, and Servants. And then he ſaid,

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, I have by ſundry Means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do ſo little conſider it. By my Truth, I cannot tell what to ſay to you: Tell me directly whether you will be a conformable Man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly ſtand.

Philpot. I have told your Lordſhip oftentimes plain enough, whereon I chiefly ſtand, requiring a ſure Probation of the Church wherunto you call me.

Harpsfield. St. *Auguſtine* writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, declareth four ſpecial Notes to know the Church by; the Conſent of many Nations, the Faith of the Sacraments confirmed by Antiquity, Succeſſion of Biſhops, and Univerſality.

Bonner. I pray you, Mr. Archdeacon, fetch the Book hither; it is a notable Place, let him ſee it. And the Book was brought, and the Biſhop read it, demanding how I could anſwer the ſame.

Philpot. My Lord, I like St. *Auguſtine*'s four Points for the Trial of the catholick Church, whereof I am: For it can abide every Point thereof together, which yours cannot do.

Harpsfield. Have not we Succeſſion of Biſhops in the See and Church of *Rome?* Wherefore then do you deny our Church to be the catholick Church?

Philpot. St. *Auguſtine* doth not put Succeſſion of Biſhops only, to be ſufficient, but he addeth the Uſe of the Sacraments according to Antiquity, and Doctrine univerſally taught and received by moſt Nations from the Beginning of the primitive Church, which your Church is far from. But my Church can avouch all theſe better than yours; therefore by St. *Auguſtine*'s Judgment, which you here bring, mine is the catholick Church, and not yours. Anno 1555.

Harpsfield and *Chedſey.* It is but Folly, my Lord, for you to reaſon with him, for he is irrecoverable.

Philpot. That is a good Shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own Sayings, and have nothing elſe to ſay, you are evidently deceived, and yet will not ſee it when it is laid to your Face.

Thus have I at large ſet forth as many of the ſaid *John Philpot* his Examinations and privy Conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own Hand. And although he was examined after this ſeveral other Times, both openly in the Conſiſtory at St. *Paul*'s, and alſo ſecretly in the Biſhop's Houſe; yet what was there ſaid is not yet ſufficiently known, either becauſe Mr. *Philpot* himſelf was not ſuffered to write, or elſe becauſe his Writings are by ſome kept cloſe, and not brought forth, others then as the Biſhop's Regiſter hath noted, whoſe handling of ſuch Matters, becauſe it is (either for fear or favour of his Lord and Maſter) very ſlender, little Light of any true Meaning can be gathered, eſpecially in the Behalf of the Anſwerer; howbeit, ſuch as it is, ſuch thought I good to put forth; requiring the Reader to judge hereof according to his Anſwers in his former Examinations.

The laſt Examination of Mr. Philpot *in open Judgment, with his final Condemnation by Biſhop* Bonner *in the Conſiſtory at* St. Paul's.

THE Biſhop having ſufficiently taken his Pleaſure with Mr. *Philpot* in his private Talk, and ſeeing his zealous, learned, and immutable Conſtancy, thought it now high Time to rid his Hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth Days of *December*, ſitting judicially in the Conſiſtory at *St. Paul*'s, he cauſed him to be brought thither before him and others, as it ſeemeth, more for Order Sake, than for any good Affection to Juſtice and right Judgment. The Effect as well of which their two ſundry Proceedings, as alſo of one other had the eleventh Day of the ſame Month in his Chapel, appear in a Manner to be all one. The Biſhop therefore firſt ſpeaking to Mr. *Philpot*, ſaid;

Bonner. Mr. *Philpot*, amongſt other Things that were laid and objected unto you, theſe three Things ye are eſpecially charged and burdened withal.

The firſt is, That you being fallen from the Unity of *Chriſt*'s catholick Church, do refuſe and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, calling it Idolatry.

And the third is, That you have ſpoken againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the real Preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body and Blood to be in the ſame.

And

Anno 1555. And according to the Will and Pleasure of the Synod legative, ye have been often by me invited and required to go from your said Errors and Heresies, and to return to the Unity of the catholick Church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the Favour I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give Sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if you so refuse, I do ask of you whether you have any Cause that you can shew, why I should not now give Sentence against you?

Philpot. Under Protestation, not to go from my Appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent Judge, I say, touching your first Objection concerning the catholick Church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the Sacrifice of the * Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the Pleasure of the Synod, I say, that these twenty Years I have been brought up in the Faith of the true catholick Church, which is contrary to your Church, whereunto you would have me to come: And in that Time I have been many Times sworn, both in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and good King *Edward* his Son, against the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, which Oath I think that I am bound in my Conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord mine Oath. But if you, or any of the Synod, can by God's Word persuade me that my said Oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's Law to come to your Church, Faith and Religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you, otherwise not.

* Here either the Register belieth *Philpot*, or else he meant as not offending the Law thereby to be accused, for otherwise all his former Examinations do declare that he spake against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Bonner then not able with all his learned Doctors, to accomplish this his offered Condition, fell to persuading of him, both by his accustomed vain Promises and Threatnings, to return to their Church: To which he answered;

Philpot. You, and all other of your Sort, are Hypocrites, and I wish all the World knew your Hypocrisy, your Tyranny, Ignorance, and Idolatry.

Upon these Words the Bishop did for that Time dismiss him, commanding that on *Monday* the 16th Day of the same Month, between the Hours of One and Three in the Afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former Constancy.

At which Day and Time, Mr. *Philpot* being there presented before the Bishops of *London*, *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Lichfield*; *Bonner* Bishop of *London* began to talk in this Manner.

Bonner. My Lords, *Stokesly*, my Predecessor, when he went to give Sentence against an Heretick, used to make this Prayer:

Bishop *Stokesley*'s Prayer when he pronounced Sentence of Death.

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisq; tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, & illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, & ea qua sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen. Which I will follow. And so he read it with a loud Voice in *Latin*. To which Mr. *Philpot* said:

I wish ye would speak in *English*, that all Men might hear and understand you; for St. *Paul* willeth, that all Things spoken in the Congregation to edify, should be spoken in a Tongue that all Men might understand.

Whereupon the Bishop did read it in *English*: *O God, who sheweth the Light of thy Truth and Righteousness to those that stray, that they may return into thy Way, give to all who profess themselves Christians, to refuse those Things which are Foes to thy Name, and to follow those Things which are fit, by Christ our Lord*, Amen. And when he came to these Words, *To refuse those Things which are Foes to thy Name*; Mr. *Philpot* said,

Bonner prayeth against himself.

Then they all must turn away from you; for you are Enemies to that Name (meaning Christ's Name) and God save us from such Hypocrites as would have Things in a Tongue that Men cannot understand.

Bonner. Whom do you mean?

Philpot. You and all others that be of your Generation and Sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the Place that you now sit in, pretending to execute Justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all Men in this Realm.

And then turning himself unto the People, he further said, O all you Gentlemen, beware of these Men (meaning the Bishops) and all their Doings, which be contrary to the primitive Church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what Authority you proceed against me.

Bonner. Because I am Bishop of *London*.

Philpot. Well, then ye are not my Bishop, nor have I offended in your Dioceses: And moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own Law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another Place by Violence.

Bonner. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Philpot. Dr. *Story* and Dr. *Cook*, with other Commissioners of the King and Queen; and, my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own Sheep, but ye must also meddle with other Men's Sheep?

Then the Bishop delivered two Books to Mr. *Philpot*, one of the Civil, the other of the Canon Law, out of which he would have proved that he had Authority to proceed against him in such Manner as he did. Mr. *Philpot* then perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender Proof that was there alledged, said to the Bishop:

Philpot. I perceive your Law and Divinity is all one; for you have Knowledge in neither of them; and I wish ye did know your own Ignorance: But ye dance in a Net, and think that no Man doth see you. Hereupon they had much Talk, but what it was it is not yet known. At last *Bonner* said unto him:

Philpot. as concerning your Objections against my Jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the Civil and Canon Laws make against you; and as for your Appeal, it is not allowed in this Case: For it is written in the Law, There is no Appeal from a Judge executing the Sentence of the Law.

Philpot. My Lord, it appeareth by your Interpretation of the Law, that ye have no Knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the Law; for if ye did, ye would not bring in that Text.

Bonner noted to be ignorant in the Law.

Hereupon the Bishop recited a Law of the *Romans*, That it was not lawful for a *Jew* to keep a christian Man in Captivity, and to use him as a Slave, laying then to the said *Philpot*'s Charge, that he did not understand the Law,

but did like a *Jew*. Whereunto *Philpot* answered.

No, I am no *Jew*, but you my Lord are a *Jew*. For you profeſs Chriſt, and maintain Antichriſt; you profeſs the Goſpel, and maintain Superſtition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing.

Bonner and another Biſhop. With what can you charge us?

Philpot. You are Enemies to all Truth, and all your Doings be naught, full of Idolatry, ſaving the Article of the Trinity.

Whilſt they were thus debating the Matter, there came thither Sir *William Garret* Knight, then Mayor of *London*, Sir *Martin Bowes*, Knight, and *Thomas Leigh* then Sheriff of the ſame City, and ſate down with the ſaid Biſhops in the ſaid Conſiſtory, where Biſhop *Bonner* ſpake theſe Words in Effect as followeth.

Bonner. Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Mayor, becauſe I would not enter with you into the Matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal until his coming, I did rehearſe a Prayer unto you both in *Engliſh* and in *Latin*, which Biſhop *Stokeſly*, my Predeceſſor, uſed when he intended to proceed to give Sentence againſt an Heretick.

And here he did again read the ſaid Prayer both in *Engliſh* and in *Latin:* Which being ended he ſpake again unto him, and ſaid:

Bonner. Philpot, amongſt others I have to charge you eſpecially with three Things:

1. *Firſt*, Where you have fallen from the Unity of Chriſt's catholick Church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but alſo by many and divers other catholick Biſhops, and other learned Men, to return and come again to the ſame: And alſo you have been offered by me, that if you would ſo return, and confeſs your Errors and Hereſies, you ſhould be mercifully received, and have ſo much Favour as I could ſhew unto you.

2. The *Second* is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, calling it Idolatry and Abomination.

3. And *Thirdly*, That you have ſpoken and held againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood to be in the ſame.

This being ſpoken, the Biſhop recited unto him a certain Exhortation in *Engliſh*, the Tenor and Form whereof is this:

Biſhop Bonner's *Exhortation.*

MR. Philpot, *this is to be told you, that if you not being yet reconciled to the Unity of the catholick Church, from whence ye did fall in the Time of the late Schiſm here in this Realm of* England, *againſt the See apoſtolick of* Rome, *will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the Unity of the ſame catholick Church, profeſſing and promiſing to obſerve and keep, to the beſt of your Power, the Faith and chriſtian Religion obſerved and kept by all faithful People of the ſame: And moreover, if ye which heretofore, eſpecially in the Year of our Lord* 1553, 1554, 1555, *or in one of them have offended and treſpaſſed grievouſly againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, calling it Idolatry and abominable, and likewiſe have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body, and Blood to be there in the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming alſo withal, material Bread and material Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and not the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; if ye, I ſay, will be reconciled as is aforeſaid, and will forſake your Hereſies and Errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will alſo allow the Sacrament of the Maſs, ye ſhall be mercifully received, and charitably uſed with as much Favour as may be; if not, ye ſhall be reputed, taken, and judged for an Heretick (as ye be indeed.) Now do ye chuſe what ye will do; you are counſelled herein friendly and favourably.*

Anno 1555.

Ita eſt quod *Edm. Bonner* Epiſc. Lond.

The Biſhop's Exhortation thus ended, Mr. *Philpot* turned himſelf to the Lord Mayor, and ſaid,

Philpot. To you my Lord Mayor bearing the Sword, I am glad that it is my Chance now to ſtand before that Authority that hath defended the Goſpel and the Truth of God's Word; but I am ſorry to ſee that that Authority, which repreſenteth the King and Queen's Perſons, ſhould now be changed, and be at the Commandment of Antichriſt; and ye (ſpeaking to the Biſhops) pretend to be the Followers of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and yet be the very Antichriſts and Deceivers of the People; and I am glad that God hath given me Power to ſtand here this Day, and to declare and defend my Faith, which is founded on Chriſt.

Therefore, as touching your firſt Objection, I ſay, that I am of the catholick Church, whereof I was never out, and that your Church (which ye pretend to be the catholick Church) is the Church of *Rome*, and ſo the Babylonical, and not the catholick Church; for that Church I am not.

As touching your ſecond Objection, which is, that I ſhould ſpeak againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs; I do ſay, that I have not ſpoken againſt the true Sacrifice, but I have ſpoken againſt your private Maſſes that you uſe in Corners, which is Blaſphemy to the true Sacrifice; for your Sacrifice daily reiterated is Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt's Death, and it is a Lie of your own Invention: And that abominable Sacrifice which ye ſet upon the Altar, and uſe in yonr private Maſſes inſtead of ſhall Living Sacrifice, is Idolatry, and ye the never prove it by God's Word; therefore ye have deceived the People with that your Sacrifice of the Maſs, which ye make a Maſquing.

Thirdly, where you lay to my Charge, that I deny the Body and Blood of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I cannot tell what Altar ye mean, whether it be the Altar of the Croſs, or the Altar of Stone: And if ye call it the Sacrament of the Altar in reſpect of the Altar of Stone, then I defy your Chriſt, for it is a rotten Chriſt.

And as touching your Tranſubſtantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was firſt brought up by a Pope. Now as concerning your Offer made from the Synod, which is gathered together in Antichriſt's Name; prove me that to be of the catholick Church (which ye can never do) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do commit Idolatry. Ye be alſo Traitors; for in your Pulpits ye rail againſt good Kings, as King *Henry* and King *Edward* his Son, who have ſtood againſt the uſurped Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*; againſt whom I have alſo taken an Oath, which if ye can ſhew me by God's

Anno 1555. God's Law that I have taken unjuſtly, I will then yield unto you: But I pray God turn the King and Queen's Heart from your Synagogue and Church, for you do abuſe that good Queen.

Here the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* began to ſhew where the true Church was, ſaying;

Coventry. The true catholick Church is ſet upon an high Hill.

Philpot. Yea, at *Rome*, which is the Babylonical Church.

Coventry. No, in our true catholick Church are the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts and Martyrs; but before *Martin Luther* there was no Apoſtle, Evangeliſt or Martyr of your Church.

Philpot. Will ye know the Cauſe why? Chriſt did propheſy that in the latter Days there ſhould come falſe Prophets and Hypocrites, as you be.

Coventry. Your Church of *Geneva*, which ye call the catholick Church, is that which Chriſt propheſied of.

Philpot. I allow the Church of *Geneva*, and the Doctrine of the ſame, for it is One, Catholick, and Apoſtolick, and doth follow the Doctrine that the Apoſtles did preach; and the Doctrine taught and preached in King *Edward*'s Days, was alſo according to the ſame. And are ye not aſhamed to perſecute me and others for your Churches ſake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholick Church?

And after this they had great Conference together, as well out of the Scriptures as alſo out of the Doctors. But when *Bonner* ſaw that by Learning they were not able to confute Mr. *Philpot*, he then endeavoured by his Defamation to bring him out of Credit; and therefore turning himſelf to the Lord Mayor of *London*, he brought forth a Knife, and a Bladder full of Powder, and ſaid,

Note, *Bonner*'s wiſe and weighty Matters to take away Mr. *Philpot*'s Life.

Bonner. My Lord, this Man had a roaſted Pig brought unto him, and this Knife was put ſecretly between the Skin and the Fleſh thereof, and ſo it was ſent him, being in Priſon. And alſo this Powder was ſent unto him, under Pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which Powder was only to make Ink to write withall. For when his Keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me: Which when I did ſee, I thought it had been Gunpowder, and thereupon I put Fire to it but it would not burn. Then I took it for Poyſon, and ſo gave it to a Dog, but it was not ſo. Then I took a little Water, and it made as fair Ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may underſtand what a naughty Fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my Lord, have you nothing elſe to charge me withal but theſe Trifles, ſeeing I ſtand upon Life and Death? Doth the Knife in the Pig prove the Church of *Rome* to be the catholick Church? *&c.*

Philpot had a Knife brought him under a Pig: *Ergo*, The Church of *Rome* is a catholick Church.

Then the Biſhop brought forth a certain Inſtrument, containing Articles and Queſtions, agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. Alſo he exhibited two Books in print; the one was the Catechiſm made in King *Edward*'s Days, in the Year 1552, the other concerning the true Report of the Diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, mention whereof is above expreſſed.

Moreover he brought forth two Letters, and laid them to Mr. *Philpot*'s Charge; the one touching *Bartlet Green*, the other containing godly Exhortations and Comforts; which were both written to him by ſome of his Friends; the Tenor whereof we thought proper here to exhibit.

A Letter produced by Biſhop *Bonner*, written by ſome Friend of Mr. *Philpot*'s, and ſent to him, concerning the Uſage of Mr. *Green* in *Bonner*'s Houſe at *London*.

YOU ſhall underſtand that Mr. Green *came unto the Biſhop of* London *on* Sunday *laſt, where he was courteouſly received; for what Policy the Sequel declareth. His Entertainment for one Day or two was to dine at my Lord's own Table, or elſe to have his Meat from thence. During thoſe Days he lay in Dr.* Chedſey's *Chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very Deed the Biſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipful Men (who were Suters for him, but to him unknown) that he in no Caſe ſhould be examined; before which Mr.* Fecknam *would have had him in his friendly Cuſtody, if he would have deſired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refuſed. And in that the Biſhop objected againſt him Singularity and Obſtinacy; his Anſwer thereunto was thus, To avoid all Suſpicion thereof, although I myſelf am young and utterly unlearned in reſpect of the Learned, (and yet I underſtand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have ſuch Books as I ſhall require, and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby anſwer all your Books and Objections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Whereunto the Biſhop and his aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to have ſuch Books. Who at ſundry Times have reaſon'd with him, and have found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the Scripture and godly Fathers, that ſince they have not only taken from him ſuch Liberty of Books, but all other Books, not leaving him ſo much as the New Teſtament. Since, they have baited and uſed him moſt cruelly. This Mr.* Fecknam *reported; ſaying farther, that he never heard the like young Man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him, God knoweth; but Death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I underſtand. Concerning your Bill, I ſhall confer with others therein, knowing that the ſame Court is able to redreſs the ſame: And yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeak therein, or prefer the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpiritual Things. Notwithſtanding, I will aſcertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghoſt, who keep you and us all, as his. Your own,* &c.

This Bill was a Supplication to be offered up in the Parliament.

The Copy of another Letter written by the Lady *Vane* to Mr. *Philpot*, exhibited likewiſe by Biſhop *Bonner*.

HEarty Thanks rendered unto you my well-beloved in Chriſt for the Book ye ſent me, wherein I find great Conſolations, and according to the Doctrine thereof do prepare my Cheeks to the Strikers, and my womaniſh Back to the Burdens of Reproof, and ſo in the Strength of my God I truſt to leap over the Wall; for his Sweetneſs overcometh me daily, and maketh all theſe Apothecary

Drugs of the World, even medicinal-like in my Mouth. For the Continuance whereof, I beſeech thee (my dear Fellow-ſoldier) make thy faithful Prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and glad-ſome Conſcience finiſh my Courſe, and obtain the Reward, tho' it be no whit due to my Work. I am not content that you ſo often gratify me with Thanks for that which is none worthy, but Duty on my Part, and ſmall Relief to you. But if you would love me ſo much, that I might ſupply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my Offers to be ſuch as agreed with my Heart. And for the ſhort Charges ye ſpeak of, the Means are not ſo pleaſant, if God (whom my Truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare; but Solomon *ſaith,* All Things have here their Time; *you to Day, and I to morrow, and ſo the End of* Adam's *Line is ſoon run out. The mighty God give us his Grace, that during this Time his Glory be not defaced through our Weakneſs. Becauſe you deſire to ſhew yourſelf a worthy Soldier, if need ſo require, I will ſupply your Requeſt for the Scarf ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the Odours of Incenſe, which our beloved Chriſt offered for his own; to whom I bequeath both our Bodies and Souls.*

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Beſides theſe Letters, the Biſhops did alſo bring forth a Supplication, made by Mr. *Philpot* unto the High-court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the firſt of the two Letters laſt mentioned; the Copy whereof here follows.

To the King's and Queen's Majeſties Highneſs, the Lords Spirtual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled:

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto this honourable Court of Parliament John Philpot, *Clerk, that where there was by the Queen's Highneſs a Parliament called on the firſt Year of her gracious Reign, and after the old Cuſtom a Convocation of the Clergy, your Supplicant then being one of the ſaid Convocation-houſe, and Matters there ariſing upon the uſing of the Sacraments, did diſpute in the ſame, knowing that there all Men had and have free Speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any Thing there ſpoken, and yet that notwithſaid ſtanding not long after the ſaid Parliament, your Supplicant (without any Act or Matter) was commanded to Priſon to the King's Bench by the late Lord Chancellor, where he hath remained ever ſince, until now of late that my Lord the Biſhop of* London *hath ſent for your ſaid Suppliant, to examine him (being none of his Dioceſs) upon certain Matters, wherein they would have your Orator to declare his Conſcience, which the ſaid Biſhop ſaith he hath Authority to do, by reaſon of an Act of Parliament made in the firſt and ſecond Years of the King and Queen's Majeſties Reign, for the reviving of three Statutes made againſt them that hold any Opinion againſt the catholick Faith: Whereby he affirmeth, that every Ordinary may,* Ex officio, *examine every Man's Conſcience: And for that your ſaid Orator hath and doth refuſe, that the ſaid Biſhop of* London *hath any Authority over your ſaid Orator, becauſe he is neither his Dioceſan, nor hath publiſhed, preached, nor held any Opinion againſt the catholick Faith (notwithſtanding the ſaid Biſhop of* London *detaineth him in the Coal-houſe in the Stocks, without a Bed, or any other Thing to lie upon but Straw) and for that your ſaid Orator cannot appeal for his Relief, from the ſame Biſhop to any other Judge, but the ſame Biſhop may refuſe the ſame by their Law, and therefore hath no Succour and Help but by this High Court of Parliament, for the Explanation of the ſaid Act; therefore may it pleaſe you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queen's Majeſties, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that no Biſhop nor Ordinary ſhall commit or detain in Priſon any ſuſpected Perſon or Perſons for the catholick Faith, except he or they have ſpoken, written, or done ſome manifeſt Act againſt the catholick Faith; and the ſame to be lawfully proved againſt every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, by the Teſtimony of two lawful Witneſſes, to be brought before the ſaid Perſon or Perſons ſo accuſed, before he or they ſhall either be committed to Priſon, or convicted for any ſuch Offence or Offences; the ſaid former Statute, made in the ſaid firſt and ſecond Year of our ſaid Sovereign Lord and Lady notwithſtanding; whereby your ſaid Orator ſhall not only be ſet at Liberty, and divers other more remaining in Priſon; but alſo the Blood of divers of the Queen's Majeſty's true and faithful Subjects preſerved.* Anno 1555. 52

The Condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, John Philpot.

THESE Books, Letters, Supplications, and other Matters being thus read, the Biſhop demanded of him, if the Book intituled, *The true Report of the Diſputation,* &c. were of his Penning, or not? Whereunto *Philpot* anſwered, That it was a good and true Book, and his own penning and ſetting forth.

The Biſhops growing weary, and not being able by any ſufficient ground, either of God's Word, or of the true ancient catholick Fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering Speech to perſwade with him; promiſing, that if he would revoke his Opinions, and come Home again to their *Romiſh* and Babylonical Church, he ſhould not only be pardoned that which was paſt, but alſo they would with all Favour and Chearfulneſs of Heart, receive him again as a true Member thereof. Which Words when *Bonner* ſaw would take no Place, he demanded of Mr. *Philpot*, whether he had any juſt Cauſe to alledge why he ſhould not condemn him as an Heretick. Well, quoth Mr. *Philpot*, your idolatrous Sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever ſhall.

What needeth this Queſtion, my Lord, when no reaſonable Anſwer could be allowed?

In the End the Biſhop, ſeeing his unmoveable Stedfaſtneſs in the Truth, did openly pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. In the reading whereof, when he came to theſe Words, *And you an obſtinate, pernicious and impenitent Heritick,* &c. Mr. *Philpot* ſaid, I thank God that I am an Heretick out of your curſed Church; I am no Heretick before God. But God bleſs you, and give you once Grace to repent your wicked Doings, and let all Men beware of your bloody Church.

Moreover, whilſt *Bonner* was about the midſt of the Sentence, the Biſhop of *Bath* pulled him by the Sleeve, and ſaid, My Lord, my Lord, know of him firſt whether he will recant,

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The Martyrdom of Mr. John Philpot Arch Deacon of Winchester.

The Burning of John Lomas, A. Albright, J. Catmer, A. Snoth, & J. Sole, in Canterbury.

The Martyrdom of T. Whittle, B. Green, J. Tutson J Went, T Brown, Isabel Foster & Joan Warne.

Anno 1555. recant, or no. Then *Bonner* ſaid (full like himſelf) O let him alone; and ſo read forth the Sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffs; and ſo two Officers brought him thorough the Biſhop's Houſe into *Paternoſter-row*, and there his Servant met him, and when he ſaw him, he ſaid, Ah, dear Maſter.

Mr. *Philpot* delivered to the Sheriffs.

Then Mr. *Philpot* ſaid to his Man, Content thyſelf, I ſhall do well enough; for thou ſhalt ſee me again.

And ſo the Officers thruſt him away, and took him to *Newgate*; and as he went, he ſaid to the People, Ah good People, bleſſed be God for this Day; and ſo the Officers delivered him to the Keeper. Then his Man thruſt to go in after his Maſter, and one of the Officers ſaid unto him, Hence Fellow, what wouldſt thou have? And he ſaid, I would go ſpeak with my Maſter. Mr. *Philpot* then turned him about, and ſaid to him, To morrow thou ſhalt ſpeak with me.

He is conveyed to *Newgate*.

Then the under Keeper ſaid to Mr. *Philpot*, Is this your Man? and he ſaid, Yea. So he gave his Man leave to go in with him. And Mr. *Philpot* and his Man were turned into a little Chamber on the right Hand, and there remained a ſhort Time, until *Alexander* the chief Keeper came unto him; who at his entering, greeted him in theſe Words, Ah, ſaid he, haſt not thou done well to bring thyſelf hither? Well, ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, I muſt be content, for it is God's Appointment; and I ſhall deſire you to let me have your gentle Favour, for you and I have been of old Acquaintanc. Well, ſaid *Alexander*, I will ſhew thee Gentleneſs and Favour, ſo thou wilt be ruled by me. Then ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you ſhew me what you would have me to do.

Diſcourſe between Mr. *Philpot* and *Alexander* the Keeper.

He ſaid, If you would recant, I will ſhew you any Pleaſure I can. Nay, ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, I will never recant, whilſt I have my Life, that which I have ſpoken, for it is moſt certain Truth, and in Witneſs hereof I will ſeal it with my Blood. Then *Alexander* ſaid, This is the Saying of the whole Pack of you Hereticks. Whereupon he commanded him to be ſet upon the Block, and as many Irons upon his Legs as he could bear, becauſe he would not follow his wicked Mind.

Mr. *Philpot* loaded with Irons.

Then the Clerk told *Alexander* in his Ear, that Mr. *Philpot* had given his Man Money. And *Alexander* ſaid to his Man, What Money hath thy Maſter given thee? He anſwered, My Maſter hath given me none. No, ſaid *Alexander*, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will ſearch thee.

Do with me what you liſt, and ſearch me all that you can, quoth his Servant; he hath given me a Token or two to ſend to his Friends, as to his Brother and Siſters. Ah, ſaid *Alexander* unto Mr. *Philpot*, thou art a Maintainer of Hereticks; thy Man ſhould have gone to ſome of thine Affinity, but he ſhall be known well enough. Nay, ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, I do ſend it to my Friends; there he is, let him make Anſwer to it. But good Mr. *Alexander*, be ſo much my Friend, that theſe Irons may be taken off. Well, ſaid *Alexander*, give me my Fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou ſhalt wear them ſtill.

Then ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, Sir, what is your Fee? He ſaid, Four Pound was his Fees. Ah, ſaid Mr. *Philpot*, I have not ſo much; I am but a poor Man, and I have been long in Priſon. What wilt thou give me then, ſaid *Alexander*? Sir, ſaid he, I will give you twenty Shillings, and that I will ſend my Man for, or elſe I will lay my Gown to gage; for the Time is not long I am ſure, that I ſhall be with you; for the Biſhop ſaid unto me that I ſhould be ſoon diſpatched.

Then *Alexander* ſaid unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into Limbo, and ſo his Commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the Block, the Clerk would have a Groat.

Then one *Witterence*, Steward of the Houſe took him on his Back, and carried him down, his Man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. *Philpot* ſaid to his Man, Go to Mr. Sheriff, and ſhew him how I am uſed, and deſire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and ſo his Servant went ſtraightway, and took an honeſt Man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, (which was Mr. *Macham*) and ſhewed him how Mr. *Philpot* was handled in *Newgate*, the Sheriff hearing this, took his Ring off from his Finger, and delivered it unto that honeſt Man which came with Mr. *Philpot*'s Man, and bade him go unto *Alexander* the Keeper, and commanded him to take off his Irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his Man again that which he had taken from him.

Mr. *Macham*, Sheriff, a good Man, commandeth Mr. *Philpot*'s Irons to be taken off.

And when they came again to the ſaid *Alexander*, and delivered their Meſſage from the Sheriff, *Alexander* took the Ring, and ſaid, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a Bearer with him, and all ſuch Hereticks as he is, therefore to-morrow I will ſhew it to his Betters: Yet at ten of the Clock he went into Mr. *Philpot* where he lay, and took off his Irons, and gave him ſuch Things as he had taken before from his Servant.

Upon *Tueſday* at Supper, being the ſeventeenth Day of *December*, there came a Meſſenger from the Sheriffs, and bade Mr. *Philpot* make him ready, for the next Day he ſhould ſuffer, and be burned at a Stake with Fire. Mr. *Philpot* anſwered and ſaid, I am ready; God grant me Strength, and a joyful Reſurrection. And ſo he went into his Chamber, and poured out his Spirit unto the Lord God, giving him moſt hearty Thanks, that he of his Mercy had made him worthy to ſuffer for his Truth.

Mr. *Philpot* warned to prepare for Death.

In the Morning the Sheriffs came according to the Order, about eight of the Clock, and called for him, and he moſt joyfully came down unto them. And there his Man met him, and ſaid, Ah dear Maſter, farewel. His Maſter ſaid unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And ſo he went with the Sheriffs to the Place of Execution; and when he was entring into *Smithfield*, the Way was foul, and two Officers took him up to bear him to the Stake. Then he ſaid merrily, What, will ye make me a Pope? I am content to go to my Journey's End on Foot. But firſt coming into *Smithfield*, he kneeled down there, ſaying theſe Words, *I will pay my Vows in thee, O Smithfield.*

Mr. *Philpot*'s Words going to the Stake.

And when he was come to the Place of ſuffering, he kiſſed the Stake, and ſaid, Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this Stake, ſeeing my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile Death upon the Croſs for me? And then with an obedient Heart, full meekly he ſaid the 106,

107, and 108 Pſalms: And when he had made an End of all his Prayers, he ſaid to the Officers, What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave Money to them.

Then they bound him to the Stake, and ſet Fire to that conſtant Martyr; who the eighteenth Day of *December*, in the midſt of the fiery Flames, yielded his Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, and like a Lamb gave up his Breath, his Body being conſumed into Aſhes.

Thus haſt thou, gentle Reader, the Life and Actions of this learned and worthy Soldier of the Lord, *John Philpot*; with all his Examinations that came to our Hands: Firſt penned and written with his own Hand, being marvellouſly preſerved from the Sight and Hand of his Enemies; who by all manner of Means ſought not only to ſtop him from all Writing, but alſo to ſpoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which Cauſe he was many Times ſtripped and ſearched in the Priſon by his Keeper; but yet ſo happily theſe his Writings were conveyed and hid in Places about him, or elſe his Keeper's Eyes ſo blinded, that notwithſtanding all this malicious Purpoſe of the Biſhops, they are yet remaining and come to Light.

A Prayer to be ſaid at the Stake, by all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his Sake.

MErciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Chriſt approached in his Fear and Need by Reaſon of Death, and found Comfort; gracious God and moſt bounteous Chriſt, on whom Stephen *called in his extreme Need, and received Strength; moſt benign Holy Spirit, which in the midſt of all Croſſes of Death didſt comfort the Apoſtle St.* Paul *with more Conſolations in Chriſt, than he felt Sorrows and Terrors, have Mercy upon me a miſerable, vile, and wretched Sinner, which now draw near the Gates of Death, deſerved both in Soul and Body eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old and new Tranſgreſſions, which to thine Eyes, O Lord, are open and known: O be merciful unto me for the bitter Death and Blood-ſhedding of thine own only Son Jeſus Chriſt. And though thy Juſtice doth require (in reſpect of my Sins) that now thou ſhouldeſt not hear me, meaſuring me in the ſame Meaſure I have meaſured thy Majeſty, contemning thy daily Calls; yet let thy Mercy which is above all thy Works, and wherewith the Earth is filled, let thy Mercy, I ſay, prevail towards me, through and for the Mediation of Chriſt our Saviour. And for whoſe Sake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bring me forth now as one of his Witneſſes, and a Record-Bearer of thy Verity and Truth taught by him, to give my Life therefore (to which Dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any ſo unworthy and ſo unmeet, no not the Thief that hanged with him on the Croſs:) I moſt humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldeſt accordingly aid, help, and aſſiſt me with thy Strength and heavenly Grace, that with Chriſt thy Son I may find Comfort, with* Stephen *I may ſee thy Preſence, and gracious Power, with* Paul, *and all others, who for thy Name's Sake have ſuffered Affliction and Death, I may find ſo preſent with me thy gracious Conſolations, that I may by my Death glorify thy holy Name, propagate and ratify thy Verity, comfort the Hearts of the heavy, confirm thy Church in thy Truth, convert ſome that are to be converted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable World, where I do daily heap Sin upon Sin, and ſo enter into the Fruition of thy bleſſed Mercy; whereof now give and increaſe in me a lively Truſt, Senſe and Feeling, where thro' the Terrors of Death, the Torments of Fire, the Pangs of Sin, the Darts of Satan, and the Dolors of Hell may never depreſs me, but may be driven away thro' the working of that moſt gracious Spirit; which now plenteouſly endue me withal, that through the ſame Spirit I may offer (as I now deſire to do in Chriſt by him) myſelf wholly, Soul and Body, to be a lively Sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy Sight. Dear Father, whoſe I am, and always have been, even from my Mother's Womb, yea even before the World was made, to whom I commend myſelf, Soul and Body, Family and Friends, Country and all the whole Church, yea even my very Enemies, according to thy good Pleaſure; beſeeching thee intirely to give once more to this Realm of* England *the Bleſſing of thy Word again, with godly Peace, to the teaching and ſetting forth of the ſame. O dear Father, now give me Grace to come unto thee. Purge and ſo purify me by this Fire in Chriſt's Death and Paſſion thro' thy Spirit, that I may be a Burnt-offering of a ſweet Smell in thy Sight, who liveſt and reigneſt with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, now and for evermore, World without End.* Amen.

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He prayeth for reſtoring of the Goſpel and Peace in *England.*

Mr. *Philpot*'s Letter to a Chriſtian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from Idolatry, and to ſerve God after his Word.

IT is a lamentable Thing to behold at this preſent in England *the faithleſs departing both of Men and Women, from the true Knowledge and Uſe of Chriſt's ſincere Religion, which ſo plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own Conſciences bearing Witneſs to the Verity thereof. If that Earth be curſed of God, which* Heb. 6. *ſoon receiving Moiſture and pleaſant Dews from Heaven, doth not bring forth Fruit accordingly; how much more grievous Judgment ſhall ſuch Perſons receive, who having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect Knowledge of his Word by the Miniſtry thereof, do not ſhew forth God's Worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require* Matt. 25. *in the Day of Judgment a godly Uſury of all manner of Talents which he lendeth unto Men and Women, how much more will he require the ſame of his pure Religion revealed unto us (which is of all other Talents the chief, and moſt pertaining to our Exerciſe in this Life) if we hide the ſame in a Napkin, and ſet it not forth to the Uſury of God's Glory, and edifying of his Church by true Confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright Light of his Goſpel, which in Times paſt was ſuppreſſed, and hid under the vile Aſhes of Man's Traditions, and hath cauſed the Brightneſs thereof to ſhine in our Hearts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before Men to the Honour of his Name. It is not* Matt. 5. *only given us to believe, but alſo to confeſs and declare what we believe in our outward Converſation. For as St.* Paul *writeth to the* Romans, *Chap.* 10. The Belief of the Heart juſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the Mouth maketh a Man ſafe. *It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to ſhew forth the lively Works of our*

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Belief. For Christ saith, Matt. 7. Either make the Tree good and his Fruits good; or else make the Tree Evil and the Fruits Evil; because a good Tree bringeth forth good Fruits, as an evil Tree bringeth forth evil Fruits. *So that the Person who knoweth his Master's Will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many Stripes. And not all they who say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of God, but he that doth the Will of the Father. And,* Whosoever in the Time of Trial is ashamed of me (saith Christ) and of my Words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father. *After that we have built ourselves into the true Church of God, it hath pleased him by giving us over into the Hands of the wicked Synagogues to prove our Building, and to have it known as well to the World as to ourselves, that we have been wise Builders into the true Church of God upon the Rock, and not on the Sand, and therefore now the Tempest is risen, and the Storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his Honour and Glory, and to our eternal Felicity. There is no new Thing happened unto us, for with such Tempests and dangerous Weathers the Church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the Prophet* Haggai *tells us,* Chap. 2. The Lord shaketh the Earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

Luke 12. Matth. 7. Luke 9. Matth. 7.

Therefore my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the Word of God, and in the faithful Observation thereof, and let no Man deceive you with vain Words, saying, that you may keep your Faith to yourselves, and dissemble with Antichrist, and to live at Rest and Quietness in the World, as most Men do, yielding to Necessity. This is the Wisdom of the Flesh; but the Wisdom of the Flesh is Death and Enmity to God, as our Saviour for Example, aptly did declare in Peter, *who exhorteth Christ not to go to* Jerusalem *to celebrate the Passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.*

Wisdom of the Flesh not to be hearkened unto.

Likewise the World would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true Church, which is the Body of Christ, whereof we are lively Members, and to use the Sacraments after God's Word with the Danger of our Lives. But we must learn to answer the World as Christ did Peter, *and say,* Go behind me, *Satan,* thou savourest not the Things of God. Shall I not drink of the Cup which the Father giveth me? *For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the Church of God, than to be counted the Son of the King, in the Synagogue of false Religion. Death for Righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the Crown of everlasting Glory. These bloody Executioaers do not prosecute Christ's Martyrs, but crown them with everlasting Felicity; we were born into this World to be Witnesses unto the Truth, both learned and unlearned.*

Death for Righteousness bringeth Felicity.

Now since the Time is come that we must shew our Faith, and declare whether we will be God's Servants in Righteousness and Holiness, as we have been taught, and are bouud to follow, or else with Hypocrisy to serve Unrighteousness: Let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's Covenant, and true Members of his Church, in which through Knowledge we are ingrafted; from which if we fall by Transgression with the common Sort of People, it will more streightly be required of us, than many yet do make Account thereof. We cannot serve two Masters; we must be fervent in God's Cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first Commandment we are commanded to love God with all our Heart, with all our Mind, with all our Power and Strength: But they are manifest Transgressors of this Commandment, which with their Heart, Mind, or bodily Power, do communicate with a strange Religion, contrary to the Word of God, in the papistical Synagogue, which calleth itself the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites *did in Times past by forsaking* Jerusalem, *the true Church of God, and by going to* Bethel *to serve God in a Congregation of their own setting up, and after their own Imaginations and Traditions: For which doing God utterly destroyed all* Israel, *as all the Prophets do almost testify. This happened unto them for our Ensample, that we might beware to have any Fellowship with any like Congregation to our Destruction.*

1 *Kings* 13. God will not be served after Man's Imagination, but as himself prescribeth.

God hath one catholick Church dispersed throughout the World, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one catholick Church, and to have Communion therewith: Which catholick Church is grounded upon the Foundation of the Prophets and of the Apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul *witnesseth to the* Ephesians, *Chap.* 8. *Therefore wheresover we perceive any People to worship God truly after his Word, there we may be certain the Church of Christ to be; unto which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the Prophet* David, *to praise God in the midst of his Church,* Psal. 21. *But if we behold through the Iniquity of the Time, Segregations to be made with counterfeit Religion, otherwise than the Word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be Companions thereof, to say again with* David, Psal 26. I have hated the Synagogue of the Malignant, and will not sit with the Wicked. *In the* Revelations *the Church of* Ephesus *is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were Apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the Company of them. Further, God commanded his People, that they should not seek* Bethel, *neither enter into* Gilgal *where Idolatry was used, by the Mouth of his Prophet* Amos. *Also we must consider, that our Bodies be the Temple of God, and whosoever (as St.* Paul *teacheth,* 2 Cor. 3.) *doth prophane the Temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the Temple of Christ; and make it the Member of an Harlot? All strange Religion and Idolatry is accounted Whoredom with the Prophets, and more detestable in the Sight of God than the adventurous Abuse of the Body.*

Therefore the Princes of the Earth, in the Revelations *of St.* John, *are said to go a Whoring, when they are in love with false Religion, and follow the same. How then by any Means may a christian Man think it tolerable to be present at the Popish private Mass (which is the very Prophanation of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous Worshippings and Rites, which be not after the Word of God, but rather to the Derogation thereof, in setting Man's Traditions above God's Precepts, since God by his Word judgeth all strange Religion, which is not according to his Institution, for Whoredom and Adultery?*

Not lawful for a true Christian to come to the Mass.

Some fondly think that the Presence of the Body is not material, so that the Heart do not consent to their wicked Doings. But such Persons little consider what St. Paul *writeth to the* Corinthians, *commanding them to glorify God as well in Body as in Soul.*

Moreover, we can do no greater Injury to the true Church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her Adversary: Whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same; and so contrary to

to the Word, do give a great Offence to the Church of God, and do outwardly ſlander, as much as Men may, the Truth of Chriſt. But wo be unto him by whom any ſuch Offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a Mill-ſtone tied about his Neck, and to be caſt into the Sea. Such be Traitors to the Truth, like unto Judas, *who with a Kiſs betray'd Chriſt. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we ſhould be of any other than of that unſpotted Church, whereof he is the Head only, and wherein he hath planted us by Baptiſm. This Jealouſy which God hath towards us, will cry for Vengeance in the Day of Vengeance, againſt all ſuch as now have ſo large Conſciences to do that which is contrary to God's Glory, and the Sincerity of his Word, except they do in Time repent, and cleave inſeparably to the Goſpel of Chriſt, how much ſoever at this preſent both Men and Women otherwiſe in their own corrupt Judgment do flatter themſelves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his Sight, and to abſtain from all Manner of Evil, and therefore Chriſt commandeth us in the Goſpel to beware of the Leaven of the* Phariſees, *which is Hypocriſy.*

A Leſſon for large Conſciences.

St. Paul *to the* Hebrews *ſaith,* Chap. 10. If any Man withdraw himſelf from the Faith, his Soul ſhall have no Pleaſure in him; *therefore he ſaith alſo,* That we are none ſuch as do withdraw ourſelves unto Perdition, but we belong unto Faith, for the Attainment of Life. *St.* John *in the* Revelations *telleth us plainly, that none of thoſe who are written in the Book of Life, do receive the Mark of the Beaſt, which is of the papiſtical Synagogue, either in their Foreheads, or elſe in their Hands, that is, apparently or obediently.*

St. Paul *to the* Philippians *affirmeth. that we may not have any Fellowſhip with the Works of Darkneſs, but in the midſt of this wicked and froward Generation we ought to ſhine like Lights upholding the Word of Truth. Further he ſaith, that we may not touch any unclean Thing; which ſignifieth, that our outward Converſation in foreign*
2 *Cor.* 6. *Things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean Spirit and rectified Body we might ſerve God juſtly in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs all the Days of our Life.*

Finally, in the 18*th of the* Revelations, *God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical Synagogue, and not to be Partakers of her Treſpaſs. St.* Paul *to the* Theſſalonians *commandeth us in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to withdraw ourſelves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the Inſtitution which he hath received of him.*

Ponder ye therefore well, good Brethren and Siſters, theſe Scriptures which be written for your Erudition and Reformation, whereof one Jot is not written in vain: Which be utterly againſt all counterfeit Illuſion to be uſed by us with the Papiſts in their fantaſtical Religion, and be Adverſaries to all them that have ſo light Conſciences in ſo doing: And if they do not agree with this Adverſary (I mean the Word of God) which is contrary to their Attempts, he will (as is ſignified in the Goſpel, Matth. 5.*) deliver them to the Judge, which is Chriſt; and the Judge will deliver them to the Executioner, that is to the Devil: And the Devil ſhall commit them to the horrible Priſon of Hell-fire (where is the Portion of all Hypocrites) with Sulphur and Brimſtone, with wailing and gnaſhing of Teeth World without End. But yet many will ſay for their vain Excuſe, God is merciful, and his Mercy is over all. But the Scripure teacheth us, That curſed is he that ſinneth upon hope of Forgiveneſs. Truth it is, that the Mercy of God is above all his Works, and yet but upon ſuch as fear him: For it is written in the Pſalms,* Pſal. 102. 146. The Mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on ſuch as put their Truſt in him. *Where we may learn, that they only put their Truſt in God, that ſerve him; and to fear God, is to turn from Evil and do that which is good. So that ſuch as do look to be Partakers in God's Mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifeſt Evil and deteſtable in the Sight of God.*

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Another ſort of Perſons do make them a Cloak for the Rain under the Pretence of Obedience to the Magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But ſuch muſt learn of Chriſt to give to Cæſar *that is* Cæſar's, *and to God that is due to God; and with St.* Peter *to obey the higher Powers in the Lord, although they be Evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's Word, otherwiſe we ought not to obey their Commandments, although we ſhould ſuffer Death for it, as we have the Apoſtles for our Example herein to follow, who anſwered the Magiſtrates as we ought to do in this Caſe, not obeying their wicked Precepts, ſaying,* Judge you whether it be more righteous that we ſhould obey Man rather than God.

Obedience to Magiſtrates what, and how far.

Alſo Daniel *choſe rather to be caſt into the Den of Lions to be devoured, than to obey the King's wicked Commandments. If the Blind lead the Blind, both fall into the Ditch. There is no Excuſe for the Tranſgreſſion of God's Word, whether a Man doth it voluntarily or at Commandment, although great Damnation is to them, by whom the Offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extreme Refuge in their Evil-doings, do run to God's Predeſtination and Election, ſaying, that if I be elected of God to Salvation, I ſhall be ſaved whatſoever I do. But ſuch be great Tempters of God, and abominable Blaſphemers of God's Holy Election, and caſt themſelves down from the Pinnacle of the Temple in Preſumption, that God may preſerve them by his Angels through Predeſtination. Such verily may reckon themſelves to be none of God's Elect Children, that will do Evil that Good may enſue; whoſe Damnation is juſt, as St.* Paul *ſaith God's Predeſtination and Election ought to be with a ſimple Eye conſidered; to make us more warily to walk in good and godly Converſation according to God's Word, und not to ſet Cock in the Hoop, and put all on God's Back to do wickedly at large: For the Elect Children of God muſt walk in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs after they be once called to the true Knowledge. For ſo ſaith St.* Paul *to the* Epheſians, *Chap.* 1. That God hath choſen us before the Foundations of the World were laid, that we ſhould be holy and blameleſs in his Sight.

Therefore St. Peter *willeth us through good Works to make our Vocation and Election certain* 2 *Pet.* 1. *to ourſelves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the Rule of the Goſpel; and he that conformeth not himſelf to the ſame in godly Converſation, may juſtly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the Elect Children of God, but of the viperous Generation, and a Child of Darkneſs. For the Children of Light will walk in the Works of Light and not of Darkneſs, though they fall, they do not lie ſtill.*

Let all vain Excuſes be ſet apart, and whilſt ye have Light, as Chriſt commandeth, believe the

Anno 1555. *Light and abide in the ſame, leſt eternal Darkneſs overtake you unawares. The Light is come into the World, but (alas) Men love Darkneſs more than Light. God give us his pure Eye ſalve to heal our Blindneſs in this Behalf. O that Men and Women would be healed, and not ſeek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their Eyes, that they may ſee how dangerous a Thing it is to decline from the Knowledge of Truth, contrary to their Conſcience.*

But what ſaid I, Conſcience? many affirm their Conſcience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous Church to Service; whoſe Conſcience is very large to ſatisfy Man more than God. And although their Conſcience can bear them ſo to do, yet I am ſure that a good Conſcience will not permit them ſo to do; which cannot be good, unleſs it be directed after the Knowledge of God's Word; and therefore in Latin *this feeling Mind is called* Conſcientia, *which ſoundeth by Interpretation, as much as with Knowledge.*

And therefore if our Conſcience be led of herſelf, and not after true Knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed, as St. Paul *beareth Witneſs, ſaying,* Although my Conſcience accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not juſtified. *And he joineth a good Conſcience with theſe three Siſters, Charity, a pure Heart, and unfeigned Faith. Charity keepeth God's Commandments, a pure Heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned Faith is never aſhamed of the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, whatſoever Damage he ſhall ſuffer in Body thereby. The Lord who hath revealed his Holy Will unto us by his Word, grant us never to be aſhamed of it, and give us Grace ſo earneſtly to cleave to his holy Word, and the true Church, that for no Manner of worldly Reſpect we become Partakers of the Works of Hypocriſy, which God doth abhor; ſo that we may be found faithful in the Lord's Teſtament to the End, both in Heart, Word and Deed, to the Glory of God and our everlaſting Salvation,* Amen.

1 Cor. 4. 1 Tim. 1.

John Philpot, *Priſoner in the* King's-Bench *for the Teſtimony of the Truth.* 1555.

Mr. *Philpot*'s Letter to Mr. *John Careleſs*, Priſoner in the *King*'s-*Bench.*

MY dearly beloved Brother Careleſs, *I have received your loving Letters full of Love and Compaſſion, inſomuch that they made my Heart to weep, to ſee you ſo careful for one that hath been ſo unprofitable a Member as I have been, and am in Chriſt's Church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weep for him who hath not deſerved ſuch gentle Tears: And praiſe God with me, for that I now approach to the Company of them, whoſe want you may worthily lament; God give your pitiful Heart his inward Conſolation. Indeed my dear* Careleſs, *I am in this World in Hell, and in the Shadow of Death; but he that hath brought me for my Deſerts down into Hell, ſhall ſhortly lift me up to Heaven, where I ſhall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful Brethren in the* King's Bench. *And though I tell you that I am in Hell in the Judgment of this World, yet aſſuredly I feel in the ſame the Conſolation of Heaven, I praiſe God; and this loathſome and horrible Priſon is as pleaſant to me, as the Walk in the Garden of the* King's-Bench.

Experience of the Lord's Comfort in Trouble.

You know, Brother Careleſs, *that the Way to Heaven out of this Life is very narrow, and we muſt ſtrive to enter in at a narrow Gate. If God do mitigate the Ugline ſs of mine Impriſonment, what will he do in the Rage of the Fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an Enſample of Comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear Brethren with you in theſe cruel Days, in which the Devil ſo rageth at the faithful Flock of Chriſt, but in vain (I truſt) againſt any of us, who be perſuaded that neither Life, neither Death is able to ſeparate us from the Love of Chriſt's Goſpel, which is God's high Treaſure committed to our brittle Veſſels to glorify us by the ſame. God of his Mercy make us faithful Stewards to the End, and give us Grace to fear nothing whatſoever in his good Pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame. That I have not written unto you e're this, the Cauſe is our ſtrait keeping and the want of Light by Night; for the Day ſerveth us but a while in our dark Cloſet. This is the firſt Letter that I have witten ſince I came to Priſon, beſides the Report of my Examinations; and I am fain to ſcribble it out in haſte.*

Commend me to all our faithful Brethren, and bid them with a good Courage look for their Redemption, and frame themſelves to be hearty Soldiers in Chriſt. They have taken his preſt Money a great while, and now let them ſhew themſelves ready to ſerve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's Camp into the World as many do. Let them remember, that in the Revelations *the fearful be excluded the Kingdom. Let us be of good Cheer, for our Lord overcame the World, that we ſhould do the like. Bleſſed is the Servant, whom when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earneſtly one for another, that we be not led into Temptation. Be joyful under the Croſs, and praiſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt Sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my Father* Hunt, *and deſire him to love and continue in the Unity of Chriſt's true Church, which he hath begun, and then will he make me more and more to joy under my Croſs with him. Tell my Brother* Clements *that he hath comforted me much by his loving Token in Signification of an unfeigned Unity with us; let him increaſe my Joy unto the End perfectly. The Lord of Peace be with you all. Salute my loving Friends, Mr.* Mering, *Mr.* Crooch, *with the reſt, and eſpecially Mr.* Marſhal *and his Wife, with great Thanks for his Kindneſs ſhewed unto me. Farewel my dear* Careleſs. *I have dallied with the Devil a while, but I am over the Shoes: God ſend me well out.*

Rev. 21.

Out of the Coal-houſe, by your Brother, John Philpot.

Another Letter to Mr. *John Careleſs*, profitable to be read by all thoſe who mourn for, and repent of their Sins.

THE God of all Comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſend unto thee, my dear Brother Careleſs, *the inward Conſolation of his Holy*

Holy Spirit, in all the malicious Aſſaults and troublous Temptations of our common Adverſary the Devil. Amen.

To this Letter Mr. *Careleſs* maketh a very godly Anſwer, which you ſhall ſee afterwards in his Story.

That God giveth you ſo contrite a Heart for your Sins, I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively Mark of the Children of God, whoſe Property is to think more lowly and meanly of themſelves than of any other, and oftentimes do ſet their Sins before them, that they might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the Fruits of Repentance, and learn to mourn in this World, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken Heart is a pleaſant Sacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite Heart. God mollify my ſtony Heart, which lamenteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable Iniquities. Praiſed be God that he hath given you this ſorrowful Heart in reſpect of Righteouſneſs, and I pray you let me be Partaker of theſe godly Sorrows for Sin, which be the Teſtimony of the Preſence of the Holy Ghoſt. Did not the Sword of Sorrow pierce the Heart of the Elect and bleſſed Mother of our Lord? Did not Peter *weep bitterly for his Sins, which was ſo beloved of Chriſt? Did not* Mary Magdalen *waſh the Feet of our Saviour with her Tears, and received therewithal Remiſſion of her ſevenfold Sins?*

Be of good Comfort therefore, mine own dear Heart, in this thy Sorrow, for it is the earneſt Penny of eternal Conſolation. In thy Sorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: Bleſſed be they *(ſaith Chriſt)* that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted. *They went forth and wept, ſaith the Prophet, ſuch ſhall come again having their Gripes full of Gladneſs. And although a ſorrowful Heart, in Conſideration of his Sins, be an acceptable Sacrifice before God, whereby we are ſtirred up to more Thankfulneſs unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the Man of God muſt keep a Meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed up by much Sorrow.* St. Paul *would not that the* Theſſalonians *ſhould be ſorry as other Men without Hope: Such a Sorrow is not commendable, but worketh Damnation, and is far from the Children of God, who are continually ſorrowful in God when they look upon their own Unworthineſs, with Hope of Forgiveneſs. For God to this End by his Spirit ſetteth the Sins of his Elect ſtill before them, that where they perceive Sin to abound, there they might be aſſured that Grace ſhall ſuper-abound; and bring them down unto Hell, that he might lift them up with greater Joy unto Heaven. Wherefore, mine own Bowels in Chriſt, as long as you are not void altogether of Hope, be not diſmay'd through your penſive Heart for your Sins, how huge ſoever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to ſin: Yea, and he will forgive him who with Hope is ſorry for his Sins.*

Sorrow in a Chriſtian ought to be moderate. 1 Theſſ. 4.

Satan's Practice to bring the godly Repentance of a Sinner to Deſparation.

But know, Brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the Help of God's Spirit to do that is good, the evil Spirit Satan layeth hard wait to turn the Good unto Evil, and goeth about to dung the deteſtable Weeds of Deſparation with the godly Sorrow of a pure penitent Heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious Subtilty, and how that continually he aſſaulted that Good which the Grace of God planteth. I ſee the Battle betwixt you and him, but the Victory is yours, yea and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the Anchor of Salvation, which is Hope in Chriſt, which will not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed.

Be not diſcontented that you have this Conflict; but be glad that God hath given you the ſame to try your Faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the Kingdom of God, for which you ſtrive. God beholdeth your ſtriving Faith againſt Satan, and is pleaſed with your mighty Reſiſtance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the Adverſary's Power. Tempt he may, and lying in wait at your Heels give you a Fall unawares; but overcome he ſhall not; yea he cannot, for you are ſealed up already with a lively Faith to be the Child of God for ever: And whom God hath once ſealed for his own, him he never utterly forſaketh. Anno 1555.

God's Children fall. The Devil's Children lie ſtill.

The Juſt falleth ſeven Times, but he riſeth again. It is Man's Frailty to fall, but it is the Property of the Devil's Child to lie ſtill.

Striſe againſt Sin is a Token of God's Child. Luke 11.

This Striſe againſt Sin is a ſufficient Teſtimony that you are the Child of God: For if you were not, you would feel no ſuch Malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this ſtrong Goliah *hath the Hold, all Things are in Peace which he poſſeſſeth: And becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you unaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, and hold out the Buckler of Faith, and with the Sword of God's Promiſes ſmite him on the Scalp; that he may receive a deadly Wound, and never be able to ſtand againſt you any more.* St. James *telleth you that he is but a Coward, ſaying,* Reſiſt the Devil, and he will fly from thee. James 4. *It is the Will of God that he ſhould thus long tempt you, and not go away as yet, or elſe he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receive the Foil at your Hands, and increaſe the Crown of your Glory; for he that overcometh ſhall be crowned. Therefore glory in your Temptations, ſince they ſhall turn to your Felicity. Be not afraid of your continual Aſſaults which be Occaſions of your daily Victory. The Word of God abideth for ever. In what Hour ſoever a Sinner repenteth him of his Sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any Thing to the Charge of God's Elect? Do you not perceive the manifeſt Tokens of your own Election? Firſt, your Vocation to the Goſpel, and after your Vocation, the manifeſt Gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many other of your Condition, with Godlineſs which believeth and yieldeth to the Authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the ſame? Seeing you are God's own Darlings, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected Mind for theſe Temptations, neither make your unfeigned Friends to be more ſorrowful for you than Need doth require.*

Since God hath willed you at your Baptiſm in Chriſt to be careleſs, why do you make yourſelf careful? Caſt all your Care on him. Set the Lord before your Eyes always, for he is on your right Side, that you ſhould not be then moved. Behold the Goodneſs of God towards me. I am careleſs, being faſt incloſed in a Pair of Stocks, which pinch me for very Straitneſs; and will you be careful? I would not have that unſeemly Addition to your Name. Be as your Name pretendeth, for doubtleſs you have no other Cauſe but ſo to be. Pray, I beſeech you, that I may be ſtill careleſs in my careful Eſtate, as you have Cauſe to be careleſs in your eaſier Condition. Be thankful, and put away all Care, and then I ſhall be joyful in my ſtrait preſent Care. Commend me to all our Brethren, and deſire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my Temptations: For the Devil rageth againſt me: I am put in the Stocks in a Place alone, becauſe I would not anſwer to ſuch Articles as they would charge me withal in a Corner at the Biſhop's Appointment, and becauſe I did not come to Maſs when the Biſhop ſent for me. By God's Grace, I will lie all the Days of my Life in the Stocks, rather than I will conſent to the wicked Generation. Praiſe God, and be joyful, that it hath pleaſed him to make us worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for his Name's Sake. The Devil muſt rage

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for ten Days. Commend me to Mr. F——, *and thank him for his Law-books: But neither Law nor Equity will take any Place among these Blood-thirsty. I wish for your sake the unjust Dealing were noted unto the Parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil Days. I have answered the Bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open Judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he shall require; otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in Hugger-mugger. The Peace of God be with you my dear Brother. I can write no more for lack of Light, and that which I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written very uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my Mind towards you. Written in a Coal-house of Darkness, out of a Pair of painful Stocks, by thine own in Christ,*

John Philpot.

Abstract of a Letter written by Mr. *Philpot* to the Lady *Vane*.

THE principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true Knowledge of the Gospel, that your faithful Heart (worshipful and dear Sister in the Lord) may attain and taste with all the Saints what is the Height, the Depth, the Length, and the Breadth of the sweet Cross of Christ, Amen, *&c.*

Oh, happy are you amongst all other Women, that have found this precious Stone which is hidden in the Gospel; for which we ought to sell all other Things, and to purchase the same. Oh happy Woman, whose Heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the Profession thereof. Others seek worldly Goods, Honours, and Delights; but you seek with a good Understanding to serve God in Spirit and in Truth. This is the Gate that leadeth to Heaven, this is your Portion for ever. By this you shall see God Face to Face (which Sight is unspeakable Joy) and by this shall ye see a full Sight of all the beautiful heavenly Powers, and of all the celestial Paradise. By this shall you know them that you never knew, and be glad and joyful with those which you have known here in God, World without End, &c.

Ah, I lament the Infidelity of England, *that after so great Light, is stept into so huge Darkness again. The Servant that knoweth his Master's Will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many Stripes. Ah, great be the Plagues that hang over* England, *yea, though the Gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that Person be whom the Lord shall take out of this World, not to see them. Ah, the great Perjury which Men have run into so wilfully against God by receiving Antichrist again, and his wicked Laws; which do threaten a great Ruin unto* England. *O that the Lord would turn his just Judgments upon the Authors of the Truce breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as* Nebuchadonosor *was) that his People might be delivered, and his Glory exalted. God grant that that good Luck which you hope shortly to come upon the House of God, be a true Prophesy, and not a well wishing only. Ah, Lord, take away thy heavy Hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine Enemies, those Hypocrites, as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the Weak perish for want of Knowledge through our Sin. Although thou kill us, yet we will put our Trust in thee.*

Thus (dear Heart) you teach me to pray with you in Writing. God hear your Prayers, and give us the Spirit of effectual Prayer, to pour out our Hearts continually together before God, that we may find Mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted Brethren and Sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful Heart that taketh other Folks Calamities to Heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all Tears from your pitiful Eyes, and Sorrow from your merciful Heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his Elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's Battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very Coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by Death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the Field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no Spectacle of heavenly Manhood in me. I will present your Coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The Scarf I desire as an outward Sign to shew our Enemies, who see not our glorious End, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the Blindness of their Hearts, that they persecute Christ's Cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the Truth of his Gospel by his Death unto us, that we by our Death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever Torment we do suffer for his Name's sake; and our weak Brethren seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's Cross, and to follow him. God give us Grace to do all Things to his Glory, Amen, *&c.*

Philpot's Scarf.

The World wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme Misery, but our God is omnipotent, who turneth Misery into Felicity. Believe me (dear Sister) there is no such Joy in the World as the People of Christ have under the Cross. I speak by Experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the World can do unto you. For when they imprison our Bodies, they set our Souls at Liberty with God. When they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting Life. And what greater Glory can there be, than to be in Conformity with Christ? which Afflictions do work in us.

When Persecutors imprison Men's Bodies, they set their Souls at Liberty.

God open our Eyes to see more and more his Glory in the Cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy Partakers of the same. Let us rejoyce with St. Paul, *in the Cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the World is crucified unto us, and we to the World. The Cross of Christ be our Standard to fight under for ever. While I am talking with you of our common Consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate Tediousness: But you must impute it to Love which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their Bosoms.*

Therefore though your Flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such Rudeness, yet your Spirit will say nay, which taketh all Things in good Part that cometh of Love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my Leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere Love to you for ever: Farewel O elect Vessel of the Lord, to the Comfort of his afflicted Flock, farewel on Earth, whom in Heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewel under the Cross most joyfully, and until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, Be of good Cheer, for I have overcome the World, *&c.*

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear Bowels in Christ, until you may come to see the God of all Gods with his Elect in the everlasting Sion. *I send to you the Kiss of Peace, with which I do most entirely take my Leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your Heart is heavy because I say I must depart from you: It is the Calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good Comfort, hold out your Buckler of Faith: For by the Strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal Glory: To which Christ bring us both,* Amen, Amen. *The* 10*th of* December 1555.

Death, why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from Misery unto eternal Glory.

Dead to the World, and living to Christ, your own Brother, sealed up in the Verity of the Gospel for ever.

John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. *Philpot* to the Lady *Vane*.

GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increase in your godly Heart the Faith of the Gospel, which is your eternal Inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your Spirit with all spiritual Consolation to the Day of the Lord, Amen.

Lady *Vane* a liberal Benefactor to God's Saints.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly (my dear and faithful Lady) for the great and unfeigned Love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal Tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a Member in his Kingdom. For it cannot be but such shall reap with Abundance in Time of Reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well-doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such Benefit at your Hands, as in respect of a Pillar of Christ's Church, which am scarce a Shadow thereof. But the Zeal of Christ's Church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the Time doth require. God fulfil your Desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandring Star. I am not worthy of the Name of a Prophet, or of a Minister of God's Word, for that I have (being hindered by the Iniquity of the Time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a Friend of our common Spouse Jesus, and do rejoice in the Verity of his Word; for which (praised be his Name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer: And indeed whosoever giveth a Draught of Water in the Name of a Disciple (as Christ promised Mark 7). *shall not lose his Reward. Therefore that your Gentleness doth in the Name of him, which I am not, the Lord recompense unto you in all his Blessings, which he is accustomed to pour on them who love his Flock unfeignedly.*

Good Lady, you have to joy that the Kingdom of God is thus continually before your Eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the Bands of Christ, which you with his People in Part do suffer. They may be assured of the Glory everlasting, who here are not ashamed to take up the Cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the World laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our Tears shall shortly be turned to unspeakable Joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the World shall lament their Infidelity without End, &c.

Anno 1555.

I would I were able to do any Thing that might shew condign Thanks for that sincere Love you bear unto me in Christ: You adjure me (as it were) by your gentle Letters to be bold on you in all my Needs. I thank God who ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at present, but only Ability to thank your faithful Heart for your Goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet for Christians to love one another in God; and your Faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your Possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this Week I look for some Commissioners to sit on me, and my Fellow prisoners in Prison, lest the Spirit of our Breath might blow further Abroad. The Will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist *who was beheaded in Prison. Darkness cannot abide the Light. Therefore their Doings must declare what they are. We are as Sheep appointed for a Sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the Fire, for our Lord is a consuming Fire, who will put out the Fierceness of raging Torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the Body, but fear him that can cast both Body and Soul into Hell-fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the Cross of Christ, and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his Sake. God will have our Faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty Hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good Time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed, till he can say with St.* Paul, *Rom.* 8. I am persuaded that neither Death nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities or Powers, nor Things present nor Things to come, nor Heighth nor Depth, nor any other Creature is able to separate us from the Love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. *This Faith God plant both in you and me unmoveably. In this Faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.*

How a perfect Christian may be known.

All the Tribulations of the World are not worthy of the eternal Weight of Glory which is prepared for them, that here do with Patience abide the Cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the Strength in him, that is able to make us strong, and lament the Weakness, I might say, the Infidelity, of our faint-hearted Gospellers. Christ whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the Strength of God, and how then can they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touch ing ourselves, of this Time, than we have had of any Time before, in which we have so ready a Way to go unto God, and so good Occasion to shew our Duty in glorifying his holy Name. For if we be imprisoned in this Cause, we are blessed. For if we lose all that we have, we are blessed an hundred Fold. If we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering Persecutions, all is full of Blessings. Be blessed therefore (O Elect Lady) of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the Concupiscence of the World. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the Coming and Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. *Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true Peace, and to give you Victory of that Temptation which now is come to try our Faith; Christ be with you, and bless you both in Body and Soul; and my Prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last Week I sent your Beneficence to* Oxford; *I could not have a convenient Messenger before. As soon as I have Word, you shall be satisfy'd of your Request. Love*

The Time of Tribulation better for a Christian than the Time of Joy.

me

Anno 1555. *me as you do, and the God of Love be with you. The 20th Day of* Auguſt.

By yours, with all his Power in the Lord,

John Philpot.

A Letter of Mr. *Philpot* to a Friend of his, Priſoner the ſame Time in *Newgate*, wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the Matter or Queſtion of Infants to be baptized.

THE God of all Light and Underſtanding enlighten your Heart with all true Knowledge of his Word, and make you perfect to the Day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty Operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received Yeſternight from you (dear Brother, Saint, and Fellow-priſoner for the Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel) a Letter, wherein you gently require my Judgment concerning the Baptiſm of Infants, which is the Effect thereof. And before I do ſhew you what I have learned out of God's Word, and of his true and infallible Church touching the ſame, I think it not out of the Matter firſt to declare what Viſion I had the ſame Night while muſing on your Letter I fell aſleep, knowing that God doth not without Cauſe reveal to his People who have their Minds fixed on him, ſpecial and ſpiritual Revelations to their Comfort, as a Taſte of their Joy and Kingdom to come, which Fleſh and Blood cannot comprehend.

A Viſion revealed to Mr. *Philpot* upon a Letter to be anſwered.

Being in the midſt of my ſweet Reſt, it ſeemed me to ſee a great beautiful City, all of the Colour of Azure, and White, four-ſquare in a marvellous beautiful Compoſition in the midſt of the Sky, the Sight whereof ſo inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expreſs the Conſolation I had thereof, yea the Remembrance thereof cauſeth as yet my Heart to leap for Joy: And as Charity is no Churl, but would others to be Partakers of his Delight, ſo methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and while they came and we together beheld the ſame, by and by to my great Grief it faded away.

The Viſion expounded.

This Dream I think not to have come of the Illuſion of the Senſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpiritual Joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the Contentation of your Requeſt, as he wrought in Peter *to ſatisfy* Cornelius. *Therefore I interpret this beautiful City to be the glorious Church of Chriſt, and the Appearance of it in the Sky, ſignifieth the heavenly State thereof, whoſe Converſation is in Heaven;*

The primitive Example for us to follow.

and that according to the primitive Church which is now in Heaven, Men ought to meaſure and judge the Church of Chriſt now in Earth: For as the Prophet David *ſaith,* Pſal. 67. The Foundations thereof be in the Holy Hills, and glorious Things be ſpoken of the City of God. *And the marvellous Quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignify the univerſal Agreement in the ſame, and that all the Church here Militant ought to conſent to the primitive Church throughout the four Parts of the World; as the Prophet affirmeth, ſaying,* God maketh us to dwell after one Manner in one Houſe. *And that I conceived ſo wonderful Joy at the Contemplation thereof, I underſtand the unſpeakable Joy which they have that be at Unity with Chriſt's primitive Church: For there is Joy in the Holy Ghoſt, and Peace, which paſſeth all Underſtanding; as it is written in the* Pſalms, *as of joyful Perſons is the dwelling of all them that dwell in thee. And that I called others to the Fruition of this Viſion, and to behold this wonderful City, I conſtrue it by the Will of God this Viſion to have come upon me muſing on your Letter, to the End that under this Figure I might have Occaſion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive Church in all your Opinions concerning Faith, and to conform yourſelf in all Points to the ſame, which is the Pillar and Eſtabliſhment of the Truth, and teacheth the true Uſe of the Sacraments, and having with a greater Fulneſs than we have now, the firſt Fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, did declare the true Interpretation of the Scriptures according to all Verity, even as our Saviour promiſed to ſend them another Comforter, which ſhould teach them all Truth.*

And ſince all Truth was taught and revealed to the primitive Church, which is our Mother, let us all that be obedient Children of God, ſubmit ourſelves to the Judgment of the Church for the better Underſtanding of the Articles of our Faith, and of the doubtful Sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to ſhew in us (by following any private Man's Interpretation upon the Word) another Spirit than they of the primitive Church had, leſt we deceive ourſelves. For there is but one Faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himſelf, neither otherwiſe now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at Peace with them, according as the true catholick Church is at this Day: And the God of Peace aſſuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly Troubles and Miſeries, and make us Partakers of their Joy and Bliſs, through our Obedience to Faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, *Chap* 8. *to aſk of the elder Generation, and to ſearch diligently the Memory of the Fathers. For we are but Yeſterday's Children, and be ignorant, and our Days are like a Shadow, and they ſhall teach thee, ſaith the Lord, and ſpeak to thee, and ſhall utter Words from their Hearts. And by* Solomon, Prov. 6. *we are commanded, not to reject the Direction of our Mother. The Lord grant you to direct your Steps in all Things after her, and to abhor Contention with her. For St.* Paul *writeth* 1 Cor. 11. If any Man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any ſuch Cuſtom.

Hitherto I have ſhewed you (good Brother) my Judgment generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to which I wiſh you as mine own Heart to be conformable, and then doubtleſs you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your Troubles, and triumph at the Hour of your Death, that you ſhall die in the Church of God a faithful Martyr, and receive the Crown of eternal Glory. And thus much have I written upon the Occaſion of a Viſion before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to ſatisfy you with uncertain Viſions only, and not after God's Word, I will take the Ground of your Letter, and eſpecially anſwer to the ſame by the Scriptures, and by infallible Reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and prove the Baptiſm of Infants to be lawful, commendable, and neceſſary, whereof you ſeem to ſtand in doubt.

Proof by Teſtimonies and Scriptures.

Indeed if you look upon the papiſtical Synagogue only, which had corrupted God's Word by falſe Interpretations, and hath perverted the true Uſe of Chriſt's Sacraments, you might ſeem to have good handfaſt of your Opinion againſt the Baptiſm of Infants.

Baptiſm of Infants of great Antiquity in the Church.

Every Thing abuſed in the Pope's Church is not to be rejected, but the Antiquity thereof to be ſearched and to be reduced again to the ſame.

fants. But for as much as it is of more Antiquity, and hath its Beginning from God's Word, and from the Uſe of the primitive Church, it muſt not in reſpect of the Abuſe in the popiſh Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be uſed in Chriſt's Church. Auxentius, *one of the* Arian *Sect, with his Adherents, was one of the firſt that deny'd the Baptiſm of Children, and next after him* Pelagius *the Heretick, and ſome others there were in St.* Bernard's *Time, as it doth appear by his Writings, and in our Days the Anabaptiſts, an inordinate Kind of Men ſtirred up by the Devil, to the Deſtruction of the Goſpel. But the catholick Truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be baptiſed, as whom God acknowledgeth for his People, and voucheth them worthy of Sanctification or Remiſſion of their Sins. Therefore ſince Infants be in the Number or Scroll of God's People, and be Partakers of the Promiſe by their Purification in Chriſt, it muſt needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as thoſe that can profeſs their Faith. For we judge the People of God as well by the free and liberal Promiſe of God, as by the Confeſſion of Faith. For to whomſoever God promiſeth himſelf to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no Man without great Impiety may exclude from the Number of the Faithful. But God promiſeth that he will not only be the God of ſuch as do profeſs him, but alſo of Infants, promiſing them his Grace and Remiſſion of Sins, as it appeareth by the Words of the Covenant made unto* Abraham, *Gen.* 17. I will ſet my Covenant between thee and me, ſaith the Lord, and between thy Seed after thee in their Generations, with an everlaſting Covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy Seed after thee. *To which Covenant Circumciſion was added, to be a Sign of Sanctification as well in Children as in Men; and no Man may think that this Promiſe is abrogated with Circumciſion and other ceremonial Laws. For Chriſt came to fulfil the Promiſes, and not to diſſolve them. Therefore in the Goſpel he ſaith of Infants, that is, of ſuch as yet believed not,* Mark 10. Let the little Ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven. *Again,* Matth. 18. It is not the Will of your Father which is in Heaven, that any of theſe little Ones do periſh. *Alſo,* Matth. 18. 10. He that receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe Babes, for I tell you their Angels do continually ſee in Heaven my Father's Face. *And what may be ſaid more plain than this? It is not the Will of the heavenly Father that the Infants ſhould periſh; whereby we may gather, that he receiveth them freely unto his Grace, although as yet they confeſs not their Faith. Since then that the Word of the Promiſes, which is contained in Baptiſm, pertaineth as well to Children as to Men, why ſhould the Sign of the Promiſe, which is Baptiſm in Water, be withdrawn from Children, when Chriſt himſelf commandeth them to be received of us, and promiſeth the Reward of a Prophet to thoſe that receive ſuch a little Infant, as he for an Example did put before his Diſciples?*

Matth. 5.

Matth. 28.

Arguments proving the Baptiſm of Children to be of God, and that the Apoſtles baptized Children.

Now will I prove with manifeſt Arguments that Children ought to be baptized, and that the Apoſtles of Chriſt did baptize Children. The Lord commanded his Apoſtles to baptize all Nations; therefore alſo Children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this Word, All Nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the Faithful, they are faithful, for it was ſaid to Peter, *Acts* 10. That Thing which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be common or unclean: *But God doth repute Children among the Faithful,* Ergo, *they be faithful, except we had rather to reſiſt God, and ſeem ſtronger and wiſer than he.* Anno 1555.

Another Argument.

And without all doubt the Apoſtles baptized thoſe which Chriſt commanded: But he commanded the Faithful to be baptized, among which Infants be reckoned: The Apoſtles then baptized ſants.

Another Argument.

The Goſpel is more than Baptiſm, for Paul *ſaid,* 1 *Cor.* 1. The Lord ſent me to preach the Goſpel, and not to baptize: *Not that he deny'd abſolutely that he was ſent to baptize, but that he preferred Doctrine before Baptiſm, for the Lord commanded both to the Apoſtles: But Children be received by the Doctrine of the Goſpel of God, and not refuſed: Therefore what Perſon being of Reaſon, may deny them Baptiſm, which is a Thing leſs than the Goſpel? for in the Sacraments be two Things to be conſidered, the Thing ſignify'd, and the Sign, and the Thing ſignify'd is greater than the Sign; and from the Thing ſignify'd in Baptiſm, Children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the Sign which is Baptiſm in Water?*

Another Reaſon.

St. Peter *could not deny them to be baptized in Water, to whom he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt given, which is the certain Sign of God's People: For he ſaith in the* Acts, *Chap.* 10. May any Body forbid them to be baptized in Water who have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we? *Therefore St.* Peter *deny'd not Baptiſm to Infants, for he knew certainly both by the Doctrine of Chriſt, and by the Covenant which is everlaſting that the Kingdom of Heaven pertaineth to Infants.*

Another Reaſon. Rom. 8.

None be received into the Kingdom of Heaven but ſuch as God loveth, and which are endued with the Spirit: For whoſo hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But Infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: Wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as Men, if they be numbered among the People of God as well as we that be of Age, who (I pray you) may well withſtand Children to be baptized with Water, in the Name of the Lord?

Another Reaſon. Mark 10.

The Apoſtles in Times paſt, being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmur againſt thoſe which brought their Children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and ſaid, Let the Babes come unto me. *Why then do not theſe rebellious Anabaptiſts obey the Commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days elſe that bring their Children to Baptiſm, than that they did in Times paſt which brought their Children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his Hands on them, bleſſed them, and both by Words and by gentle Behaviour towards them, declared manifeſtly that Children be the People of God, and entirely beloved by him.*

Objection.

But ſome will ſay, Why then did not Chriſt baptize them? becauſe it is written, John 4. *Jeſus himſelf baptized not, but his Diſciples.*

Moreover, Circumciſion in the old Law was adminiſtred to Infants; therefore Baptiſm ought to be adminiſtred in the new Law unto Children. For Baptiſm is come in the ſtead of Circumciſion, as St. Paul *witneſſeth, ſaying to the* Coloſſians, *Ch.* 2. By Chriſt ye are circumciſed with a Circumciſion which is without Hands, when ye put off the Body of Sin of the Fleſh, by the Circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with him through Baptiſm. *Behold,* Paul *calleth Baptiſm the Circumciſion of a chriſtian Man, which is done without Hands, but that with Hands no Man any longer ought to be circumciſed, albeit the Myſtery*

Another Reaſon.

of

Anno 1555.

of Circumciſion do ſtill remain in faithful People.

Another Reaſon.

To this I may add, that the Servants of God were always ready to adminiſter the Sacraments to them, for whom they were inſtituted. As for an Example, we may behold Joſhua, *Chap. 5. who moſt diligently procured the People of* Iſrael *to be circumciſed before they entered into the Land of Promiſe; but ſince the Apoſtles were the Preachers of the Word, and the very faithful Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized Infants, ſince Baptiſm is in place of Circumciſion?*

Another Reaſon.

Item, *The Apoſtles did attemperate all their Doings to the Shadows and Figures of the Old Teſtament: Therefore it is certain that they did attemperate Baptiſm accordingly to Circumciſion, and baptized Children becauſe they were under the Figure of Baptiſm; for the People of* Iſrael *paſſed through the Rea-Sea, and the Bottom of the Water of* Jordan, *with their Children. And although the Children be not always expreſſed, neither the Women in the holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and underſtood in the ſame.*

Another Reaſon.

Alſo the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the Apoſtles baptized whole Families or Houſholds: But the Children are comprehended in a Family or Houſhold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt Part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the Apoſtles did baptize Infants or Children, and not only Men of lawful Age. And that the Houſe or Houſhold is taken for Man, Woman and Child, it is manifeſt in the 17th of Geneſis; *and alſo in that* Joſeph *doth call* Jacob *with all his Houſe, to come out of the Land of* Canaan *into* Egypt.

Arguments of Example and of Antiquity.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient Writers, that the Baptiſm of Infants hath continued from the Apoſtles Time unto ours, neither was it inſtituted by any Councils, neither of the Pope, nor of other Men, but commanded from the Scripture by the Apoſtles themſelves. Origen *upon the Declaration of St.* Paul's *Epiſtle to the* Romans, *expounding the ſixth Chapter ſaith,* That the Church of Chriſt received the Baptiſm of Infants from the very Apoſtles. *St.* Jerom *maketh mention of the Baptiſm of Infants in the third Book againſt the* Pelagians, *and in his Epiſtle to* Leta. *St.* Auguſtine *reciteth for this Purpoſe a Place out of* John *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *in his firſt Book againſt* Julian, *Chap. 2. and he again writing to St.* Jerom, *Epiſt. 28. ſaith,* That St. *Cyprian,* not making any new Decree, but firmly obſerving the Faith of the Church, judged with his Fellow-biſhops, that as ſoon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. *The Place of* Cyprian *is to be ſeen in his Epiſtle to* Fidus.

Origen, who was 200 Years after Chriſt.

St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerome* 400 Years after Chriſt.

Alſo St. Auguſtine *in writing againſt the* Donatiſts *in the fourth Book,* Chap. 23 *and* 24, *ſaith, That the Baptiſm of Infants was not derived from the Authority of Man, neither of Councils, but from the Tradition or Doctrine of the Apoſtles.*

Cyril *upon* Leviticus, *Chap. 8. approveth the Baptiſm of Children, and condemneth the Iteration of Batiſm. Theſe Authorities of Men I do alledge, not to tie the Baptiſm of Children unto the Teſtimonies of Men, but to ſhew how Men's Teſtimonies do agree with God's Word, and that the Verity of Antiquity is on our Side, and that the Anabaptiſts have nothing but Lies for them, and new Imaginations, which feign the Baptiſm of Children to be the Pope's Commandment.*

After this will I anſwer to the Sum of your Arguments for the contrary. The firſt, which includeth all the reſt, is, Go ye into all the World, and preach the glad Tidings to all Creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: But he that believeth not, ſhall be damned, *&c.*

To this I anſwer, That nothing is added to God's Word by Baptiſm of Children, as you pretend, but that is done which the ſame Word doth require, for that Children are accounted of Chriſt in the Goſpel among the Number of ſuch as believe, as it appeareth by theſe Words, Matth. 18. He that offendeth one of theſe little Babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a Mill-ſtone ty'd about his Neck, and to be caſt into the Bottom of the Sea. *Where plainly Chriſt calleth ſuch as be not able to confeſs their Faith, Believers, becauſe of his mere Grace he reputeth them for Believers. And this is no Wonder ſo to be taken, ſince God imputeth Faith for Righteouſneſs unto Men that be of riper Age: For both in Men and Children, Righteouſneſs, Acceptation, Sanctification is of mere Grace, and by Imputation, that the Glory of God's Grace might be praiſed.*

And that the Children of faithful Parents are ſanctified, and among ſuch as do believe, is apparent in the ſeventh Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians. *And whereas you do gather by the Order of the Words in the ſaid Commandment of Chriſt, that Children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this End you alledge many Places out of the* Acts, *proving that ſuch as confeſſed their Faith firſt, were baptized: I anſwer, that if the Order of Words might weigh any Thing in this Cauſe, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in St.* Mark, *Chap. 1. we read that* John *did baptize in the Deſart, preaching the Baptiſm of Repentance. In which Place we ſee baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.*

And alſo I will declare this Place of Matthew, *exactly conſidered, to make for the Uſe of Baptiſm in Children; for St.* Matthew *hath it written in this wiſe,* Matth. 28. All Power is given me (ſaith the Lord) in Heaven and Earth, *therefore going forth* MATHETEUSATE, *that is, Diſciple ye, (as I may expreſs the Signification of the Word) that is, Make or gather to me Diſciples of all Nations. And following, he declareth the Way how they ſhould gather to him Diſciples out of all Nations,* Baptizing them and teaching; *by baptizing and teaching ye ſhall procure a Church to me. And both theſe aptly and briefly ſeverally he ſetteth forth, ſaying,* Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all Things whatſoever I have commanded you. *Now then Baptiſm goeth before Doctrine.*

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles, *who never heard any Thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ought to be baptized, neither would they permit themſelves to be baptized before they knew to what End. But this I have declared to ſhew you upon how feeble Foundation the Anabaptiſts be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this Text, that the Lord did only command ſuch to be baptized whom the Apoſtles had firſt of all taught. Neither here verily is ſignify'd who only be to be baptized, but he ſpeaketh of ſuch as be at perfect Age, and of the firſt Foundations of Faith, and of the Church to be planted among the* Gentiles, *which were as yet rude and ignorant of Religion.*

In the firſt converting of Infidels, believing ought to go before baptizing: But where Faith is received, God's Grace and Sacraments go not by Age, but as well by Children of the Faithful received as the Fathers.

Such as be of Age may hear, believe and confeſs that which is preached and taught, but ſo cannot Infants; therefore we may juſtly collect, that he ſpeaketh here nothing of Infants or Children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from Baptiſm.

It is a general Rule, He that doth not labour muſt not eat. *But who is ſo barbarous that might think hereby, that Children ſhould be famiſhed?*

The Lord ſent his Apoſtles at the Beginning of his ſetting up of his true Religion unto all Nations, unto ſuch as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the Covenant of God; and truly ſuch Perſons it behoved not firſt to be baptized, and afterward taught; but firſt to be taught, and after baptized. If at this Day we ſhould go to the Turks to convert them to the Faith of Chriſt, verily firſt we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize ſuch as would yield to be the Servants of Chriſt. Likewiſe the Lord himſelf in Time paſt did, when firſt he renewed the Covenant with Abraham, *and ordained Circumciſion to be a Seal of the Covenant after that* Abraham *was circumciſed. But he, when he perceived the Infants alſo to pertain to the Covenant, and that Circumciſion was the ſealing up of the Covenant, did not only circumciſe* Iſhmael *his Son, that was thirteen Years of Age, but all other Infants that were born in his Houſe, among whom we reckon* Iſaac.

Even ſo faithful People who were converted from heathen Idolatry by the preaching of the Goſpel, and confeſſing the Faith, were baptized; when they underſtood their Children to be counted among the People of God, and that Baptiſm was the Token of the People of God, they procured alſo their Children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, Abraham circumciſed all the Male Children of his Houſe. *In like Manner we read in the Acts and Writings of the Apoſtles, that after the Maſter of Houſe was turned to the Faith, all the whole Houſe was baptized. And as concerning thoſe which of old Time were compelled to confeſs their Faith before they received Baptiſm, which were called* Catechumeni, *they were ſuch as our Fore-fathers came from the* Gentiles *into the Church, who being yet rude of Faith, they did inſtruct in the Principles of their Belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the ſame ancient Fathers notwithſtanding did baptize the Children of faithful Men, as I have already partly declared.*

Why Children of chriſtian Parents be received to Baptiſm.

A *Catechumeni,* is a Novice, or young Beginner in Chriſt's Faith.

And becauſe you do require a haſty Anſwer of your Letter of one that is but a dull Writer, I am here enforced to ceaſe particularly to go through your Letter in anſwering thereto, knowing that I have fully anſwered every Part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in ſuch Order as it had been meet, and as I purpoſed. But foraſmuch as I underſtand that you will be no contentious Man, neither in this Matter, neither in any other, contrary to the Judgment of Chriſt's primitive Church, which is the Body and Fulneſs of Chriſt, I deſire you in the entire Love of him, or rather Chriſt deſireth you by me (that your Joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to ſubmit your Judgment to that Church, and to be at Peace and Unity in the ſame; that the Coat of Chriſt which ought to be without Seam, but now alas, moſt miſerably is torn in Pieces by many dangerous Sects and damnable Opinions, may appear by you in no Part to have been rent, neither that any giddy Head in theſe Dog-days, might take an Enſample by you to diſſent from Chriſt's true Church: I beſeech thee, dear Brother in the Goſpel, follow the Steps of the Faith of the glorious Martyrs in the primitive Church, and of ſuch as at this Day follow the ſame; decline from them neither to the Right Hand nor to the Left. Then ſhall Death, be it never ſo bitter, be more ſweet than this Life; then ſhall Chriſt with all the heavenly Jeruſalem *triumphantly embrace your Spirit with unſpeakable Gladneſs and Exaltation, who in this Earth was content to join your Spirit with their Spirits, according as it is commanded by the Word, that the Spirit of the Prophets ſhould be ſubject to the Prophets. One Thing ask with* David *ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a full Accord in his Houſe, for there is Glory and Worſhip: And ſo with* Simeon *in the Temple embracing Chriſt, depart in Peace: To which Peace Chriſt bring both you and me, and all our loving Brethren that love God in the Unity of Faith, by ſuch Ways as ſhall pleaſe him, to his Glory. Let the bitter Paſſion of Chriſt, which he ſuffered for your ſake, and the horrible Torments which the godly Martyrs of Chriſt have endured before us, and alſo the ineſtimable Reward of your Life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the End of that glorious Race which you are in,* Amen.

Note, The Perſon to whom this Letter was written was converted, and afterwards died in the ſame Faith as this Letter did perſuade him.

Your Yoke-follow in Captivity for the Verity of Chriſt's Goſpel, to live and die with you in the Unity of Faith.

John Philpot.

There were many other Letters written by Mr. *Philpot* to divers Perſons, but theſe I have inſerted as being the principal.

The Hiſtory of Seven Martyrs ſuffering together at London, *for the Teſtimony of Chriſt's Goſpel.*

THE catholick Prelates being as yet not ſatisfy'd with this their one Year's murdering of the Reverend, Learned, and principal Members of the Chriſt's Church (whereof now there were but very few, who either were not cruelly conſumed by Fire, or elſe, to aviod their popiſh Rage, compelled to flee their natural Country) continued ſtill this next Year alſo, which was Anno 1556, in no leſs Cruelty towards the poor, ſimple, and inferior Sort of People (I mean in Degree, tho' God be praiſed, not in Steadfaſtneſs) having yet ſometimes amongſt them ſuch as were both learned and of good Eſtimation, as in Continuance of this Story ſhall appear.

Wherefore (as the firſt Fruits thereof) to begin this Year withal, about the 27th Day of *January* were burned in *Smithfield* at *London* theſe ſeven Perſons hereafter following, to wit:

Thomas Whittle, Prieſt. *Bartlet Green,* Gentleman. *John Tudſon,* Artificer. *John Went,* Artificer. *Thomas Browne. Iſabel Foſter,* Wife. *Joan Warne,* alias *Laſhford,* Maid.

All which ſeven, as they were burned together in one Fire, ſo were they likewiſe all upon one Sort and one Form of Articles condemned in one Day. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the Gifts of God in them were diverſe (ſome more abounding in Knowledge than others) their Dealings withal were alſo diverſe, as ſhall be more plainly perceived in diſcourſing of their ſeveral Proceſſes. And therefore for the better Underſtanding hereof, I will firſt (paſſing over their private Articles and Examinations had at ſundry Times in the Biſhop's Houſe,) ſet forth their general Examinations in the publick Conſiſtory, upon the Biſhop's Articles there adminiſtred unto them, with their Anſwers alſo to the ſame, according as they all agreed

Anno 1555. agreed after one Manner and Sort together, as here by the Words both of the Articles and their Anſwers underwritten, may appear.

The Form and Words of Biſhop Bonner's *Articles, adminiſtred to the ſeven Perſons abovementioned in his Conſiſtory.*

AND firſt to behold the Manner of Speech in theſe Biſhops, ſitting in their Majeſty, to terrify the Ears of the Simple withal, let us hear the pontifical Phraſe of this Biſhop, beginning in this Sort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every Part and Parcel of them, we Edmund, *by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *do object and adminiſter to thee* Thomas Whittle, &c. *of our meer Office, for thy Soul's Health, and for the Reformation of thine Offences and Miſdemeanours, admoniſhing thee in the Virtue of Obedience, and under the Pains of both Cenſures of the Church, and alſo of other Pains of the Law, to anſwer fully, plainly, and truly to all the ſame.*

FIRST, that thou *N.* haſt firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and conſtantly believed in Times paſt, and ſo doſt now believe at this preſent, that there is here in Earth a catholick Church, in which catholick Church the Faith and Religion of Chriſt is truly profeſſed, allowed, received, kept and retained by all faithful and true Chriſtian People.

Seven Sacraments. 2. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* in Times paſt haſt alſo believed, and ſo doſt believe at this preſent, that there are in the catholick Church ſeven Sacraments, inſtituted and ordained by God, and by the Conſent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept and retained.

The Godfathers Faith. 3. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* waſt in Times paſt baptized in the Faith of the ſaid catholick Church, profeſſing by thy Godfathers and Godmother, the Faith and Religion of Chriſt and the Obſervation thereof, renouncing there the Devil and all his Pomps and Works, and waſt by the ſaid Sacrament of Baptiſm incorporated to the catholick Church, and made a faithful Member thereof.

4. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* coming to the Age of fourteen Years, and ſo to the Age of Diſcretion, didſt not depart from the ſaid Profeſſion and Faith, nor didſt miſlike any Part of the ſame Faith or Doings, but didſt like a faithful Chriſtian Perſon abide and continue in all the ſame for the Space of certain Years, ratifying and confirming all the ſame.

Sacrifice of the Maſs. 5. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* notwithſtanding the Premiſſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay, within theſe two Years laſt paſt, within the City and Dioceſe of *London*, ſwerved at the leaſt Way from ſome Part of the ſaid catholick Faith and Religion; and amongſt other Things thou haſt miſliked and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Unity of the Church, railing and maligning the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and the Faith obſerved in the ſame..

6. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* haſt hereto- See of fore refuſed, and doſt refuſe at this preſent to *Rome.* be reconciled again to the Unity of the Church, not acknowledging and confeſſing the Authority of the ſaid See of *Rome* to be lawful.

7. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* miſliking the Saerifice of the Maſs, and the Sacrament of the Altar, haſt refuſed to come to thy Pariſh-Church to hear Maſs, and to receive the ſaid Sacrament, and haſt alſo expreſly ſaid, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially and truly, but haſt affirmed expreſly, that the Maſs is Idolatry and Abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is none other Subſtance but only material Bread and material Wine, The Sawhich are Tokens of Chriſt's Body and Blood crament only, and that the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body of the and Blood is in no wiſe in the ſaid Sacrament Altar. of the Altar.

8. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* being convened before certain Judges or Commiſſioners, for thy Diſorder herein, and being found obſtinate, wilful and heady, waſt by their Commandment ſent unto me and my Priſon, to be examined by me, and Proceſs to be made againſt thee for thy Offence herein.

9. *Item*, That all and ſingular the Premiſſes have been, and be true and manifeſt, and thy ſelf not only infamed and ſuſpected thereof, but alſo culpable therein; and by Reaſon of the ſame, thou waſt and art of the Juriſdiction of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, and before me, according to the Order of the eccleſiaſtical Laws, are to be convened, and alſo by me to be puniſhed and reformed.

Their Anſwers to the foregoing Articles.

TO the firſt Article they altogether agreed, affirming the ſame to be true: *John Tudſon* and *Thomas Brown*, further adding, that the Church of *England*, as it was at that preſent uſed, was no Part of the true catholick Church.

To the ſecond Article they anſwered, that they acknowledged but only two Sacraments in Chriſt's catholick Church, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord; *John Went*, and *Tudſon* affirmed, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed, was an Idol, and no Sacrament at all.

To the third Article they all agreed, and confeſſed it to be true, that they were baptized in the Faith of Chriſt, and the Church then taught; and afterwards during the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth, they hearing the Goſpel preached, and the Truth opened, followed the Order of the Religion and Doctrine then uſed and ſet forth in the Reign of the ſaid King *Edward*.

To the fourth Article they alſo agreed: But *John Went* added, that about ſeven Years paſt, he then being about twenty Years of Age, began to miſlike certain Things uſed in the Church of *England*, as the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Altar; likewiſe all the Ceremonies of the ſaid Church, and did likewiſe at that preſent Time miſlike the ſame as they were uſed, although his Godfathers and Godmother promiſed for him the contrary.

John

John Tudſon alſo ſaid, that when he came to the Years of Diſcretion, that is, about nine Years paſt, being about eighteen Years of Age, he did miſlike the Doctrine and Religion then taught and ſet forth in the Church of *England*, except in the Time of King *Edward*, in whoſe Reign the Goſpel was truly ſet forth: And he further ſaid, that the Doctrine ſet forth in the Queen's Reign was not agreeable to God's Word, nor yet to the true catholick Church that Chriſt ſpeaketh of, &c.

The Faith which they were baptized in, was in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, believing the Articles of the Creed, with Promiſe made to renounce the Devil, the Fleſh, and the World, of which Faith their Godfathers and Godmothers were Sureties for them, and in this Faith they continue ſtill.

Iſabel Foſter, with others granted, adding likewiſe, and ſaying to the ſaid four Articles, that ſhe continued in the ſame Faith and Religion which ſhe was baptized in, after ſhe came to the Years of Diſcretion as other common People did; howbeit, blindly and without Knowledge, till the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth: At which Time ſhe hearing the Goſpel truly preached and opened to the People, received thereupon the Faith and Religion then taught and ſet forth, &c.

To the fifth Article, they anſwered and agreed the ſame to be true, according to the Contents thereof: *Thomas Whittle* adding moreover, that he had ſwerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole catholick Church, but from the Church of *Rome*, in ſpeaking againſt the Maſs, the Sacrifice thereof, and the See of *Rome*.

Joan Laſhford, alias *Joan Warn*, granted with the other the ſaid Article, added moreover, that ſhe never hitherto ſwerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any Part of Chriſt's catholick Faith and Religion? But ſaid, that from the Time ſhe was eleven Years of Age, ſhe had miſliked the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the See of *Rome*, with the Doctrine thereof, becauſe they be againſt Chriſt's catholick Church, and the right Faith of the ſame.

As for other Ceremonies and Abuſes of the Church, they never made any Promiſe in their Baptiſm.

Bartlet Green anſwering to this Article, ſaid, that he ſwerved not from the catholick Faith, but only from the Church of *Rome*, &c.

To the ſixth Article they anſwered, and confeſſed the ſame to be true, rendering the Cauſe thereof, becauſe (ſay they) the ſame Church and Doctrine therein ſet forth and taught, diſagreeth from the Unity of Chriſt's Word, and the true catholick Faith, &c.

To ſwerve from the Corruptions of the See of *Rome*, and Sacrifice of the Maſs, is not to go from the catholick Church of Chriſt.

Whereunto *Bartlet Green* anſwered, that he was contented to be reconciled to the Unity of Chriſt's catholick Church, but not of the Church of *Rome*.

In like Manner added alſo *John Went*.

To the ſeventh Article they anſwered, and confeſſed the Contents thereof to be true, giving withal the Reaſon and Cauſe of this their ſo doing, for that the Maſs with the Sacrament thereof, as it was then uſed and ſet forth in the Church of *England*, was diſſonant to the Word and Teaching of the People, &c.

John Went furthermore ſaid, as concerning the Maſs, that he believeth no leſs, but the Maſs which he calleth, the Supper of the Lord, as it is now uſed in the Realm of *England*, is naught, full of Idolatry, and againſt God's Word ſo far as he ſeeth it; howbeit, he ſaith that ſince the Queen's Coronation by Chance he hath been preſent where the Maſs hath been ſaid, whereof he is ſorry.

Iſabel Foſter alſo anſwering to the ſaid Articles, with the other before, confeſſed moreover, that ſince Queen *Mary*'s Reign ſhe had not heard Maſs, nor received the Sacrament, but had refuſed to be in the Place where it was adminiſtred: For ſhe knew no ſuch Sacrament to be. And being demanded of her Belief in the ſame, ſhe ſaid, that there was but one only material Bread, and material Wine, and not the real Subſtance of the Body of Chriſt in the ſame Sacrament: For ſo ſhe had been taught to believe by the Preachers in the Time of King *Edward*, whom ſhe believed to have preached the Truth in that Behalf. Anno 1555.

To the eighth Article they grant the ſame, and the Contents thereof to be ſo.

Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the Lord Chancellor that then was, ſent him up to the Biſhop there preſent.

Bartlet Green added, that he was ſent up to the ſaid Biſhop, but for no Offence herein articulate.

John Went ſaid, that Dr. *Story*, Queen *Mary*'s Commiſſioner, examined him upon the Sacrament, and becauſe he denied the real Preſence, he preſented this Examinate to the Biſhop.

John Tudſon likewiſe examined by Mr. *Cholmley* and Dr. *Story* upon the ſame Matters, and for not coming to the Church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the Biſhop.

Thomas Brown alſo ſaid, that he for not coming to the Church of St. *Brides*, was brought by the Conſtable to the Biſhop, &c.

Joan Warne confeſſed, that ſhe was ſent by Dr. *Story* to the Biſhop of *London*, about twelve Weeks ago, ſince which Time ſhe hath continued with the ſaid Biſhop. Of this *Joan Warne* read before.

To the ninth Article they confeſs and ſay, that as they believe the Premiſſes before by them confeſſed to be true, ſo they deny not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the Juriſdiction of *London*.

And thus having expreſſed their Articles, with their Anſwers jointly made unto the ſame, it remaineth further more fully to diſcourſe the Handling of all the ſeven aforeſaid Martyrs ſeverally and particularly by themſelves, firſt beginning with *Thomas Whittle*.

1. Thomas Whittle, *Martyr.*

MEntion was made before, in Mr. *Philpot*'s Story, of a married Prieſt, whom he found in Biſhop *Bonner*'s Coal-houſe, at his firſt coming thither, in Heavineſs of Mind and great Sorrow, for recanting the Doctrine which he had taught in King *Edward*'s Days, whoſe Name was *Thomas Whittle* of *Eſſex*; and thus lieth his Story. This *Thomas Whittle*, after he had been expulſed from the Place in *Eſſex* where he ſerved, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as Occaſion offered, preaching and ſowing the Goſpel of Chriſt. At length being apprehended by one *Edmund Alablaſter*, in hope of Reward and Promotion, which he miſerably gaped after, he was brought firſt as Priſoner before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who then was lately fallen ſick of his Diſeaſe, whereof not long after he died moſt ſtrangely. But the Apprehender for his proferred Service was highly checked by the Biſhop, asking if there were no Man unto whom he might bring ſuch Raſcals, but to him. Hence (quoth he) out of my Sight thou Varlet, what doſt thou trouble me with ſuch Matters. The greedy Cormorant being thus defeated of his deſired Prey, yet thinking to ſeek and hunt further,

Anno 1556. carried his Priſoner to the Biſhop of *London*, with whom what ill Uſage this *Whittle* had, and how he was by the Biſhop beaten and buffeted about the Face, by this his own Narration in a Letter ſent to his Friend, manifeſtly may appear.

Upon *Thurſday* which was the tenth of *January*, the Biſhop of *London* ſent for me *Thomas Whittle*, Miniſter, out of the Porter's Lodge, where I had been all Night, lying upon the Earth on a little low Bed, where I had as painful a Night of Sickneſs as ever I had. And when I came before him, he talked with me many Things of the Sacrament ſo groſly, as is not worthy to be rehearſed. And amongſt other Things, he asked me if I would have come to Maſs that Morning if he had ſent for me. Whereunto I anſwered, that I would have come to him at his Commandment, but to your Maſs (ſaid I) I have ſmall Affection. At which Anſwer he was ſore diſpleaſed, and ſaid, I ſhould be fed with Bread and Water. And as I followed him through the great Hall, he turned back, and beat me with his Fiſt, firſt on the one Cheek, and then on the other, as the Sign of my beating did many Days appear. And then he led me into a little Salt-houſe, where I had neither Straw nor Bed, but lay two Nights on a Table, and ſlept ſoundly, I thank God.

Tho. Whittle beaten on the Face by *Bonner*.

Then, upon the *Friday* next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many fair Words, and ſaid he would be good to me. And ſo he going to *Fulham*, committed me to Dr. *Harpsfield*, that he and I that Afternoon ſhould commune together, and draw out certain Articles, whereunto if I would ſubſcribe, I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But Dr. *Harpsfield* ſent not for me till Night, and then perſwaded me very much to forſake my Opinions. I anſwered, I held nothing but the Truth, and therefore I could not ſo lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I ſhould at that Time have had no more ado: But he had made a certain Bill, which the Regiſter pulled out of his Boſom, and read it. The Bill indeed was very eaſily made, and therefore more dangerous: For the Effect thereof was, to deteſt all Errors and Hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and to believe the Faith of the catholick Church, and live accordingly.

The Copy of this Bill here mentioned, if it pleaſe the gentle Reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our Hands, we have hereunto adjoined, written in their own Words, as followeth.

The Bill of Submiſſion, offered to *Thomas Whittle* to ſubſcribe.

I Thomas Whittle, *Prieſt*, *of the Dioceſs of* London, *acknowledge and confeſs with my Mouth, agreeing with my Heart before you Reverend Father in God*, Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *my Ordinary, that I do deteſt and abhor all Manner of Hereſies and Errors againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, or any of the Sacraments of the Church, which Hereſies and Errors have heretofore been condemned in any wiſe by the catholick Church: And I do proteſt and declare by theſe Preſents, that I do both now hold, and alſo intend by God's Grace always hereafter to hold, obſerve and keep, in all Points the catholick Faith and Belief of Chriſt's Church, according as this Church of* England, *being a Member of the ſaid catholick Church doth now profeſs and keep, and in no wiſe to ſwerve, decline, or go from the ſaid Faith, during my natural Life, ſubmitting myſelf fully and wholly to you, Reverend Father, my ſaid Ordinary, in all Things concerning my Reformation and Amendment at all Times. In witneſs whereof I the ſaid* Thomas Whittle, *Prieſt, have hereunto ſubſcribed my Name, written*, &c.

Whittle, through Infirmity ſubſcribed to the Bill, but his Conſcience ſoon compelled him to repent of the ſame.

To this Bill I did indeed ſet my Hand, being much deſired and counſelled ſo to do; and the Fleſh being always deſirous to have Liberty, I conſidered not thoroughly the Inconvenience that might come thereupon; and Reſpite I deſired to have had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now when I had ſo done, I had little Joy thereof. For by and by my Mind and Conſcience told me by God's Word that I had done Evil, by ſuch a ſlight Means to ſhake off the ſweet Croſs of Chriſt: And yet it was not my ſeeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. O the crafty Subtilty of Satan in his Members! Let every Man that God ſhall deliver into their Hands, take good heed, and cleave faſt to Chriſt: For they will leave no Corner of his Conſcience unſought, but will attempt all guileful and ſubtle Means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his Truth. But yet let no Man deſpair of God's Help, for *Peter* did fall and riſe again. And *David* ſaith, *A righteous Man though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt away: For the Lord upholdeth him with his Hand.* For I for my Part have felt my Infirmities, and yet have I found God's preſent Help and Comfort in Time of Need, I thank him therefore.

Comfort againſt Deſpair.

The Night after I had ſubſcribed I was ſore grieved, and for Sorrow of Conſcience could not ſleep. For in the Deliverance of my Body out of Bonds, which I might have had, I could find no Joy nor Comfort, but ſtill was in my Conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by God's Spirit and his Word, that I through evil Council and Advice had done amiſs. And both with Diſquietneſs of Mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was ſickly, lying upon the Ground when the Keeper came, and ſo I deſired him to pray Dr. *Harpsfield* to come to me, and ſo he did.

And when he came, and the Regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at Eaſe, but eſpecially I told him I was grieved very much in my Conſcience and Mind becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſaid, that my Conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the juſt Judgment of God and his Word, that I had felt Hell in my Conſcience, and Satan ready to devour me: And therefore I pray you Mr. *Harpsfield* (ſaid I) let me have the Bill again, for I will not ſtand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and ſuffered me to put out my Name, whereof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although Death ſhould follow. And hereby I had Experience of God's Providence and Mercy towards me, who trieth his People, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: For in the midſt of this Temptation and Trouble, he gave me warning of my Deed, and alſo delivered me, his Name be praiſed for evermore, *Amen*.

Peace of Conſcience is a great Treaſure.

Neither Devil nor cruel Tyrant can pluck any of Chriſt's Sheep out of his Hand. Of which Flock of Chriſt's Sheep I truſt undoubtedly I am one by Means of his Death and Blood-ſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt Day

ſtand at his Right Hand, and receive with others his bleſſed Benediction. And now being condemned to die, my Conſcience and Mind I praiſe God is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his Grace am very willing and content to give over this Body to the Death, for the Teſtimony of his Truth and pure Religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe Religion and Doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeak not truly. And as for *Fountain* I ſaw him not all this while.

By me *Thomas Whittle*, Miniſter.

Concerning the troubled Mind of this good Man, and tearing his Name out of the Bill, here followeth the Report of the ſame, written in the Letters both of the ſaid Mr. *Harpſfield*, and alſo of *Johnſon* the Regiſter, being then preſent thereat, and Reporters of the ſame unto the Biſhop, as in their Letters hereto annexed is to be ſeen.

Mr. *Harpsfield*'s Letter to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, concerning Mr. *Whittle*.

PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to underſtand, that Yeſterday I dined with my Lord of Exeter, *who ſoon after my firſt coming to him, asked me what News? I anſwered, none but good that I had heard. No,* ſaid he; *why, it is a Rumour in the City, that to Morrow the Queen's Grace would take her Journey towards the King. I anſwered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an Invention of Hereticks: Yea, and further,* ſaid he, *there is a Report made Abroad of my Lord your Maſter, that he is in Diſcomfort, and therefore will ſuffer no Man to come unto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this Report was: So that my Lord (who before was very ſad) afterward knowing the Truth, rejoyced much to hear that all was well with your Lordſhip, and deſired me to have his hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip.*

One of my Lord of Pembroke's *Retinue, a very handſome Man, and as far as I can yet learn, a Catholick, is a Suter to your Lordſhip to have Licenſe to erect a School: And the Order which he intendeth to uſe, is contained in this printed Paper, which I ſend here incloſed to your Lordſhip. I would be glad for my Lord of* Pembroke's *ſake, that he underſtood, that upon my Motion your Lordſhip were content he ſhould teach as he intendeth. Mr.* Johnſon *and I have travelled with the Prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his Name to this Draught which is here incloſed, and hath promiſed he will ſtand to the ſame before your Lordſhip.*

He meaneth of the return again of *Thomas Whittle.*

When I had written thus much, ſuddenly came Tidings to me, that he was turned the other Side of Jordan. Cluney *coming to the Prieſt, found him lying proſtrate, and groaning as though he ſhould have died forthwith. Then* Cluney *took him up, and ſet him upon a Stool, and came to me, and told me of this Revel. It happened that Mr.* Johnſon *was with me, and we went to this fond Heretick, and found him lying all along, holding his Hands up, and looking hypocritically towards Heaven. I cauſed* Thomas More *and* Cluney *to ſet him on the Stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the Night, and told him that he was damned, and weeping he pray'd Mr.* Johnſon *and me to ſee the Bill whereunto he ſubſcribed, and when he ſaw it, he tore out his Name, to wit, out of the Book of the Living. Me thinketh by him he will needs burn a Faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young Woman. I have enquired of the two Perſons who ſue to have a Licenſe to eat Fleſh. And the Woman of* Chriſt-church *is indeed very much diſeaſed, and hath been long diſeaſed, and ſhe and her Husband both Catholick. Of the other yet I can learn nothing. Thus Jeſus evermore preſerve your good Lordſhip, and my Miſtreſs your Lordſhip's Siſter, with all yours.*

Anno 1556.

This young Woman was *Joan Warne*, otherwiſe named *Joan Laſſford*, who was burnt with the ſaid Mr. *Whittle.*

This preſent Saturday.

Your Lordſhip's moſt bounden Servant,

Nich. Harpsfield.

Another Letter of *Robert Johnſon*, Regiſter, touching *Thomas Whittle*, written to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*.

MY bounden Duty premiſed, pleaſeth your Lordſhip to underſtand, that this laſt Friday *in the Afternoon, Mr. Archdeacon of* London *did diligently travel with Sir* Thomas Whittle, *Prieſt. I being preſent, and perceiving his Conformity, as outwardly appeared, deviſed this Submiſſion, and he being content therewith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this* Saturday *Morning Mr. Archdeacon and I, upon* Cluney's *Report, declaring that he feigned himſelf to be diſtracted of his Senſes, went unto him, to whom he declared, that Satan in the Night-time appeared unto him, and ſaid that he was damned, for that he had done againſt his Conſcience in ſubſcribing to the ſaid Submiſſion, with other like Words. And then Mr. Archdeacon, at his earneſt Requeſt, delivered unto him the Submiſſion. And thereupon the ſaid* Whittle *did tear out his Subſcription, made in the Foot of the ſame, as your Lordſhip ſhall perceive by the Submiſſion ſent now unto your Lordſhip by Mr. Archdeacon; wherewith the ſaid* Whittle *was ſomewhat quieted.*

And as touching Joan Laſhford, *Mr. Archdeacon did likewiſe travel with her, and ſhewing her Sir* Thomas Whittle's *Submiſſion, which I read unto her twice, demanded if ſhe could be content to make the like Submiſſion, and ſhe deſired Reſpite until this Morning. And being now immediately demanded, in like wiſe ſaith, that ſhe will not make any Thing in writing, nor put any Sign thereunto. Mr. Archdeacon and I intend this Afternoon to examine the ſaid Sir* Thomas *upon Articles: For as yet there doth appear nothing in writing againſt him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preſerve your good Lordſhip in Proſperity with Honour long to endure.*

From London *this Saturday.*

By your Lordſhip's daily Beadſman, and bounden Servant,

Robert Johnſon.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Mr. Thomas Whittle.

AT his laſt Examination before the Biſhop upon the 14th Day of *January*, 1556, Biſhop *Bonner* with others ſitting in his Conſiſtory in the Afternoon, firſt called forth *Thomas Whittle*, with whom he began in Effect as followeth: Becauſe ye be a Prieſt *(ſaid he)*

as

Anno 1555. as I and other Biſhops here be, and did receive the Order of Prieſthood after the Right and Form of the catholick Church, ye ſhall not think but I will adminiſter Juſtice as well unto you as unto others. And then the ſaid *Bonner* in further Communication did charge him, that where in Times paſt he had ſaid Maſs according to the Order then uſed, the ſame *Whittle* now of late had ſpoken and railed againſt the ſame, ſaying that it was Idolatry and Abomination. Whereunto *Thomas Whittle* anſwering again ſaid, That at ſuch Time as he ſo ſaid Maſs, he was then ignorant, *&c.* adding moreover, that the Elevation of the Sacrament at the Maſs, giveth Occaſion of Idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

Biſhop *Bonner*'s Argument, He was baptized in Faith of the catholick Church: *Ergo*, he was baptized in the Faith of *Rome*.

After this the Biſhop making haſte to the Articles (which in all his Examinations he ever harped upon) came to this Article, That thou waſt in Times paſt baptized in the Faith of the catholick Church.

To this the ſaid *Whittle* inferred again, I was baptized in the Faith of the catholick Church, although I did forſake the Church of *Rome*. And ye, my Lord, do call theſe Hereſies that be no Hereſies, and do charge me therewith as Hereſies, and ye ground yourſelf upon that Religion which is not agreeable to God's Word, *&c.*

Then the ſaid *Thomas Whittle* was again admoniſhed, and with Perſuaſions intreated by the Biſhop; who becauſe he would not agree unto the ſame, the Biſhop forthwith proceeded firſt to his Degradation. The Order and Manner of which their Popiſh and moſt vain Degradation, may be ſeen before in the Story Biſhop *Hooper*.

Mr. *Whittle* degraded.

Then *Whittle* in the midſt of the Ceremonies when he ſaw them ſo buſy in degrading him, ſaid unto them, *Paul* and *Titus* had not ſo much to do with their Prieſts and Biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the Biſhop, ſaid unto him, My Lord, your Religion ſtandeth moſt with the Church of *Rome*, and not with the catholick Church of Chriſt.

The Biſhop after this, according to his accuſtomed formal Proceedings, tried him yet again with Words rather than with ſubſtantial Arguments, to conform him to his Religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſaid, As for your Religion, I cannot be perſuaded that it is according to God's Word.

The Biſhop then asked what Fault he found in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Whittle anſwered and ſaid, It is not uſed according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And alſo becauſe it is adminiſtred but in one Kind to the Lay-people, which is againſt Chriſt's Ordinance. Farther, Chriſt commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: For the Adoration and Elevation cannot be approved by Scripture.

Well, quoth *Bonner*, my Lords here and other learned Men have ſhewed great Learning for thy Converſion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the Faith and Religion of the catholick Church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the Secular Power, *&c.* To make ſhort, *Whittle*, ſtrengthened with the Grace of the Lord, ſtood ſtrong and unmoveable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the Sentence being read, the next Day following he was committed to the Secular Power, and ſo in few Days after brought to the Fire with the other ſix above named, ſealing up the Teſtimony of his Doctrine with his Blood, which he willingly and chearfully gave for Witneſs of the Truth.

A Letter of *Thomas Whittle* to *John Careleſs*, Priſoner in the *King*'s-*Bench*.

THE Peace of God in Chriſt be with you continually, dearly beloved Brother in Chriſt, with the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of thoſe Things which may comfort and edify his Church (as ye daily do) to the Glory of his Name, and the Increaſe of your Joy and Solace of Soul in this Life, and alſo your Reward in Heaven with Chriſt our Captain, whoſe faithful Soldier ye are, in the Life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoyced (my dear Heart) with Thanks to God for you, ſince I have heard of your Faith and Love which you bear towards God and his Saints, with a moſt godly ardent Zeal to the Virtue of Chriſt's Doctrine and Religion, which I have heard by the Report of many, but eſpecially by the declaring of that valiant Captain in Chriſt's Church, that ſtout Champion in God's Cauſe, that Spectacle to the World, I mean our good Brother Philpot, *who now lieth under the Altar, and ſweetly enjoyeth the promiſed Reward. And eſpecially I and my condemned Fellows give Thanks to God for your loving and comfortable Letter in the Deepneſs of our Trouble (after the Fleſh) ſent unto us to the Conſolation of us all, but eſpecially to me moſt ſinful Miſer on mine own Behalf, but happy, I hope through God's loving Kindneſs in Chriſt ſhewed unto me; and who ſuffered me to faint and fail through human Infirmity, by the working of the Arch-enemy in his ſworn Soldiers the Biſhops and Prieſts. In whom ſo lively appeareth the very Viſage and Shape of Satan, that a Man (if it were not prejudice to God's Word) might well affirm them to be Devils incarnate, as by Experience do-ſpeak. Wherefore, who ſo ſhall for conſcience Matters come in their Hands, had need of the Wilineſs of the Serpent to ſave his Head, though it be with the Wounding of his Body, and to take diligent heed how he conſenteth to their wicked Writings, or ſetteth his Hand to their Conveyances.*

So did they aſſault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked Ways, or at leaſt to a Denial of my Faith and true Opinions, though it were but by Colour and Diſſimulation. And (alas) ſomething they did prevail. Not that I did any Thing at all like their Opinions and falſe papiſtical Religion, or elſe doubted of the Truth wherein I ſtand, but only the Infirmity of the Fleſh beguiled me, deſiring Liberty by an unlawful Means; God lay it not to my Charge at that Day, and ſo I heartily deſire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more Profit came thereby: Profit to me, in that God ſuffered Satan to buffet me by his aforeſaid Miniſter of Michief, ſhewing me mine Infirmity, that I ſhould not boaſt nor rejoyce in myſelf, but only in the Lord; who when he had led me to Hell in my Conſcience through the Reſpect of his fearful Judgments againſt me for my Fearfulneſs, Miſtruſt, and crafty cloaking in ſuch ſpiritual and weighty Matters, yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his Name, ſuſpecting of Fleſh and Blood, and Conſolation of mine own Soul, or elſe that I might feel Diſprofit in offending the

Congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my Fall to come of Doubtfulneſs in my Doctrine and Religion, than of human Imbecility.

The Burden of a troubled Conſcience.

Well, of the importune Burden of a troubled Conſcience for denying or diſſembling the known Verity, I by Experience could ſay very much more, which perhaps I may declare by writing, to the Warning of others, if God grant Time: For now am I and my Fellows ready to go hence even for Chriſt's Cauſe; God's Name be praiſed who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our Courſe with Joy, and at your appointed Time you ſhall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, ſo will he preſerve your Life ſtill, to the Intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe and convince theſe ungodly Contentions and Controverſies, which now do too much reign, brawling about Terms to no Edification. God is diſhonoured, the Church diſquieted, and Occaſion to ſpeak Evil of the Goſpel miniſtred to our Adverſaries. But ſuch is the Subtilty of Satan, that whom he cannot win with groſs Idolatry in open Religion, them he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceive in Opinions, in a private Profeſſion. But here I will abruptly leave, leſt with my rude and ſimple Vein I ſhould be tedious unto you, deſiring you, (my loving Brother) if it ſhall not ſeem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my Fellows, yet once again, if you have Leiſure, and we Time to the ſame.

Provide me Mr. Philpot's *nine Examinations for a Friend of mine, and I ſhall pay you therefore by the Leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear Children in this World, that they ſhould not be damned with the World, and trieth the Faith of his Saints through many Tribulations, that being found conſtant to the End, he may crown his own Gifts in them, and in Heaven highly reward them; whither I truſt to go before, looking for you to follow (my faithful Friend) that we ſing perpetual Praiſe to our loving Lord God for Victory over Satan and Sin, won for us by Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, our only and ſufficient Saviour and Advocate,* Amen.

Farewel, and pray in Faith.

Yours Thomas Whittle, *Miniſter, and now condemned to die for the Goſpel's ſake,* Jan. 21. 1556.

All my Fellows ſalute you. Salute all our faithful Brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother *John Went*, and other his Fellow-Priſoners in *Lollard*'s-*Tower*.

HE that preſerved Joſeph *Priſoner in* Egypt, *fed* Daniel *in the Lion's Den, and delivered* Paul, Peter, *and the Apoſtles out of Priſon,* Acts 16. *vouchſafe of his Goodneſs to keep, feed, and deliver you my good Brother* Went, *with the other our fellow Soldiers your Priſon-fellows, as may be moſt to his Glory, to your Conſolation, and the Edification of his Church.*

I cannot but praiſe God moſt earneſtly, when I 2 Theſſ. 1. *hear of your Conſtancy in the Faith, and Joy in the Croſs of Chriſt, which you now bear and ſuffer together with many other good Members of Chriſt, which is a Token that by Chriſt you are counted worthy of the Kingdom of God, as St.* Paul *ſaith. And though the World counteth the Yoke and Croſs of Chriſt as a moſt pernicious and hurtful Thing, yet we which have taſted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoyce in this Perſecution as touching ourſelves; inaſmuch as the Cauſe for which we ſuffer is the Lord's Cauſe and not ours, at whoſe Hand, if we endure to the End, we ſhall receive, through his liberal Promiſe in Chriſt, not only a great Reward in Heaven, but alſo the Kingdom of* 1 Pet. 2. *Heaven itſelf; and alſo in the mean Seaſon be ſure to be defended and cared for, ſo that we ſhall lack no neceſſary Things, neither a Hair of our Heads ſhall periſh without his Knowledge. O what is he that would miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerve ſo loving a* Matth. 10. *Father! O how unhappy are they that forſake him, and put their Truſt in Man! but how bleſſed are they that for his Love and for his holy Word's ſake, in theſe troubleſome Days do commit their Souls and Bodies into his Hands with well-doing, counting* 1 Pet. 4. *it greater Happineſs and Riches to ſuffer Rebuke with Chriſt and his Church, than to enjoy the Pleaſures of this Life for a little ſhort Seaſon? This Croſs that we now bear hath been common to all the Faithful from* Abel *hitherto, and ſhall be to the* Heb. 11. *End, becauſe the Devil having great Wrath againſt God and his Chriſt, cannot abide that he ſhould for his manifold Mercies be lauded and magnified, and Chriſt to be taken and believed upon for our only ſufficient Redeemer, Saviour and Advocate: And* Rev, 11. *therefore becauſe we will not deny Chriſt, nor diſſemble with our Faith, but only proteſt and profeſs the ſame before the World, he ſeeketh by all Means to ſtir up his wicked Members to perſecute and kill the Bodies of the true Chriſtians; as St.* John *ſaith,* Rev. 2. The Devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into Priſon. *And* David *ſaith, Pſal.* 115. I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled. *This notwithſtanding, go forward, dear Brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's Battle, conſidering Chriſt the Captain of your War, who will both fight for you, give you Victory, and alſo highly reward your Pains. Conſider to your Comfort the notable and chief Shepherds and Soldiers of Chriſt, which are gone before us in theſe Days, I mean thoſe learned and godly Biſhops, Doctors and other Miniſters of God's Word; whoſe Faith and Examples we that be Inferiors ought to follow; as St.* Paul *ſaith,* Heb. 13. *Remember them that have declared unto you the Word of God, the End of whoſe Converſation ſee that ye look upon, and follow their Faith. The Grace and Bleſſing of God, with the Miniſtry of his holy Angels be with you for ever,* Amen. *All my Priſon-fellows greet you. From the Coal-houſe this 4th of* December.

Satan cannot abide Chriſt to be received for our only Saviour, and thereof ariſeth all this Perſecution.

Anno 1555.

By your poor Brother Thomas Whittle, *an unworthy Miniſter of Chriſt, now his Priſoner for the Goſpel-ſake,* Amen.

To my loving and faithful Brother *J. Careleſs*, Priſoner in the *King*'s-*Bench*.

THE ſame Faith for which Abraham *was accounted juſt, and* Mary *bleſſed, whereby alſo all juſt Men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaſe and eſtabliſh in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal Life in our alone and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt,* Amen.

I cannot worthily and ſufficiently praiſe God (my heartily beloved Brother) for the Conſolation and Joy that I have received by reaſon of your loving Letters, repenting me much that I being ſo long ſo near you, did not enterpriſe to ſtir up Familiarity and Communication between us by writing, to mutual Conſolation in Chriſt. For what is there

Anno 1556. *upon Earth wherein to rejoyce (where all Things are tranſitory and vain, yea Man himſelf reſpecting this Life) but (as* David *ſaith,* Pſal. 16.*) The Saints that dwell upon the Earth, and ſuch as excel in Virtue? But here now I conſider, that if the Fellowſhip, Love, and Joy of faithful Men and Children of God being as we now be, in double Bondage, the Body within Clay Walls, and the Soul within theſe frail earthly Bodies, be ſo great and comfortable; how unſpeakable will theſe Joys be, when we ſhall be delivered from all Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God? where we ſhall be preſent together continually in our gloriſy'd Bodies beholding the Face of our Father preſently (whom now we ſee but in the Glaſs of Faith) with his dear Son Chriſt our Redeemer and Brother, and the bleſſed Company of Angels, and all faithful ſaved Souls.*

Oh the incomparable good Things, and heavenly Treaſures laid up for us in Heaven by Jeſus Chriſt! for the obtaining whereof, we ought to ſet Light by all temporal Grief and tranſitory Afflictions, ſo much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our Strength, and that namely in the End of our Life, when the Tree where it falleth lieth ſtill, as the Preacher ſaith, Eccleſ. 11. *For elſe before the End he ſuffereth his ſometimes to fall, but not finally to periſh: As* Peter *ſinked upon the Sea, but yet was not drowned; and ſinned grievouſly upon the Land through Infirmity denying his Maſter, but yet found Mercy: For the Righteous falleth oftentimes. And Chriſt's Holy Apoſtles are taught to ſay, Forgive us our Treſpaſſes. Yea though the Righteous fall, ſaith* David, *he ſhall not be caſt away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his Hand. O the bottomleſs Mercy of God towards us miſerable Sinners? He vouchſafe to plant in my Heart true Repentance and Faith, to the obtaining of the Remiſſion of all my Sins in the Mercies of God, and Merits of Chriſt his Son, and thereto I pray you ſay,* Amen.

O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to ſee the Spoil and Havock that Saul *maketh with the Congregation of Chriſt: But what Remedy? This is God's Will and Ordinance, that his People ſhall here both be puniſhed in the Fleſh, and tried in their Faith: as it is written,* Many are the Troubles of the Righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all; *for by a ſtrait Path and narrow Door muſt we enter. Whither? Into the joyful Kingdom of Heaven: Therefore bleſſed are you and others that ſuffer Perſecution for Chriſt's ſake, for the Profeſſion of the ſame. Pray for me and my Fellows, good Brother, that we may fight a good Fight, that we may keep the Faith, and end our Courſe with joyful Gladneſs, for now the Time of our Deliverance is at Hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his People in our Journey, that we may ſafely through a ſhort Death, paſs to that long laſting Life.*

Farewel my dear and loving Brother and Fellow-ſoldier in Chriſt; farewel, I ſay, in him: Who receive our Souls in Peace when they ſhall depart from theſe Tabernacles, and he grant us a joyful Reſurrection, and a merry Meeting at the laſt Day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly Kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Yours with my poor Prayer; other Pleaſure can I do you none,

Thomas Whittle, *Miniſter.*

To my dear Brethren Mr. *Filles* and *Cutbert.*

MY dear and well beloved Brethren in Chriſt, Mr. Filles *and* Cutbert, *I wiſh you all welfare of Soul and Body. Welfare to the Soul is Repentance of Sin, faithful Affiance in Chriſt Jeſus, and a godly Life. Welfare to the Body is the Health of the ſame, with all neceſſary Things for this Life. The Soul of Man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, leſt Immortality to Joy ſhould turn to Immortality of Sorrow. As for the Body, be it never ſo well kept and much made of, yet ſhortly by Nature will it periſh and decay: But thoſe that are ingrafted and incorporated into Chriſt by true Faith, feeling the Motion of God's Holy Spirit as a Pledge of their Election and Inheritance, exciting and ſtirring them not only to ſeek heavenly Things, but alſo to hate Vice, and imbrace Virtue, will not only do theſe Things, but alſo if need require, will gladly take up their Croſs and follow their Captain, their King and* Matth. 26. Mark 14. *their Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (as his poor afflicted Church of* England *now doth) againſt that falſe* Luke 22. *and unchriſtian Doctrine and Religion now uſed, and eſpecially that blaſphemous Maſs, wherein Chriſt's Supper and holy Ordinance is altogether perverted and abuſed, contrary to his Inſtitution and to* Paul's *Proceedings: So that that which they have in their Maſs, is neither Sacrament of Chriſt, nor yet Sacrifice for Sin, as the Prieſts falſly pretend. It is a Sacrament, that is, as St.* Auguſtine *ſaith,* 2 Cor. 11. *a viſible Sign of inviſible Grace, when it is adminiſtred to the Communicants according to Chriſt's Example, and as it was of late Years in this Realm. And as for Sacrifice, there is none to be made now for Sin:* Heb. 9. 10. For Chriſt with one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever thoſe that are ſanctified.

Beware of falſe Religion, and Mens vain Traditions, and ſerve God with Reverence and godly Fear, according to the Doctrine of his Goſpel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be bleſſed, though of wicked Men ye are hated and accurſed, Luke 11. *Rather drink of the Cup of Chriſt with his Church, than of the Cup of that Roſe-coloured Whore of* Babylon, *which is full of Abominations,* Rev. 18. *Rather ſtrive ye to go to Heaven by the Path which is ſtrait to Fleſh and Blood, with the little Flock, than to go in the wide Way, following the Enticements of the World and the Fleſh, which leadeth to Damnation.*

Like as Chriſt ſuffered in the Fleſh, ſaith St. Peter, 1 *Pet.* 4. 3. *ſo arm ye yourſelves with the ſame Mind: For Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us Example to follow his Footſteps. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his Sake, great is their Reward in Heaven. He that overcometh (ſaith St.* John, *Rev.* 2. 3.*) ſhall eat of the Tree of Life; he ſhall have a Crown of Life, and not to be hurt of the ſecond Death: He ſhall be cloathed with white Array, and not be put out of the Book of Life; yea, I will confeſs his Name, ſaith Chriſt, before my Father and before his Angels, and he ſhall be a Pillar in the Houſe of God, and ſit with me on my Seat. And thus I bid you farewel, mine own Brethren and dear Fellows in Chriſt: Whoſe Grace and Peace be always with you,* Amen.

This World I do forſake,
To Chriſt I me take,

And for his Goſpel ſake,
Patiently Death I take.
My Body to the Duſt,
Now to return it muſt:
My Soul I know full well,
With my God it ſhall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

The Hiſtory of Mr. Bartlet Green.

AFTER the Martyrdom of Mr. *Whittle*, next followeth in Order to ſpeak of *Bartlet Green*, who the next Day after the aforeſaid *Whittle*, was likewiſe condemned. Mr. *Green* was of a good Houſe, and had ſuch Parents, as both favoured Learning, and were alſo willing to bring up this their Child in the ſame. Who after ſome Entrance in other inferior Schools, was by them ſent unto the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where through Exerciſe and diligent Study he ſo profited, that within ſhort Time he attained, as well to the Knowledge of ſundry profane Sciences, as alſo now in his laſt Years unto the godly Underſtanding of Divinity. Whereunto through Ignorance (in which he was trained up from his Youth) he was at the firſt an utter Enemy, until ſuch Time as God of his Mercy had opened his Eyes, by his often repairing unto the common Lectures of *Peter Martyr*, Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the ſame Univerſity, ſo that thereby (as by God's Inſtrument) he ſaw the true Light of Chriſt's Goſpel.

Mr. *Green* Student at *Oxford.*

Mr. *Green* converted by the Lectures of *Peter Martyr.*

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became unto him as the Fountain of Living-Water, that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of to the Woman of *Samaria*, ſo as he never thirſted any more, but had a Well ſpringing unto everlaſting Life. Inſomuch as when he was called by his Friends from the Univerſity, and was placed in the Temple at *London*, there to attain to the Knowledge of the common Laws of the Realm, he yet continued ſtill in his former Study and earneſt Profeſſion of the Goſpel; wherein alſo he greatly profited. Howbeit (ſuch is the Frailty of our corrupt Nature, without the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit) though the continual accompanying, and Fellowſhip of ſuch worldly (I will not ſay too much youthful) young Gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like Houſes, he became by little and little a Compartner of their fond Follies and youthful Vanities, as well in his Apparel as alſo in Banquetings, and other ſuperfluous Exceſſes; which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful Correction) did ſore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own Teſtimony, notified and left in a Book belonging to Mr. *Bartram Calthorp*, one of his Friends, written with his own Hand a little before his Death, in Manner as followeth:

Mr. *Green* Student in the Temple at *London.*

Two Things have very much troubled me whilſt I was in the Temple, *Pride and Gluttony; which under the Colour of Glory and good Fellowſhip, drew me almoſt from God. Againſt both there is one Remedy, by earneſt Prayer, and without ceaſing. And foraſmuch as vain-glory is ſo ſubtle an Adverſary, that almoſt it woundeth deadly, ere ever a Man can perceive himſelf to be ſmitten, therefore we ought ſo much the rather by continual Prayer, to labour for Humbleneſs of Mind. Truly Gluttony beginneth under a charitable Pretence of mutual Love and Society, and hath in it moſt Uncharitableneſs. When we ſeek to refreſh our Bodies, that they may be the more apt to ſerve God, and perform our Duties towards our Neighbours, then ſtealeth it in as a privy Thief, and murdereth both Body and Soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or ſerve God, apt to ſtudy, or labour for our Neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be ſober: For our Adverſary the Devil walketh about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. And remember what* Solomon *ſaith, A patient Man is better than a ſtrong Warriour, and he that conquereth his own Stomach is better than he that conquereth Towns and Cities.** Anno 1556.

Bartlet Green.

Agreement of Minds joining in Unity of Faith, and growing up in Charity, is true and ſtedfaſt Amity. Farewel (*my* Bartram) *and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewel at* Newgate, Jan. 20. 1556.

Set ſober Love againſt haſty Wrath.

Bartlet Green.

Thus we ſee the fatherly Kindneſs of our moſt gracious and merciful God, who never ſuffereth his Elect Children ſo to fall, that they lie ſtill in Security of Sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by ſome ſuch Means, as perhaps they think leaſt of, as he did here this his ſtray'd Sheep. And now therefore to return to our Hiſtory: For the better Maintenance of himſelf in theſe his Studies, and other his Affairs, he had a large Exhibition of his Grandfather, Mr. Dr. *Bartlet*, who during the Time of *Green*'s Impriſonment made unto him large Offers of great Livings, if he would recant, and (forſaking the Truth and the Goſpel of Chriſt) come home again to the Church and Synagogue of *Rome*. But thoſe his Perſwaſions (the Lord be therefore praiſed) took ſmall Effect in his faithful Heart, as the Sequel did declare. He was a Man beloved of all Men (except the Papiſts, who love none that love the Truth) and ſo he well deſerved: For he was of a meek, humble, diſcreet, and moſt gentle Behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, eſpecially to thoſe who were of the Houſhold of Faith, as appeareth amongſt others, by his friendly dealing with Mr. *Chriſtopher Goodman*, being at that preſent a poor Exile beyond the Seas. With whom this *Bartlet Green* (as well for his toward Learning, as alſo for his ſober and godly Behaviour) had often Society in *Oxford*, in the Days of good King *Edward:* Who now, notwithſtanding his Friend's Miſery, and Baniſhment, he did not lightly forget; and that turned, as it happened (not without the Providence of Almighty God) to the great Grief of both; the one of Heart, for the Loſs of his Friend, and the other of Body, in ſuffering the cruel and murdering Rage of Papiſts.

Large Gifts offered Mr. *Green* by Dr. *Bartlet* to return to the Church of *Rome.*

The Cauſe hereof was a Letter which *Green* wrote unto the ſaid *Goodman*, containing as well the Report of certain Demands or Queſtions, which were caſt Abroad in *London* (as appeareth hereafter in a Letter of his own penning, which he intended to have ſent to

Occaſion of apprehending of Mr. *Green* came by Letters intercepted.

Anno 1556. Mr. *Philpot*, wherein he fully declareth his Uſage before the Biſhop of *London*, and others) as alſo an Anſwer to a Queſtion made by the ſaid *Chriſtopher Goodman*, in a Letter written unto him, in which he required to have the Certainty of the Report which was ſpread amongſt them on the other Side of the Seas, that the Queen was dead. Whereunto Mr. *Green* ſimply anſwered, and as the Truth then was, that ſhe was not dead.

Theſe Letters, with many others, written to divers of the Exiles, by their Friends here in *England*, being delivered to a Meſſenger to carry over, came by the Apprehenſion of the ſaid Bearer, unto the Hands of the King and Queen's Council. Who at their convenient Leiſure (which in thoſe Days by ſome of them was quickly found out for ſuch Matters) peruſed the whole Number of the ſaid Letters, and amongſt them eſpy'd this Letter of Mr. *Green*'s, written to his Friend *Chriſtopher Goodman*; in the Contents whereof (amongſt other News and private Matters) they found theſe Words, The Queen is not dead. Which Words were only written as an Anſwer, to certify Mr. *Goodman* of the Truth of his former Demand. Howbeit (to ſome of the Council) they ſeemed very heinous Words, yea Treaſon they would have made them, if the Law would have ſuffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loth to let any ſuch depart freely, whom they ſuſpected to be Favourers of the Goſpel) they then examined him upon his Faith in Religion, but upon what Points it is not certainly known.

Mr. *Green* examined of his Faith by the Council.

Nevertheleſs (as it ſeemeth) his Anſwers were ſuch, as little pleaſed them, and therefore after they had detained him in Priſon, as well in the Tower of *London* as elſewhere, they ſent him at laſt to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, to be ordered according to his eccleſiaſtical Law; as appeareth by their Letters ſent to the Biſhop, with the ſaid Priſoner alſo: Wherein it may appear that Sir *John Bourne*, (then Secretary to the Queen) was a chief Stirrer in ſuch Caſes, yea, and an Enticer of others of the Council; who otherwiſe (if for fear they durſt) would have been content to have let ſuch Matters alone. The Lord forgive them their Weakneſs, if it be his good Pleaſure, and give them true Repentance, *Amen*.

A Letter ſent to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, by the Queen's Council, dated the 11th Day of *November*, 1555, but not delivered until the 17th Day of the ſame Month.

AFTER our hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend to the ſame herewith the Body of Bartlet Green, *who hath of good Time remained in the Tower for his obſtinate ſtanding in Matters againſt the catholick Religion, whom the King and Queen's Majeſties Pleaſures are (becauſe he is of your Lordſhip's Dioceſs) ye ſhall cauſe to be ordered according to the Laws in ſuch Caſes provided. And thus we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From St.* James's *the 11th of* November, 1555.

Your Lordſhip's loving Friends,

Wincheſter, William Havard,
Pembroke, John Bourne,
Tho. Ely, Thomas Wharton.

Poſtſcript. *I Sir* John Bourne *will wait upon your Lordſhip, and ſignify further the King and Queen's Majeſties Pleaſure herein.*

That ye may the better underſtand the Certainty of the ill Uſage he met with in *Bonner*'s Cuſtody, I have thought it good to put forth his own Letter, containing at large the Diſcourſe of the ſame. Which Letter he wrote, intending to have ſent it to Mr. *Philpot*, but, either by Mr. *Philpot*'s Death, or (more probably) by the Watchfulneſs of his Keeper, he was prevented: For it came (by what Means I know not) to the Biſhop's Hands, and being delivered to his Regiſter, was found in one of his Books of Record. The Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, *written to* John Philpot, *containing, beſides other particular Matters betwixt him and Mr.* Philpot, *a brief Rehearſal of his Conferences with Biſhop* Bonner *and others, at his Firſt coming before them.*

THAT which was wanting in Talk (thro' my Default) at your being here, I have ſupply'd by writing in your Abſence, now at length getting ſome Opportunity and Leiſure. The 17th Day of *November*, being brought hither by two of the Clock in the Afternoon, I was preſented before my Lord of *London*, and other two Biſhops, Mr. *Deane*, Mr. *Roper*, Mr. *Welch*, Dr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, and two or three others, all ſitting at one Table. There were alſo preſent Dr. *Dale*, Mr. *George Mordant*, Mr. *Dee*. Then after the Biſhop of *London* had read unto himſelf the Letter that came from the Council, he ſpake with more Words, but (as I remember) to this Effect; that the Cauſe of their Aſſembly was, to hear mine Examination, whereunto he had Authority by the Council, and had provided Mr. *Welch* and another, whoſe Name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet deſired he my Lord, that I might hear the Council's Letters) to be there if any Matters of the common Law ſhould ariſe, to diſcuſs them, he intreated my Lord to determine all Controverſies of Scriptures; and as for the Civil Law, he and Dr. *Dale* ſhould take on them.

Mr. *Green* committed to the Fleet and upon what Occaſion.

Wherefore he demanded of me, the Cauſe of mine Impriſonment: I ſaid, that the Occaſion of mine Apprehenſion was a Letter which I wrote to one *Chriſtopher Goodman*, wherein (certifying him of ſuch News as happened here) among the reſt, I wrote that there were certain printed Papers of Queſtions ſcattered Abroad. Whereupon, being ſuſpected to be privy to the deviſing or publiſhing of the ſame,

I was

I was committed to the *Fleet*. But after the Commiſſioners had received my Submiſſion I heard nothing thereof. The Sum whereof was, that as I was ſure there neither could be true Witneſſes, nor probable Conjecture againſt me in that Behalf; ſo I refuſed no Puniſhment, if they of their Conſciences would judge me privy to the deviſing, printing, or publiſhing of thoſe Queſtions. But my Lord affirming that there was another Cauſe of mine Impriſonment, demanded if I had not after, ſince I was committed to the *Fleet*, ſpoken or written ſomewhat againſt the natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then I deſired his Lordſhip to be good unto me, truſting that he would not put me to anſwer to new Matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtood long in that, Mr. *Welch* anſwered, that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well. For albeit I were impriſoned for Treaſon, if during the Time of my Confinement I had maintained Hereſy, that were no ſufficient Allegation againſt the Ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former Fault. Then my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for Hereſy, and the other Gentleman ſaying, that doubtleſs I was diſcharged of my former Matter; my Deſire was, that I might be charged according to the Order of the Law, to hear my Accuſers.

Dr. *Chedſey* witneſſeth againſt Mr. *Green.*

Then Dr. *Chedſey* was ſent for, who reported, that in the Preſence of Mr. *Moſley* and the Lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake againſt the real Preſence and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichriſt.

Is not this true, ſaid my Lord? I ſaid, Yea. Will you continue therein, ſaid he? Yea, ſaid I. Wilt thou then maintain it by Learning, ſaid he? Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew myſelf to have little Wit, knowing mine own Youth and Ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any Controverſy againſt ſo many grave and learned Men. But my Conſcience was ſatisfied in the Truth, which was ſufficient to my Salvation.

Conſcience, ſaid Mr. *Roper*, ſo ſhall every *Jew* and *Turk* be ſaved.

We had hereafter much Talk to no Purpoſe, and eſpecially on my Part, who felt in myſelf, through cold and open Air, much Dulneſs of Wit and Memory. At length I was asked what Conſcience was: And I ſaid, the certifying of the Truth.

Perſwaſion of Mr. *Welch* to Mr. *Green.*

With that Mr. *Welch* roſe up, deſiring Leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aſide into another Chamber, ſaid that he was ſorry for my Trouble, and would gladly ſee me at Liberty: He marvelled that I being a young Man, would ſtand againſt all the learned Men of the Realm, yea and contrary to the whole Determination of the catholick Church from Chriſt's Time, in a Matter wherein I could have no great Learning; I muſt not think mine own Wit better than all Mens, but ſhould believe them that were learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I have read all *Peter Martyr*'s Book, and *Cranmer*'s, and all the reſt of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *&c.* and could not perceive but that there was one continual Truth, which from the Beginning had been maintained; and thoſe that any Time ſevered from this Unity, were anſwered and anſwered again. This was the Sum of his Tale, which lacked neither Wit nor Eloquence.

Anno 1556.

Mr. *Green.* Then ſpake I: Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth your Maſterſhip to uſe me ſo familiarly (for ſo he behaved himſelf towards me, as tho' I had been his Equal) I ſhall open my Mind freely unto you, deſiring you to take it in good Part. I conſider my Youth, lack of Wit and Learning, which would God it were but a little under the Opinion that ſome Men have of me. But God is not bound to Time, Wit or Knowledge, but rather chooſeth the weak of the World that they may confound the ſtrong; neither can Men appoint Bounds to God's Mercy: For, I will have Compaſſion, ſaith he, on whom I will ſhew Mercy. There is no Reſpect of Perſons with God, whether it be Old or Young, Rich or Poor, Wiſe or Fooliſh, Fiſher or Basket-maker. *God giveth Knowledge of his Truth, through his Free Grace, to whom he liſt*, James 1. Neither do I think myſelf only to have the Truth, but ſtedfaſtly believe that Chriſt hath his Spouſe the catholick and univerſal Church, diſperſed in many Realms where it pleaſeth him, the Spirit bloweth where it liſteth: No more is he addicted to any one Place, than to the Perſon and Quality of one Man. Of this Church I nothing doubt myſelf to be a Member, truſting to be ſaved by the Faith that is taught in the ſame. But how this Church is known, is in a Manner the End of all Controverſy. And the true Marks of Chriſt's Church is the true Preaching of his Word, and Adminiſtring of his Sacraments. Theſe Marks were ſealed by the Apoſtles, and confirmed by the ancient Fathers, till at length they were, thro' the Wickedneſs of Men and the Devil, ſore worn, and almoſt utterly taken away. But God be praiſed that he hath renewed the Print, that his Truth may be known in many Places. For myſelf, I call God to witneſs, I have none Hope in mine own Wit and Learning, which is very ſmall; but I was perſuaded thereto by him, as by an * Inſtrument, that is excellent in all good Learning and Living. And God is my Record, that chiefly I ſought it of him by continual Prayers with Tears.

Mr. *Green*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Welch.*

Mr. *Green*'s Modeſty.

Rom. 9.

The Spirit of God addicted to no Perſon or Place.

* By this Inſtrument he meaneth *Peter Martyr.*

Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to ſpeak: But one Thing I ſay, I wiſh of God with all my Heart, that all Men, which are of contrary Judgment, would ſeek the Truth in like Manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many Biſhops and learned Men, to be made a Fool and a laughing Stock, but I weigh it not a Ruſh: For God knoweth that my whole Study is to pleaſe him: Beſides that, I care not for Man's Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure.

Mr. *Welch.* No, Mr. *Green*, ſaid he, think not ſo uncharitably of any Man, but judge rather that Men labour for your Soul's Health as for their own. But alas, how will you condemn all our Forefathers? Or how can you think your ſelf to be of the catholick Church, without any Continuance, and contrary to the Judgment of all learned Men?

Green. Sir, I have no Authority to judge any Man: Nevertheleſs, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholick Church, howſoever our learned Men here judge of me.

Welch. Why then do you ſuppoſe your own Wit and Learning better than all theirs? If you do not give Credit only to them, other learned Men ſhall reſort unto you, that ſhall perſuade you by the Scriptures and Doctors.

Anno 1556. *Green.* Sir, God knoweth that I refuſe not to learn of any Child, but I would embrace the Truth from the Mouth of a natural Fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all Things, ſaving my Faith: But concerning the Truth, wherein I am throughly perſuaded, I cannot ſubmit myſelf to learn, unleſs it be, as your Maſterſhip ſaid, that I peruſed Books on both Sides. For ſo might I make myſelf an indifferent Judge; otherwiſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we had a long Diſcourſe of the Church, wherein his Learning and Wit was much above mine: But in the End I told him I was perſuaded, and that he did but loſe his Labour.

Welch. Why then, what ſhall I report to my Lord?

Green. Even as pleaſeth you, or elſe you may ſay that I would be glad to learn, if I had Books on both Sides.

So he going in, the Biſhops (being riſen and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He anſwered, In Faith, my Lord, he will be glad to learn. Which Words when they were taken, leſt they ſhould miſtake his Meaning and mine, I ſaid, yea my Lord, ſo that I may have Books on both Sides, as *Calvin*, and my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Books, and ſuch others. Well, ſaid my Lord, I will ſatisfy thy Mind therein alſo; and they were all in great Hopes that I ſhould ſhortly become a good Catholick as they call it.

* Where *Philpot* was, he meaneth, to whom he wrote this Letter.

Then was I brought into my Lord's inner Chamber (where you * were) and there was put in a Chamber with Mr. *Dee*, who treated me very friendly. That Night I ſupped at my Lord's Table, and lay with Mr. *Dee* in the Chamber you did ſee. On the Morrow I was ſerved at Dinner from my Lord's Table, and at Night did eat in the Hall with his Gentlemen; where I have been placed ever ſince, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to ſay the Truth, I had my Liberty within the Bounds of his Lordſhip's Houſe: For my Lodging and Fare, ſcarce have I been at any Time abroad in better Caſe ſo long together, and have found ſo much Gentleneſs of my Lord and his Chaplains, and other Servants, that I ſhould eaſily have forgotten that I was in Priſon, were it not that this good Chear was often powdered with unſavoury Sauces of Examinations, Exhortations, Poſings and Diſputations.

For ſhortly after Supper, the firſt *Monday* at Night, I was had into my Lord's Bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came firſt into theſe Hereſies: I ſaid I was perſuaded thereto by the Scriptures, and Authorities of the Doctors, alledged by *Peter Martyr* in his Lectures upon the eleventh Chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, while he treated there on that Place of the Lord's Supper for a Month together. But then my Lord inforced the Plainneſs of Chriſt's Words, and his Almighty Power, demanding of me, what Reaſon ſhould move me from the literal Senſe of the Words: But I having no Luſt to thoſe Matters, would have alledged that there were Books ſufficient of that Matter, as *Peter Martyr*, *Cranmer*, and *Oecolampadius*: Nevertheleſs, when this Shift would not ſerve, but I was conſtrained to ſay ſomewhat, I ſaid I was moved from the literal Senſe by the Manner of Speaking, by the Circumſtance, and by Conference of other Places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Chriſt took Bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeeing it) Bread, which he affirmed to be his Body.

Mr. *Green* urg'd with the literal Senſe of the Words, *This is my Body.*

Cauſes moving Mr. *Green* from the literal Senſe of the Words aforeſaid.

Chriſt affirmed that Bread was his Body. Argument.

But that Affirmation, taken literally, can by no Means be true.

Ergo, the Words, if they be taken according to the Letter, cannot be true.

For this Predication, *Panis eſt Corpus Chriſti*, or, *Corpus Chriſti eſt Panis*, is neither *Identica* nor *Accidentalis*, nor *Eſſentialis Prædicatio*: Wherefore of Neceſſity I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the ſame Senſe, as Chriſt was a Door, a Vine, and a Way. Neither can it ſerve to ſay, that it was not of Bread that he affirmed to be his Body, and that for two Cauſes.

For whatſoever he ſhewed, that was Bread, for nought elſe was ſeen. Argument.

But that which he ſhewed he affirmed to be his Body.

Ergo, He affirmed of Bread that it was his Body.

The ſecond Reaſon is, for that it was not changed before, ſeeing *Benedixit*, is *Gratias egit*, or elſe Chriſt affirmed no true Propoſition, and you are without Authority.

In the End of this Letter there were noted theſe Sentences following, collected for Confirmation of his former Aſſertions, *viz.*

Eadem locutio Poculi, that is, The Phraſe is uſed and ſpoken upon the Cup.

Dicitur poſtea Panis. It is called Bread in the ſame Place afterwards.

Eadem ratione rejecero Corpus, qua tu Panem; that is, By the ſame Reaſon as it may be deny'd to be Bread, it may be deny'd to be the Body.

Aſcendit in Cœlum, that is, His Body aſcended into Heaven.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt Nativitatem. At noſtrum Corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus Locis. Ergo, &c. In Body he was like to us in all Things after his Nativity (Sin excepted). Seeing then our Body cannot be in two Places at once: *Ergo*, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant, &c. His Diſciples took it as no Miracle nor Wonder.

The laſt Examination and Condemnation of Mr. Green.

THUS, as it ſeemeth, for this Time they left off. But not long after the Biſhop perceiving *Green*'s Learning and Conſtancy to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any of his Doctors and Chaplains could by the Scriptures refel, began then to object and put in Practice his chief and ſtrongeſt Argument againſt him; which was the Rigour of the Law, and Cruelty of Execution: An Argument, I aſſure you, which, without the ſpecial Grace of our God, to Fleſh is inſupportable. And therefore, uſing Law as a Cloak of his Tyranny, the 28th Day of *November*, the ſaid Biſhop examined him upon certain Points of Chriſtian Religion. Whereunto when he had anſwered, the Biſhop appointed the Regiſter (as their moſt common Manner is) to draw thereout an Order of Confeſſion: Which being afterwards read unto *Green*, was alſo ſubſcribed by him, as a Confirmation of his former Aſſertions: The Tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Confeſſion of Bartlet Green.

This was drawn up, and gathered by the Biſhop's Regiſter.

Bartlet Green born in the City of *London*, in the Pariſh of *Baſſingſhal* of the Dioceſs of *London*, and of the Age of 25 Years, being examined in the Biſhop's Palace the 27th Day of *November*, *Anno* 1555, upon certain Articles, anſwered as followeth, *viz.* That neither in the Time of King *Edward*, after the Maſs by him was put down, neither in the Time of Queen *Mary* after the Maſs was reſtored again, he hath heard any Maſs at all; but he ſaith that in the Reign of the ſaid Queen's Majeſty, he the ſaid *Bartlet*, two Times, to wit, at two *Eaſter*-Tides or Days, in the Chamber of *John Pulline*, one of the Preachers in King *Edward*'s Time, within the Pariſh of St. *Michael*'s *Cornhil* of the Dioceſs of *London*, did receive the Communion with the ſaid *Pulline* and *Chriſtopher Goodman*, ſometime Reader of the Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, now gone beyond the Sea; and the ſecond Time with the ſaid *Pulline*, and with one *Rimneger*, Maſter of Arts of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*: And this Examinate alſo ſaith, that at both the ſaid Communions, he and the other before named, did take and receive Bread and Wine, which Bread and Wine he called ſacramental Bread, and ſacramental Wine, which he ſaith were uſed there by them, *Pulline* only reading the Words of the Inſtitution, expreſſed in the Book of the Communion.

In which receiving and uſing, this Examinate ſaith, that the others afore-named did receive the Sacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, and that they received material Bread and material Wine, no Subſtance thereof changed, and ſo no real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt there being, but only Grace added thereto. And further this Examinate ſaith, that he had heretofore, during the Reign of the Queen's Majeſty aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo now doth refuſe to come and hear Maſs, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as they are now uſed and adminiſtred in this Church of *England*, becauſe he ſaith, that concerning the Maſs, he cannot be perſuaded in his Conſcience, that the Sacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreeable to God's Word, or maintainable by the ſame: And that without deadly Offence he cannot worſhip the Body and Blood of Chriſt that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, this Examinate ſaith, that he heretofore during the ſaid Reign, hath refuſed, and now doth refuſe to receive the ſame, as is now uſed in this Church of *England*, becauſe it is not uſed according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, but both in a ſtrange Tongue, and alſo not miniſtred in both Kinds; and beſides that, contrary to God's Word it is there taught, that the Thing there adminiſtred is to be adored, as the real and true Body of Chriſt. And furthermore this Examinate ſaith, that during the ſaid Reign he hath not been confeſſed to the Prieſt, nor received Abſolution at his Hands, becauſe he is not bound by God's Word to make auricular Confeſſion.

Bartlet Green.

Many other Conferences and Examinations they brought him unto. But in the End (ſeeing his Stedfaſtneſs of Faith to be ſuch, as againſt which neither their Threatnings, nor yet their flattering Promiſes could prevail) the 15th Day of *January* the Biſhop cauſed him with the reſt above named, to be brought into the Conſiſtory in *Paul*'s; where being ſet in his Judgment-ſeat, accompany'd with Mr. *Fecknam*, then Dean of the ſame Church, and other his Chaplains, after he had condemned the other ſix, he then calling for *Bartlet Green*, began with theſe, or the like Words: Anno 1556.

Honourable Audience, I think it beſt to open unto you the Converſation of this Man, called *Bartlet Green*. And becauſe you ſhall not charge me, that I go about to ſeek any Man's Blood, here you ſhall hear the Council's Letter, which they ſent with him unto me. The Effect whereof is; that whereas he had been of long Time in the Tower of *London* for Hereſy, they have now ſent him unto me to be ordered, according to the Laws therefore provided. And now to thee, *Bartlet Green*, I propoſe theſe nine Articles. Then he read the Articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all theſe ſeven Priſoners, to wit, *Thomas Whittle*, *John Tudſon*, *John Went*, *Thomas Brown*, *Iſabel Foſter*, *Joan Laſhford*, *Barlet Green*.

But when Mr. *Green* would have anſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with Promiſe that he ſhould have Time to anſwer ſufficiently, and therefore the Biſhop proceeding, ſaid, that when *Green* came firſt to his Houſe, he deſired to have the Books of the ancient Doctors of the Church to read, which he ſaid he granted him.

Whereunto *Green* anſwered and ſaid, that if the Doctors were with indifferent Judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them.

Upon which Words, Dr. *Fecknam*, Dean of *Paul*'s ſtood up, and marvelling why he ſaid ſo, asked him if he would be content to ſtand to the Judgment of the Doctors.

Green then ſaid, that he was content to ſtand to the Doctors Judgment.

I will then propound unto you (ſaid *Fecknam*) the Doctors, and interpret them yourſelf. So he alledged a Place of *Chryſoſtom*, *Ad popul. Antioch.* which was this: *Elias aſcendens melotem ſuum poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus vero aſcendens carnum ſum aſſumpſit, & eandem poſt ſe reliquit.* Elias *going up, left his Cloak behind him: But Chriſt aſcending up took his Fleſh, and alſo left it behind him.* And he demanded of *Green*, how he underſtood the Place.

Then *Green* deſired him that he would confer the Doctors Sayings together, and therefore alledged the ſame Doctor again, writing upon 1 *Cor.* 10. *Is not the Bread which we bleſs the Communication of the Lord's Body?* Whereby he proved that this Doctor called this Sacrament but a Sign of the Lord's Body. Many other Words of Probation and Trial were betwixt them.

At laſt *Fecknam* demanded of him, how long he had been of this Opinion. For Mr. *Green*, ſaid he, you confeſſed once to me, that when you were at *Oxford* at School, you were called the rankeſt Papiſt in that Houſe, and being compelled to go to the Lecture of *Peter Martyr*, you were converted from your old Doctrine.

And *Green* confeſſed the ſame.

Then *Fecknam* ſaid, that *Green* told him the ſaid *Peter Martyr* was a Papiſt at his firſt coming to *Oxford*. Whereupon he made an Exclamation, and prayed the People to conſider

Anno 1556. how vain his Doctrine was that he profeſſed, which was grounded upon one Man, and that upon ſo inconſtant a Man as *Peter Martyr*, who perceiving the wicked Intent of the Council, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true catholick Faith.

Green ſaid, that he grounded not his Faith upon *Peter Martyr* nor any other, nor did believe ſo becauſe *Peter Martyr* believed the ſame; but becauſe that he had heard the Scriptures, and the Doctors of the Church truly and wholſomely expounded by him; neither had he any Regard of the Man, but of the Word which he ſpake. And further he ſaid, that he heard the ſaid *Peter Martyr* ſay often, that he had not as yet while he was a Papiſt, read *Chryſoſtom* upon the Tenth to the *Corinthians*, nor many other Places of the Doctors: But when he had read them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yield to the Doctors, having firſt humbled himſelf in Prayer, deſiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true Underſtanding of the Scripture. Which Thing (ſaid *Green*) if you my Lord would do, I do not doubt but God would open your Eyes, and ſhew you his Truth, no more than I do doubt his Words to be true that ſaith; *Ask and it ſhall be given to you*; *knock and it ſhall be opened unto you*, &c.

Then *Fecknam* asked him what he thought of this Article, The holy catholick Church.

And *Green* anſwered, that he did believe one holy and univerſal Church throughout all the World.

Then *Fecknam* ſaid, that he would fain have a ſure Mark and Token, whereby he might know this Church: And therefore he prayed *Green* to define unto him this Church.

Green anſwered, that this Church did agree in Verity of the true Doctrine of Chriſt, and was known by the true Adminiſtration of his Sacraments.

Whereupon *Fecknam* ſaid, that he would prove the Church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in Doctrine, but always to have been in Controverſy in their Religion. For, *ſaid he*, *Luther* and *Zuinglius* could never agree in their Writings or Sayings, nor *Oecolampadius* with *Caroloſtadius*, or *Caroloſtadius* with either *Zuinglius* or *Luther*, &c. for *Luther* writing upon the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, that in this Bread, or under this Bread we receive the Body of the Lord. *Zuinglius* controlling him, ſaid, Under the Sign of the Bread we receive the Body of the Lord. And the other controlled him in like Caſe.

Then Mr. *Green* proved their Opinions of the Sacrament to be one in Effect, being rightly weighed: And though their Words did not ſound all one, yet they meant one Thing; and their Opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other Examples.

Then *Fecknam* deſired him that he would not ſo wilfully caſt himſelf away, but to be rather conformable to Reaſon, and that my Lord Biſhop there preſent would be good unto him, and would grant him Reſpite (if he would demand it) for a Fortnight or three Weeks, and that he ſhould chooſe any learned Man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his Houſe; and that he whom he would chooſe would willingly take the Pains to read and confer the Doctors with him, and open the Doctors Minds and Meanings unto him.

Then Biſhop *Bonner* ſaid, that he was proud and an obſtinate Boy; and therefore he bade *Feeknam* to hold his Peace, and to call him no more Mr. *Green*: For *(ſaid he)* you ought not to call an Heretick, Maſter.

After this Dr. *Pendleton* alledged to him this Text out of the 22d of *Luke*, *I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's Kingdom.* Here, *ſaid he*, you muſt confeſs your Opinion to be falſe, elſe you muſt ſay that Chriſt was a Liar: For Chriſt ſaid, *I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's Kingdom.* If Chriſt did eat no more the Bread when he ſpake theſe Words, then muſt you ſay that he was a Liar: For he did eat Bread after with his Diſciples, before he aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his Body then, and after but Bread, it will not agree with the Scriptnres, nor with good Reaſon.

Note the blind Ignorance of Dr. *Pendleton*, as though the Kingdom of Chriſt was not gotten at the Death of Chriſt.

Then *Green* anſwered and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by an Anticipation, as one of their own Biſhops (who is now dead) did ſay.

This Biſhop was ſuppos'd to be the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Then Dr. *Pendleton* ſaid, that that was no ſufficient Diſcharge, nor no ſufficient Anſwer for him in this Caſe; for, *ſaid he*, it is well known that the Biſhop was of a contrary Opinion to you, and that he died a good chriſtian Man.

To which Words *Green* ſaid, I do not call him to witneſs in this Caſe, as though he were a ſufficient Man to prove my Saying to be true in this Matter: But I do alledge him againſt you, as *Paul* did the Scripture, which he found graven in the Altar of the *Athenians*, againſt themſelves, To the unknown God.

Theſe with many other Words were between them, which I do overpaſs, becauſe it were too long to ſtand upon Recital of every Thing. Laſt of all the Biſhop asked him if he would recant. He ſaid nay, he would not. But, my Lord, *ſaid he*, in old Time there were no Men put to Death for their Conſcience, until ſuch Times as Biſhops found the Means to make it Death to believe contrary to them; but Excommunication, my Lord, was the greateſt Penalty which Men had for their Conſcience; yea, inſomuch that St. *Auguſtine* wrote, and commanded that no Man ſhould be put to Death for his Opinion.

Then *Bonner* ſaid, that when St. *Auguſtine* ſaw what Inconveniences followed of that Commandment, he wrote again to the temporal Rulers, commanding them to puniſh their Bodies alſo.

But, ſaid *Green*, he bade not to put them to Death.

He bade puniſh them, quoth *Bonner*.

Yea, ſaid *Green*, but not put them to Death.

That they ſhould be puniſhed, quoth *Bonner*, again.

This Talk ended, he asked *Green* if he would recant, and return to their *Romiſh* Mother. Which when he deny'd, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence definitive againſt him, and ſo committed him to the Sheriffs of *London*, who cauſed him to be carry'd to *Newgate.*

And as he was going thither, there met with him two Gentlemen, being both his ſpecial Friends, minding belike to comfort this their perſecuted Brother: But at their Meeting, their loving and friendly Hearts (not able any longer to hide themſelves) were manifeſted by the Abundance of their pitiful Tears. To whom, when *Green* ſaw them, he

ſaid

ſaid in theſe or like Words, Ah, my dear Friends, is this your Comfort you are come to give me, in this my Occaſion of Heavineſs? Muſt I, who needed to have Comfort miniſtred to me, become now a Comforter of you? And thus declaring his moſt quiet and peaceable Mind and Conſcience, he chearfully ſpake to them and others, until he came to the Priſon Door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in Prayer (whereunto he much gave himſelf) or elſe in ſome other godly Meditations and Exerciſes, until the 28th Day of *January*, when he with his other above mentioned Brethren, went moſt chearfully to the Place of their Torments, often repeating, both by the Way and at the Stake, theſe *Latin* Verſes.

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis:
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

In *Engliſh* thus,

O Chriſt, my God, ſure Hope of Health,
Beſides thee have I none:
The Truth I love, and Falſhood hate,
By thee my Guide alone.

During the Time of his Impriſonment in *Newgate*, divers of his Friends had Acceſs unto him, to whom he gave ſundry godly Exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better Remembrance of his Inſtructions, as well as of his good and pious Perſon, they deſired him to write ſomewhat in their Books, which he readily did.

Theſe Verſes he wrote in a Book of Mr. *Huſſey* of the Temple.

Behold thyſelf by me,
Such one was I, as thou:
And thou in Time ſhalt be
Even Duſt as I am now.
Bartlet Green.

The following Verſes were wrote in a Book of Mr. *William Fleetwood*, of the ſame Houſe.

My reſting-road is found,
Vain hope and hap adieu:
Love whom you liſt with change,
Death ſhall me rid from you.
Bartlet Green.

Amongſt many other Virtues of this good Man, in him was to be noted ſuch a modeſt Nature, ſo humbly thinking of himſelf, as in few Men is to be found, ever dejecting himſelf under that was in him, and ever ſeeming to be leſs than he was, ſo that nothing leſs could he abide, than to hear of his Praiſe or Commendation; as well declareth not only his Letter written to Mr. *Philpot*, wherein he doth earneſtly expoſtulate with him, for ſlandering him with Praiſe of his Wit and Learning and other manifold Virtues of great Excellency; but alſo by his own Speech and Anſwers in his Examination, wherein he caſteth from him all Knowledge of Learning and Cunning, when notwithſtanding he had more in him, than to any Man's Eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this Gift of Modeſty grafted in the Nature of him, ſo far abhorring all Pride and Arrogancy, that as he could not abide any Thing that was ſpoken to his Advancement or Praiſe; ſo neither did there appear in him any Shew or Brag in thoſe Things wherein he might juſtly glory, which were his Puniſhments and Sufferings for the Cauſe and Quarrel of Chriſt. For when he was beaten and ſcourged with Rods by Biſhop *Bonner*, and he greatly rejoiced in the ſame, yet his Modeſty was ſuch, that he would never mention it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to glory too much in himſelf, except only to one Mr. *Cotton*, an intimate Friend, a little before his Death. Anno 1556.

To his admirable Modeſty may be added his excellent and univerſal Compaſſion to Mankind; which, however ſlighted by ſome, yet there is nothing in Nature that doth more truly reſemble the Image of the high Majeſty of Almighty God. As, in reſpect of Humanity, Man only excelleth a Beaſt, ſo this Man by his merciful Tenderneſs did not only ſeem to be, but really was ſuperior to moſt of his own Species. It was his Cuſtom to viſit the poor Priſoners (thoſe that were with him in Priſon) both with bodily Relief and ſpiritual Comfort: And finding many of them (I mean ſuch as were there for Theft and other naughty Facts) very penitent and ſorry for their wicked Lives, in hope of their Amendment, did not only by Word of Mouth, but alſo by his Letters require, yea, as it were of Duty in Love, charged his Friends to do their utmoſt Endeavour to obtain their Liberty: ſuch was the pious and charitable Diſpoſition of this true Member of Chriſt's Church, whoſe Imitation of divine Benignity appeareth in the following Letter:

Another Letter of Mr. *Green* in Behalf of poor Priſoners.

To my very loving Friends and Maſters, Mr. Goring, *Mr.* Fernham, *Mr.* Fleetwood, *Mr.* Ruſſwell, *Mr.* Huſſey, *Mr.* Calthorp, *Mr.* Bowyer, *and other my Maſters of the Temple,* Bartlet Green *wiſheth Health of Body and Soul.*

VERY Friends are they who are knit together with the Knot of Charity; Charity doth not decay, but increaſe in them that die faithfully: Whereof it followeth, that though we be abſent in Body, yet are we preſent in the Spirit, coupled together with the Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace, which is Love. How is he worthy the Name of a Friend, that meaſureth his Friendſhip with the Diſtance of a Place, or parting of Perſons? if thy Friend be out of Sight, is thy Friendſhip ended? if he be gone into the Country, wilt thou ceaſe to love him? if he be paſſed the Seas, will you ſo forſake him? if he be carried into Heaven, is Charity hindered thereby.

On the one Side we have the Uſe of the Fathers from the Primitive Church, who gave Thanks for their Friends that died in the Faith, to prove that Charity died not with Death. On the other Side, ſaith Horace, *They change their Country, not their Minds, who ſail beyond Sea.*

What ſpeak I of Horace? *Saith not St.* Paul *the ſame Thing? For we are Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Blood, yea, we are Members one of another. Is the Hand or Arm, Foot or Leg a Member, when it is diſſevered from the Body? How can we be Members, except we be joined together? What is the Line that coupleth us,*

Anno 1556. *but Love? When all Things shall fail, Love never faileth. Hope hath its End, when we have got that which we hoped for. Faith is finished in Heaven; Love endureth for ever: Love, I say, that proceedeth of Charity; for carnal Love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the Flesh: Neither was that ever but fleshly Love, which by Distance of Place, or Severing of Bodies is parted asunder. If Love be the End or Sum of the Law; if Heaven and Earth shall perish, yet one Jot of God's Word shall not decay, why should we think that Love will not last for ever?*

I need not write much to you, my Friends, neither have I Leisure now the Keepers are risen: But this I say, if we keep Christ's Commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our Love be everlasting. This Friendship St. Paul *felt when it moved him to say, That neither length nor breadth (meaning no Distance of Place) neither heighth nor depth, should sever him from the Love of Christ. Weigh this Place well, and mete it with St.* Paul's *Measures; so shall we find that if our Love be untainted, it can never be ended. Now may you say, Why writest thou this? certainly to the End that if our Friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last Request of your Friend, and perform after my Death the Friendship we began in our Life, that Amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next Meeting together.*

Mr. Fleetwood, *I beseech you remember* Wittrance *and* Cook, *two singular Men amongst common Prisoners. Mr.* Fernham *and Mr.* Bell, *with Mr.* Hussey, *as I hope, will dispatch* Palmer *and* Richardson *with his Companions. I pray you, Mr.* Palmer, *think on* John Grove, *an honest poor Man,* Traiford *and* Rice Apprice *his Accomplices: My Cousin* Thomas Witton *(a Scrivener in* Lombard-street) *hath promised to further their Delivery; at least, he can instruct you which Way to work. I doubt not but that Mr.* Bowyer *will labour for the good Wife* Cooper *(for she is worthy to be holpen) and* Berard *the* Frenchman. *There be also other well-dispos'd Men, whose Deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their Relief, as you shall see Cause; namely, of* Henry Apprice, Lancelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, *and* Bockingham, *a young Man of goodly Gifts in Wit and Learning, and (saving that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two Women,* Coningham *and* Alice Alexander, *that may prove honest. For these and all other poor Prisoners here I make my humble Suit and Prayer to you all my Masters, and especially good Friends, beseeching you of all Bonds of Amity, for the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, in the Bowels of Mercy, to tender the Causes of miserable Captives; help to cloath Christ, visit the Afflicted, comfort the Sorrowful, and relieve the Needy. The very God of Peace guide your Hearts to have Mercy on the Poor, and love faithfully together,* Amen. *This present* Monday, *when I look to die, and live for ever.*

Yours as ever,

Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of Mr. *Green* to Mrs. *Elizabeth Clark.*

WOULD God, if it were his Pleasure, that with this Letter I might send you my Heart and Mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: So should I think it the best Message, and happiest Letter that ever I could write. But tho' I obtain not my Desire, yet shall I not cease with continual Prayer to labour for you, desiring Almighty God to increase that which he hath long since begun in you, of sober Life, and earnest Zeal towards his Religion. In Faith (as saith St. Paul) *she that is a true Widow and friendless putteth her Trust in God, continuing Day and Night in Supplication and Prayer; but she that liveth in Pleasure is dead while she liveth.* 1 Tim. 5. *And verily a true Widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the Vanities of the World, and Lust of the Flesh. For as the married Woman careth how to love, please, and serve her Husband; so ought the Widow to give all her Heart and Soul, Thought and Words, Studies and Labours, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her Children and Household, and diligently to provide for the Poor and Oppressed.* 1 Cor. 7. 1 Tim 5.

Therefore St. Paul *first instructeth a Widow how to behave herself, that is, Not to live in Pleasure, then to watch unto Prayer, is the only Means to obtain all our Desires, stedfastly laying up all our Trust in God, as* David *right well saith, First eschew Evil, then do Good. Of* Anna, *the Praise was written, that she never went out of the Temple, but served God with Fasting and Prayer Night and Day; so well had she espoused Christ.* Pfal. 34. Luke 2. Judith *wore a Smock of Hair, continuing in Fasting and had good Report of all Men.* Judith 8.

The next Care that belongeth to a Widow, is, that she bring up her Children and Houshold godly, in the Nurture and Information of the Lord. Whereof St. Paul *saith, If any have Children or Nephews, let them learn first to rule their own House godly, and to recompence their Elders. The Incontinency and Covetousness of* Phineas *and* Hophni, *corrected by* Eli *their Father, provoked God's Vengeance upon him and all his Kindred. The over tender Love of* Absalom *expelled* David *from his Kingdom. The unrebuked Sins of* Amnon *encouraged* Absalom *to slay his Brother; most manifest Examples against the Parents, for the Offences of their Children.* Ephes. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 2 Sam. 15. 2 Sam. 13.

Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah *rejoyce over* Samuel *her Son, whom she had brought up in the House of the Lord? What Thanks might* Tobias's *Wife give for her Son* Toby? *How happy was* Solomon *to be taught by the Prophet* Nathan? *But above all Widows, thrice blessed was the happy Mother of the seven Sons, that so had instructed them by the Fear of God, that by no Torments they would shrink from the Love of his Truth?* 1 Sam. 1. 1 Kings 1. 2 Macc. 7.

Of the last Part St. Paul *sheweth that a Widow should be chosen, if she have nourished her Children, if she have been liberal to Strangers, if she have washed the Saints Feet, and if she have ministred to them in Adversity. Herein it is evident how earnestly St.* Paul *would have Widows bent towards the Poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only Widows to minister to the Saints, and to gather for the Poor. Which Use also continued almost throughout the Primitive Church, that Widows had the Charge and Gathering for the poor Men and Strangers.* The Office and Exercise of Christian Widows in the Primitive Church.

Of your Neighbours I need not put you in Remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good Hospitality; by which Means also many Foreigners are by you relieved: But of the poor Alms-houses, and miserable Prisoners here in London, *many lacking their Liberty without Cause, some under Colour of Religion, some only kept for Fees, and some on private Men's Displeasure. Alas that Christ so hungereth, and no Man will feed him; is sore oppressed with Thirst, and no Man will give him Drink; destitute of all Lodging, and not relieved;*

lieved; naked, and not cloathed; ſick, and not viſited; impriſoned, and not ſeen.

In Times paſt Men could beſtow large Sums of Money on Copes, Veſtments, and Ornaments of the Church. Why rather follow we not the Example of * *St.* Ambroſe, *who ſold the ſame for the Relief of the Poor; or the Commandment of* Chryſoſtom, *who willed firſt to deck and garniſh the living Temple of God? But alas, ſuch is the Wickedneſs of theſe our laſt Days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure Doctrine, the Godlineſs of Life, nor good Examples of ancient Fathers. If in any Thing they erred, if they have written any Thing that ſerveth for Sects and Diſſenſion, that will their charitable Children embrace, publiſh, and maintain with Sword, Faggot, and Fire: But all in vain; they ſtrive againſt the Stream. For tho' in deſpite of the Truth, by force of the Cares of crafty Perſwaſion, they may bring themſelves into the Haven of Hell: Yet they cannot make all Men believe the Banks move whilſt the Ship ſaileth, nor ever ſhall be able to turn the direct Courſe of the Stream of God's Truth. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen you in all pure Doctrine and upright Living, and give you Grace virtuouſly to bring up your Children and Family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppreſſed,* Amen. *At* Newgate *the 20th of* January, Anno 1556.

* St. *Ambroſe* took from the Church, and gave to the Poor; we take from the Poor the Tythes and Impropriations, and give them to Churches and Miniſters, where is nothing but Singing and Idleneſs.

Your aſſured,

Bartlet Green.

Another Writing of Mr. *Bartlet Green.*

BEtter is the Day of Death, ſaith Solomon, *than the Day of Birth. Man that is born of a Woman liveth but a ſhort Time, and is repleniſhed with many Miſeries; but happy are the Dead that die in the Lord. Man of Woman is born in Travel, to live in Miſery; Man through Chriſt doth die in Joy, and live in Felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the World, with Cries he uttereth his miſerable Eſtate; ſtraight as he departeth, with Songs he praiſeth God for ever. Scarce yet in his Cradle, three deadly Enemies aſſault him; after Death no Adverſary can annoy him. Whilſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth God; when he is dead he fulfilleth his Will. In this Life here he dieth through Sin; in the Life to come he liveth in Righteouſneſs. Through many Tribulations in Earth he is ſtill purged; with Joy unſpeakable in Heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every Hour; there he liveth continually. Here is Sin; there is Righteouſneſs. Here is Time; there is Eternity. Here is Hatred; there is Love. Here is Pain; there is Pleaſure. Here is Miſery; there is Felicity. Here is Corruption; there is Immortality. Here we ſee Vanity; there we ſhall behold the Majeſty of God with triumphant and unſpeakable Joy in Glory everlaſting. Seek therefore the Things that are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory, World without End,* Amen.

Yours in Chriſt,

Bartlet Green.

There were divers other Letters and Matters wrote by this Servant of God, as namely certain Notes and Extracts in *Latin*, out of the Doctors and other Authors for his Memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the Searching and Knowledge of the Law of God, altho' his Profeſſion was the Temporal Law. Where I would to God he were not among the Lawyers ſuch a Phenix, that he had very few or no Fellows to fly with him, or to follow his Steps. But God is to be praiſed, that although we read of few or none among that Sort that died as he did, yet good Witneſſes do daily ſpring up of the ſame Profeſſion, to ſuch Towardneſs and godly Zeal, that ſome Hope already appeareth ſhortly to come to paſs, that this godly Phenix ſhall not fly alone. Theſe aforeſaid Notes and Gatherings of his out of the Doctors, were taken from him by Biſhop *Bonner*, being found about him, which was to him no little Grief. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, which was the fifteenth Day of *January*, and afterward burned with the other Martyrs the 27th of the ſame Month. Anno 1556.

3. *Thomas Brown*, Martyr.

THomas Brown, born in the Pariſh of *Hiſton*, within the Dioceſs of *Ely*, came afterwards to *London*, where he dwelt in the Pariſh of St. *Brides* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, a married Man, of the Age of thirty ſeven Years, who becauſe he came not to his Pariſh-church, was preſented by the Conſtable of the Pariſh to Biſhop *Bonner*. The Articles on which he was examined, with his Anſwers alſo annexed to the ſame, hath been already mentioned in the general Proceſs againſt him and his Fellow-ſufferers. This *Thomas Brown* being had to *Fulham* with the others there to be examined, was required to come into the Chappel to hear Maſs, which he refuſing to do, went into the Warren, and there kneeled among the Trees. For this he was greatly charged by the Biſhop as for an heinous Matter, becauſe he ſaid it was done in deſpite and contempt of their Maſs; which ſeemed to the Biſhop and his Chaplains no ſmall Offence. At length being produced to his laſt Examination before the ſaid Biſhop, the fifteenth Day of *January*, there to hear the definitive Sentence againſt him; firſt he was required with many fair Words and gloſſing Promiſes to revoke his Doctrine, to whom the aforeſaid Biſhop ſpeaking theſe Words, ſaid, *Brown*, ye have been before me many Times and oft, and I have endeavoured to win thee from thine Errors; yet thou, and ſuch like, haſt and do report that I go about to ſeek thy Blood, *&c.*

Mr. *Brown* kneeleth among the Trees at Maſs Time.

To whom the ſaid *Thomas Brown* anſwered again, Yea, my Lord *(ſaid he)* indeed ye be a Bloodſucker, and I wiſh I had as much Blood as is Water in the Sea, for you to ſuck.

Bonner then proceeding to the Articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers Times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquiſh thoſe his Hereſies and erroneous Opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the Unity of the catholick Faith. Whereunto he made anſwer again, ſaying, if they were Hereſies, he would forſake them. They be Hereſies, ſaid the Biſhop. How will ye prove it, ſaid *Brown?* for I will not go from mine Anſwer, except you can prove them to be Hereſies, which ye ſhall never do. For that

Anno 1556. that which you call Hereſy is no Hereſy. With that Biſhop *Bonner*, not able, or elſe not diſpoſed to ſupply the Part of a ſufficient Teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good Authority and Doctrine of the Scripture, went about with Words and Promiſe of Pardon to allure him to renounce thoſe his Hereſies, as he called them, and to return unto the Unity of his Mother the catholick Church, *&c.*

To whom the ſaid *Brown* inferred again as followeth; Prove it *(ſaid he)* to be Hereſy, that I do hold and mantain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, becauſe I will not confeſs and believe the Bread in the Sacrament of the Altar (as you call it) to be the Body of Chriſt, and therefore ye ſpill mine and ſuch like Innocents Blood, being the Queen's true Subjects, for which you ſhall anſwer, and that ſhortly.

After this being ſpoken, *Bonner* (as he had done to the others before) read in writing the Sentence definitive againſt him. The Copy and Form of which Sentence wherewith the Papiſts were wont to condemn theſe Innocents, is before expreſſed. And this being done, he was committed to the Sheriffs to be had away, and burned the 27th Day of the ſaid Month of *January*, conſtantly abiding with the others the cruel Torments for the true Confeſſion of his chriſtian Faith.

Sentence againſt *T. Brown.*

4. John Tudſon, *Martyr.*

ON the ſame Day that the aforeſaid *Thomas Brown* with his Fellows were condemned (as is above related) being the 15th Day of *January*, *John Tudſon* was alſo brought forth with the reſt of the ſaid Company unto the like Condemnation. This *John Tudſon* was born in *Ipſwich* in the County of *Suffolk*, after that Apprentice in *London*, dwelling with one *George Goodyear* of the Pariſh of St. *Mary Botolph*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, who being complained of to Sir *Richard Cholmley* and Dr. *Story*, was by them ſent unto *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and was divers Times before him in Examination.

The Articles and Interrogatories miniſtred unto him as unto the reſt, are before ſpecified, with his Anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed, *&c.* After this he was brought into the open Conſiſtory, where the ſaid *John Tudſon* appearing before the ſaid Biſhop and his Accompliees, was moved with ſundry Perſuaſions (as their Manner is) to go from his Opinion (which they named Hereſy) and to perſiſt in the Unity of the Church which they were of; but he, conſtantly perſiſting in that which he had received by the Preachers in King *Edward*'s Time, refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, there was no Hereſy in his Anſwers. For I, ſaid he, defy all Hereſy. The Biſhop yet ſtill uſed his old accuſtomed Perſuaſions to remove him, promiſing moreover all his Offences and Errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, *&c.* Then ſaid *Tudſon*, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In your Anſwers. No, ſaid *Tudſon* again, I have not therein offended; and ye, my Lord, pretend Charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your Works. Thus after a few Words, the Biſhop did likewiſe pronounce againſt him

Of theſe Articles read before.

Sentence of Condemnation; which being read, the godly Martyr was committed to the Secular Power, and ſo with much Patience finiſhed this Life with the others before named, the 27th Day of *January*.

Sentence againſt *J. Tudſon.*

5. John Went, *Martyr.*

JOHN WENT born in *Langham* in *Eſſex* within the Dioceſs of *London*, of the Age of 27, and a Sheerman by Occupation, was firſt examined (as is partly mentioned before) by Dr. *Story* upon the Sacrament of the Altar, and becauſe the poor Man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the ſaid Dr. *Story* ſent him up to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*. Who likewiſe, after divers Examinations upon the Articles aforeſaid in the Conſiſtory, attempted the like Manner of Perſuaſions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom in few Words, the ſaid *Went* anſwered again, He would not; but that by the Leave of God, he would ſtand firm and conſtant in that he had ſaid. And when the Biſhop yet notwithſtanding did ſtill urge and call upon him with Words and fair Gloſſes, to give over himſelf to their Opinion, he could have no other Anſwer of him but this, No, I ſay as I have ſaid, *&c.* Whereupon being condemned by the Biſhop's Sentence, he was committed unto the Sheriffs (whom that ſhameleſs Shaveling at that Time abuſed for his ſervile Butchers) and ſo brought to his Martyrdom, which he with no leſs Conſtancy ſuffered to the End, with the reſt of that bleſſed Society of Martyrs abovenamed.

J. Went condemned.

6. Iſabel Foſter, *Martyr.*

WITH theſe five Perſons above recited and condemned, were alſo two Women in the ſaid Company condemned the ſame Time, and likewiſe burned for the ſame Cauſe; the one a Wife, called *Iſabel Foſter*, the other a Maid, named *Joan Warne*, otherwiſe, *Laſkford*.

This aforeſaid *Iſabel* was born in *Grafeſtock* in the Dioceſs of *Carliſle*, and was afterwards marry'd to one *John Foſter*, Cutler, of the Pariſh of St. *Bride*'s in *Fleet-ſtreet*, being of the Age of fifty five Years. She likewiſe, for not coming to their Church, was ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, who put her in Priſon, and examin'd her ſundry Times, but ſhe would never be overcome nor removed from the conſtant Confeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel.

At length, coming unto her final Examination before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory the 15th Day of the ſaid Month of *January*, ſhe was moved again whether ſhe would yet go from her former Anſwers. Whereunto ſhe gave a reſolute Anſwer in few Words; I will not, ſaith ſhe, go from them by God's Grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being caſt down by the menacing Threats of the Biſhop, nor yet yielding through his alluring Entice-ments, promiſing both Life and Liberty, if ſhe would aſſociate herſelf in the Unity of the catholick Church. Whereunto ſhe ſaid again in this wiſe, That ſhe truſted ſhe was never out of the catholick Church, *&c.* and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtant till the

The Words of *Iſabel Foſter* at her laſt Examination.

Sentence definitive was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by Commandment of the Biſhop to the ſecular Power, and ſo brought a few Days after to the Stake, the 27th Day of the aforeſaid Month; where ſhe, like a faithful Witneſs of the Lord's Truth (with the other Five aforeſaid) ended her Troubles here, to find a better Reſt in the Kingdom of Chriſt our Saviour.

Iſabel Foſter condemned.

7. Joan Laſhford, alias Joan Warne, *Martyr.*

IN this Book mention hath been made of one *Elizabeth Warne*, who with her Husband *John Warne* (as is aforeſaid) in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, was apprehended in *Bow-church-yard* for being there at a Communion, and both ſuffered for the ſame; firſt the Man, in the Month of *May*; then the Wife, in *July* after; and now the Daughter, in the Month of *January*, follow'd her Parents in the ſame Martyrdom. Furthermore, in the ſame Place following, Mention was made alſo of Dr. *Story*, who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat near unto the ſaid Parties, either in Kindred or Alliance; however, as I have heard ſince, there was no Kindred between them, but only that ſhe was his Servant. Yet notwithſtanding, the ſaid Dr. *Story* (as it is above ſpecify'd) before he was a Commiſſoner, made Interceſſion for the Parties to Dr. *Martin*, then Commiſſioner; but afterwards, being placed in Commiſſion himſelf, he ſo far forgot himſelf, and his old Servant, that he became no ſmall Procurer of their Deaths. I will not here expoſtulate with the hard Heart of that Man, nor with his Inconſtancy; who yet notwithſtanding, after he had brought them to Death, was arreſted himſelf for threeſcore Pounds, charged with Debt in their Behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in ſome Manner ally'd unto them. But leaving that Perſon to the good Pleaſure of God, let us return to what we have in Hand.

This *Joan Laſhford*, born in the Pariſh of *Little Alhallows* in *Thames-ſtreet*, was the Daughter of one *Robert Laſhford*, Cutler, and of the aforeſaid *Elizabeth*, who afterwards was marry'd to *John Warne*, Upholſter, who (as is before ſaid) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of God to the burning Fire; and after him his Wife; and after her, this *Joan Laſhford*, her Daughter; who, about the Age of twenty Years, miniſtring to her Father and Mother in Priſon, ſuſpected and known to be of the ſame Doctrine and Religion, was ſent to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* by Dr. *Story*, (as is above in the Anſwer to the Articles declared) and ſo committed to the *Poultry Compter*, where ſhe remained about five Weeks, and from thence convey'd to *Newgate*, where ſhe continu'd ſome Months.

After that, remaining Priſoner in the Cuſtody of *Bonner*, and being examin'd, her Confeſſion was, that for above a Twelve-month before ſhe came not to the Popiſh Maſs Service in the Church, neither would, either to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or to be confeſſed, becauſe her Conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to do; confeſſing and proteſting, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood; nor that auricular Confeſſion or Abſolution after the Popiſh Sort, was neceſſary, nor the Maſs to be good, or according to the Scripture, but ſaid, that both the ſaid Sacrament, Confeſſion, Abſolution, and the Maſs, with all their other ſuperfluous Sacraments, Ceremonies, and divine Service, as then uſed in this Realm of *England*, were moſt vile, and contrary to Chriſt's Word and Inſtitution; ſo that neither they were at the Beginning, nor ſhall be at the latter End. This godly Damſel, feeble and tender of Age, yet ſtrong by Grace, in this her Confeſſion and Faith ſtood ſo firm, that neither the flattering Promiſes, nor the violent Threats of the Biſhops could turn her; but being moved and exhorted by the Biſhop to return to the catholick Unity of the Church, boldly ſaid to him again, If ye will leave off your Abomination, ſo I will return, and otherwiſe I will not.

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The worthy Conſtancy of a Maid.

Whereupon the Biſhop yet again promiſed her Pardon of all her Errors (as he called them) if ſhe would be conformed. To this ſhe anſwered again, ſaying to the Biſhop, Do as it pleaſeth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may pleaſe God.

The Condemnation of *Joan Laſhford.*

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſevering in the Lord's holy Truth, was by the Sentence definitive condemned and committed to the Sheriffs, by whom the aforeſaid 27th Day of *January* ſhe with the reſt being brought unto the Stake, there waſhed her Cloaths in the Blood of the Lamb, dying moſt conſtantly for his Word and Truth, to whom moſt lovingly ſhe eſpouſed herſelf.

And thus much concerning the Life, Story, and Condemnation of theſe ſeven Martyrs, before ſpecify'd.

The Hiſtory of five Martyrs who were burnt at Canterbury, *at two Stakes in one Fire.*

THESE five Martyrs ſuffered for the Truth of the Goſpel at *Canterbury* on the 31ſt Day of *January*, being one Man and four Women, whoſe Names be theſe:

John Lomas, a young Man, *Anne Albright*, *Joan Catmer*, *Agnes Snoth*, Widow, *Joan Sole*, Wife.

1. John Lomas, *Martyr.*

JOHN LOMAS, of the Pariſh of *Tenderden*, detected and preſented of that Religion which the Papiſts call Hereſy, and cited upon the ſame to appear at *Canterbury*, examined there of the firſt Article, whether he believed the catholick Church or no, anſwered thus; that he believed ſo much as is contained in God's Book, and no more.

Then being aſſigned to appear again under the Pain of the Law the next *Wedneſday* ſevennight after, which was the 17th Day of *January*, the ſaid *Lomas* was examined whether he would be confeſſed by a Prieſt or no, anſwered and ſaid, that he found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any Prieſt in God's Book, neither would be confeſſed, unleſs he were accuſed by ſome Man of Sin. Again, examined whether he believed the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the

Anno 1556. Altar really under the Forms of Bread and Wine after the Conſecration, or no; he anſwered, that he believed no Reality of Chriſt's Body to be in the Sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under Form or Treſſel, but he believed ſo much as is written. Being then demanded, whether he believed that there is a catholick Church or no, and whether he would be content to be a Member of the ſame, he anſwered thereunto, that he believed ſo much as was written in God's Book, and other Anſwer than this he refuſed to give, &c. Whereupon the Sentence was given and read againſt him the 18th Day of *January*, and ſo committed to the ſecular Power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the Conſcience of a true Faith, with the four Women here following:

Sentence againſt *John Lomas.*

2. Agnes Snoth, *Martyr.*

AGNES SNOTH, Widow, of the Pariſh of *Smarden*, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true Profeſſion of Chriſt's Religion, was divers Times examined before the phariſaical Fathers. Who, there compelled to anſwer to ſuch Articles and Interrogatories as ſhould be adminiſtred unto her, firſt denied to be confeſſed to a Prieſt; notwithſtanding ſhe denied not to confeſs her Offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any Prieſt. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or any other did receive the Sacrament ſo as Chriſt and his Apoſtles after him did deliver it, then ſhe and they did receive it to their Comfort: But as it is now uſed in the Church, ſhe ſaid that no Man could otherwiſe receive it than to his Damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterwards being examined again concerning Penance, whether it were a Sacrament or no, ſhe plainly denied the ſame, and that the popiſh Manner of their Abſolution was not conſonant to the Word, nor neceſſary to be taken; with other ſuch like, agreeing with the Anſwers and Confeſſion of *John Lomas* before mention'd. Whereupon the Sentence being likewiſe read, ſhe was committed to the Sheriffs of *Canterbury*, and ſo ſuffering Martyrdom with the reſt, declared herſelf a perfect and conſtant Witneſs of Chriſt and of his Truth, the 31ſt Day of *January*.

Auricular Confeſſion refuſed.

3. Anne Albright, alias Champnes, *Martyr.*

AGainſt *Anne Albright*, likewiſe appearing before the Judge and his Colleagues, it was alſo objected concerning the ſame Matter of Confeſſion. Whereunto ſhe anſwered in theſe Words, ſaying, That ſhe would not be confeſſed by a Prieſt; and added moreover, ſpeaking unto the Prieſts, You Prieſts (ſaid ſhe) are the Children of Perdition, and can do no good by your Confeſſion. And likewiſe ſpeaking unto the Judge and his Aſſiſtants, ſhe told them that they were Subverters of Chriſt's Truth.

And concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid it was a naughty and abominable Idol, and ſo utterly denied the ſame Sacrament. Thus perſiſting and perſevering in her former Sayings and Anſwers, ſhe was condemned the ſaid 18th Day of *January*, with the others abovementioned; with whom alſo ſhe ſuffered quietly, and with great Comfort, for the Truth of Chriſt's Religion.

4. Joan Sole.

IN like Manner *Joan Sole*, of the Pariſh of *Horton*, was condemned by the ſame Phariſees and Prieſts for not allowing auricular Confeſſion, and for denying the real Preſence and Subſtance of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament. Who, after their phariſaical Sentence being pronounced, was brought by the Sheriffs to the Stake with the other four, and ſuſtained the like Martyrdom with them, through the Aſſiſtance of God's holy Grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the Glory of his Name, and Confirmation of his Truth.

5. Joan Catmer.

THE fifth and laſt of this heavenly Company of Martyrs, was *Joan Catmer* of the Pariſh of *Hith*, Wife (as it ſhould ſeem) of *George Catmer* burned before. Who being asked what ſhe ſaid to Confeſſion made to a Prieſt, denied to be confeſſed to any ſuch Prieſt. And moreover, the Judge ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid and affirmed, That ſhe believed not in that Sacrament, as it was then uſed, for that it was made, ſaid ſhe, a very Idol. In this her Confeſſion ſhe remaining and perſiſting, was by the like Sentence cruelly by them condemned, and ſo ſuffered with the aforeſaid *John Lomas*, and the other three Martyrs, ratifying and confeſſing with their Blood the true Knowledge and Doctrine of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour.

Theſe five Perſons were burnt at two Stakes in one Fire, together at *Canterbury*, as is before ſaid; who, when the Fire was flaming about their Ears, did ſing Pſalms. Whereat the good Knight Sir *John Norton*, being there preſent, wept bitterly at the Sight thereof.

The Judges and other Aſſiſtants which ſate upon her and the other four abovementioned, were *Richard Faucet*, *John Warren*, *John Mills*, *Robert Collins*, and *John Baker* the Notary.

The Hiſtory of the Reverend Paſtor and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Martyr, burnt at* Oxford *for the Confeſſion of Chriſt's true Doctrine under Queen* MARY, March 21, 1556.

AS concerning the Life and Eſtate of that moſt reverend Father in God, and worthy Prelate of godly Memory, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of the original Cauſe and Occaſion of his Preferment unto the archiepiſcopal Dignity, who by many hath been thought to have procured the ſame by Friendſhip only, and of ſome others eſteemed unworthy ſo high a Vocation; it is firſt therefore to be noted and conſidered, that the ſame *Thomas Cranmer* coming of an

T. Cranmer a Gentleman born.

ancient Parentage, from the Conqueſt to be deduced, and continuing ſince in the Name and Family of a Gentleman, was born in a Village called *Arſelacton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, of whoſe ſaid Name and Family there remaineth at theſe Days one Mannor and Manſion-houſe in *Lincolnſhire*, called *Cranmer-hall*, &c. ſometime the Heritage of the ſaid Stock and Family. Who being from his Infancy kept at School, and carefully brought up, came in Proceſs of Time unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and there proſpering in good Knowledge amongſt the better Sort of Students, was

T. Cranmer Fellow of Jeſus-College.

choſen Fellow of Jeſus-college in *Cambridge*. And ſo being Maſter of Art, and Fellow of the ſame College, it chanced him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter: By Means whereof he loſt and gave over his Fellowſhip there, and became the Reader in *Buckingham* College; and becauſe he would with more Diligence apply that his Office of reading, he placed his ſaid Wife in an Inn, called the *Dolphin* in *Cambridge*, the Wife of the Houſe being of Affinity unto her. By reaſon whereof, and for that his often Reſort unto his Wife in that Inn, he was much marked by ſome popiſh Merchants: Whereupon aroſe the ſlanderous Noiſe and Report againſt him, after he was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, raiſed up by the malicious Diſdain of certain malignant Adverſaries to Chriſt and his Truth, bruting Abroad every where, that he was but an Hoſtler, and therefore without all good Learning. Of whoſe malicious Reports, one of their Practices in that Behalf ſhall hereafter be declared, as Place and Time ſhall ſerve.

But in the mean Time to return to the Matter preſent: Whilſt this ſaid Mr. *Cranmer* continued as a Reader in *Buckingham* College, his Wife died in Childbed. After whoſe Death the Maſters and Fellows of Jeſus College deſirous again of their old Companion, namely for his Towardlineſs in Learning, choſe him again Fellow of the ſame College. Where he remaining at his Study, became in few Years after the Reader of Divinity Lecture in the ſame College, and in ſuch ſpecial Eſtimation and Reputation with the whole Univerſity, that being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the Heads (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned Men) to examine ſuch as yearly proceed in Commencement, either Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whoſe Approbation the whole Univerſity licenſed them to proceed unto their Degree, and again by whoſe Diſallowance the Univerſity alſo rejected them for a Time to proceed, until they be better furniſhed with more Knowledge.

Now Dr. *Cranmer*, ever much favouring the Knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in Divinity, unleſs they were ſubſtantially ſeen in the Hiſtory of the Bible: By means whereof certain Friars, and other religious Perſons, who were principally brought up in the Study of School-authors, without Regard had to the Authority of the Scripture, were commonly rejected by him; ſo that he was greatly, for that his ſevere Examination, of the religious Sort much hated, and had in great Indignation; and yet it came to paſs in the End, that divers of them being thus compelled to ſtudy the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well-affected; inſomuch that when they proceeded Doctors of Divinity, they could not overmuch extol and commend Dr. *Cranmer*'s Goodneſs towards them, who for a Time had put them back, to aſpire unto better Knowledge and Perfection. Among whom Dr. *Barret*, a white Friar, who afterwards dwelt at *Norwich*, was handled after that Manner, giving him no leſs Commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better Amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apiſh and popiſh Sort of ignorant Prieſts, may well underſtand, that this his Exerciſe, Kind of Life, and Vocation, was not altogether Hoſtler-like. Anno 1556.

Well, to go forwards; like as he was neither in Fame unknown, nor in Knowledge obſcure, ſo was he greatly ſollicited by Dr. *Capon*, to have been one of the Fellows in the Foundation of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s College in *Oxford*, which he utterly refuſed, not without Danger of Indignation. Notwithſtanding, foreſeeing that which after happened, to the utter Confuſion of many well-affected learned Men there, without Conſideration (becauſe Man's Glory was there more ſought for than God's) he ſtood to the Danger of the ſaid Indignation, which chanced more proſperouſly unto him within few Years after than he looked for. For while he thus continued in *Cambridge*, the great and weighty Cauſe of King *Henry* the Eighth's Divorce with the Lady *Katherine* Dowager of *Spain*, came into Queſtion; which being many Ways by the Space of two or three Years amongſt the Canoniſts, Civilians, and other learned Men, diverſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſs that this ſaid Dr. *Cranmer*, by reaſon that the Plague was in *Cambridge*, reſorted to *Waltham-Abbey*, to one Mr. *Creſſey*'s Houſe there, whoſe Wife was of Kin to the ſaid Mr. *Cranmer*. And for that he had two Sons of the ſaid Mr. *Creſſey* with him at *Cambridge* as his Pupils, he reſted at *Waltham-croſs*, at the Houſe of the ſaid Mr. *Creſſey*, with the ſaid two Children, during that Summer-time while the Plague reigned.

Queſtion of the King's Divorce with *Katherine* Dowager.

In this Summer-time Cardinal *Campeius* and Cardinal *Wolſey*, being in Commiſſion from the Pope, to hear and determine that great Cauſe in Controverſy between the King and the Queen, his pretended Wife, dallied and delayed all the Summer-time until the Month of *Auguſt* came, in hearing the ſaid Cauſe in Controverſy debated. When *Auguſt* was come, the ſaid Cardinals little minding to proceed to give Sentence, took Occaſion to finiſh their Commiſſion, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the Laws to keep Courts of eccleſiaſtical Matters in Harveſt-time: Which ſudden Stay and giving over of the ſaid Commiſſion by both the Cardinals, being unknown to the King, it ſo much moved him, that he taking it as a Mock at the Cardinals Hands, commanded the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to diſpatch forthwith Cardinal *Campeius* home again to *Rome*; and ſo in haſte removed himſelf from *London* to *Waltham* for a Night or two, while his Houſhold removed to *Greenwich*: By Means whereof it happened that the Harbingers lodged Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, Secretary, and Dr. *Foxe*, Almoner, (who were the chief Furtherers, Preferrers, and Defenders on the King's Behalf of the ſaid Cauſe) in the Houſe of the ſaid Mr. *Creſſey*, where the ſaid Dr. *Cranmer* was alſo lodged and reſident. When Supper-time came, the three Doctors met together; Dr. *Stephen Gardiner* and Dr.

Foxe

Anno 1556. *Foxe* much marvelling at Dr. *Cranmer*'s being there. Who declared to them the Cauſe of his being there, namely, becauſe the Plague was in *Cambridge*: And as they were of old Acquaintance, ſo the Secretary and the Almoner right well entertained Dr. *Cranmer*, minding to underſtand his Opinion concerning the great Buſineſs they had in Hand. And ſo as good Occaſion ſerved, while they were at Supper, they conferred with Dr. *Cranmer* concerning the King's Cauſe, requeſting him to give his Judgment and Opinion what he thought therein.

Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Foxe, and Dr. Cranmer conferring together in the King's Cauſe.

Whereunto Dr. *Cranmer* anſwered, That he could ſay little to the Matter, for that he had not ſtudied nor looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſaid to them, that in his Opinion, they made more ado in proſecuting the Law Eccleſiaſtical, than needed. It were better, as I ſuppoſe, ſaid Dr. *Cranmer*, that the Queſtion, Whether a Man may marry his Brother's Wife or no? were diſcuſſed by the Divines, and by the Authority of the Word of God, whereby the Conſcience of the Prince might be better ſatisfied and quieted, than thus from Year to Year by unneceſſary Delays to prolong the Time, leaving the very Truth of the Matter unboulted out by the Word of God. There is but one Truth in it, which the Scripture will ſoon declare, make open and manifeſt, being by learned Men well handled, and that may be as well done in *England* in the Univerſities here, as at *Rome*, or elſewhere in any foreign Nation, the Authority whereof will compel any Judge ſoon to come to a definitive Sentence: And therefore, as I take it, you might this Way have made an End of this Matter long ſince. When Dr. *Cranmer* had thus ended his Tale, the other two liked well his Device, and wiſhed that they had ſo proceeded beforetime, and thereupon conceived ſome Matter of that Device to inſtruct the King withal, who was then minded to ſend to *Rome* again for a new Commiſſion.

Dr. Cranmer's Anſwer in the Queſtion of the King's Divorce.

Now the next Day, when the King removed to *Greenwich*, like as he took himſelf not well handled by the Cardinals in thus deferring his Cauſe, ſo his Mind being uneaſy, and deſirous to ſee an End of this long and tedious Sute, he called unto him the two principal Managers of his Cauſe, namely, Dr. *Gardiner* and Dr. *Foxe*, What now, my Maſters (quoth the King) ſhall we do in this infinite Cauſe of mine? I ſee by it there muſt be a new Commiſſion procured from *Rome*, and when we ſhall have an End, God knoweth, and not I.

When the King had declared ſomewhat of his Mind herein, Dr. *Foxe* the Almoner ſaid to the King again, We truſt that there ſhall be better Ways deviſed for your Majeſty, than to make travel ſo far as to *Rome* any more in your Highneſs's Cauſe, which by chance was put into our Heads the other Night being at *Waltham*. The King being very deſirous to underſtand his Meaning, ſaid, Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by any better or ſhorter Way to proceed in our ſaid Cauſe? Then ſaid Dr. *Fox*, We happened to lodge the other Night at one Mr. *Creſſey*'s Houſe in *Waltham*, your Highneſs being there, where we met with an old Acquaintance of ours, named Dr. *Cranmer*, with whom having Conference concerning your Highneſs's Cauſe, he thought that the neareſt Way was, firſt to inſtruct and quiet your Majeſty's Conſcience by trying your Highneſs's Queſtion out by the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final Sentence. With this Report the Secretary was diſpleas'd with the Almoner, becauſe they did not take the Glory of this Invention to themſelves. And when the Secretary would have ſeemed by colourable Words to make it appear to the King, that it was a Project of their own deviſing, the King immediately cry'd out, Where is this Dr. *Cranmer*, is he ſtill at *Waltham*? They anſwered that they left him there. Marry, ſaid the King, I will ſurely ſpeak with him, and therefore let him be ſent for out of Hand. I perceive (quoth the King) that that Man hath the Sow by the Right Ear. And if I had known this Device but two Years ago, it had been in my Way a great Piece of Money, and had alſo rid me out of much Diſquietneſs. Whereupon Dr. *Cranmer* was ſent for, and being removed from *Waltham* to *Cambridge*, and ſo towards his Friends in *Nottinghamſhire*, a Poſt went for him. But when he came to *London*, he began to quarrel with his two Acquaintances, that he by their Means was thus troubled and brought thither to be incumber'd in a Matter wherein he had nothing at all travelled in Study; and therefore moſt inſtantly intreated them, that they would make his Excuſe in ſuch a Manner, that he might be diſpatched away from coming in the King's Preſence. They promiſed and took the Matter upon them ſo to do, if by any Means they might compaſs it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuſe Dr. *Cranmer*'s Abſence, the more the King inſiſted to have him brought into his Preſence out of Hand; ſo that no Excuſe ſerving, he was obliged immediately to wait on the King at Court, whom the gentle Prince benignly accepting, demanded his Name, and ſaid unto him, Were not you at *Waltham* at ſuch a Time, in the Company of my Secretary and my Almoner? Dr. *Cranmer* confeſſing the ſame; the King ſaid again, Had you not Conference with them concerning our Matter of Divorce now in Queſtion after this Sort, repeating the Manner and Order thereof? That is right true, if it pleaſe your Highneſs, quoth Dr. *Cranmer*. Well (ſaid the King) I well perceive that you have the right Scope of this Matter. You muſt underſtand (quoth the King) that I have been long troubled in Conſcience, and now I perceive that by this Means I might have been long ago relieved one Way or other from the ſame, if we had this Way proceeded. And therefore Mr. Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheleſs becauſe you are a Subject, I charge and command you (all your other Buſineſs and Affairs ſet apart) to take ſome Pains to ſee this my Cauſe to be furthered according to your Device, as much as it may lie in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and the World, that I ſeek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any Means I might juſtly be perſwaded that this our Matrimony were inviolable, and not againſt the Laws of God; for otherwiſe there was never Cauſe to move me to ſeek any ſuch Extremity. Neither was there ever Prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving Companion and Wife than the Queen is, nor did I ever fancy Woman in all Reſpects better, if this doubt had not riſen; aſſuring you that for the ſingular Virtues wherewith ſhe is

Dr. Cranmer ſent for to the King.

Diſcourſe between the King and Dr. *Cranmer*.

Mark this you Papiſts, who ſo raſhly judge the King's Divorce, and the Pope's Overthrow to have ſprung of light Cauſes.

Dr. Cranmer's Device reported to the King.

indued, beſides the Conſideration of her noble Stock, I could be right well contented ſtill to remain with her, if ſo it would ſtand with the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. And thus greatly commending her many and ſingular Qualities, the King further ſaid, I therefore pray you with an indifferent Eye, and with as much Dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your Part do handle the Matter for the diſcharging of both our Conſciences.

Dr. *Cranmer* much diſabling himſelf to meddle in ſo weighty a Matter, beſought the King's Highneſs to commit the Trial and examining of this Matter by the Word of God, unto the beſt learned Men of both his Univerſities, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. You ſay well, ſaid the King, and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheleſs, I will have you eſpecially to write your Mind therein. And ſo calling the Earl of *Wiltſhire* to him, ſaid, I pray you my Lord, let Dr. *Cranmer* have Entertainment in your Houſe at *Durham* Place for a Time, to the Intent he may be there quiet to accompliſh my Requeſt, and let him lack neither Books, nor any Thing requiſite for his Study. And thus after the King's Departure, Dr. *Cranmer* went with my Lord of *Wiltſhire* unto his Houſe, wherein he incontinently wrote his Mind concerning the King's Queſtion; adding to the ſame, beſides the Authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and of ancient Writers, alſo his Opinion which was this; That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no ſuch Authority, as whereby he might diſpenſe with the Word of God and the Scripture. When Dr. *Cranmer* had wrote this Book, and committed it to the King, the King ſaid unto him, Will you ſtand to this that you have here written before the Biſhop of *Rome?* That will I do, by God's Grace, quoth Dr. *Cranmer*, if your Majeſty do ſend me thither. Marry, quoth the King, I will ſend you even to him in a ſure Ambaſſage.

And thus by the Means of Dr. *Cranmer*'s handling of this Matter with the King, not only certain learned Men were ſent Abroad to the moſt Part of the Univerſities in *Chriſtendom*, to diſpute the Queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by Commiſſion diſputed by the Divines in both Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, it was there concluded, That no ſuch Matrimony was by the Word of God lawful.

Whereupon a ſolemn Ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, then being at *Bonony*, wherein went the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Stokeſley*, Dr. *Carne*, Dr. *Bennet*, and divers other learned Men and Gentlemen.

And when the Time came that they ſhould come before the Biſhop of *Rome* to declare the Cauſe of their Ambaſſage, the Biſhop ſitting on high in his Cloth of State, and in his rich Apparel, with his Sandals on his Feet, offering, as it were, his Foot to be kiſſed by the Ambaſſadors; the Earl of *Wiltſhire* diſdaining thereat, ſtood ſtill, and made no Countenance thereunto, ſo that all the reſt kept themſelves from that Idolatry.

Howbeit, one Thing is not here to be omitted, as a Prognoſticate of our Separation from the See of *Rome*, which then chanced by a Spaniel of the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. For he having there a great Spaniel which came with him out of *England*, ſtood directly between the Earl and the Biſhop of *Rome*.

And when the ſaid Biſhop, that Servant of the Servants of God (as he in great Humility ſtyleth himſelf) offered his Foot to be kiſſed, and, while they ſtood ſtill and declin'd it, the ſaid * Spaniel ſeeing the Foot ſhining with Gold and Jewels, caught hold of it, as taking it to be ſome Kind of Repaſt, and bit it. The Pope diſdaining the Affront, in haſte pulled in that glorious Foot, and kicked the Dog with the other: And while the *Engliſhmen* ſmil'd in their Sleeves at the Omen, the Pontifical Biſhop, knitting his Brows, demanded the Cauſe of their Embaſſy. Which being declared, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* deliver'd *Cranmer*'s Book to the Pope, telling him withal, That there were learned Men come along with him from *England*, who were ready to defend what was contained in that Book, by the holy Scriptures, the Councils, and the Writings of the Orthodox Fathers, againſt all who ſhould contradict it. Anno 1556.

The un-mannerly Nature of a Dog preſuming to kiſs the Pope's Foot.

* *Fludd* like a ſcurrilous Buffoon, in citing this Paſſage, doth not call this a Proteſtant's Dog, but a Proteſtant Dog! As if even a Dog were capable of the Proteſtant Religion.

The Pope often promis'd the Ambaſſador to appoint a Day for the Diſputation; but it was a Promiſe which he never perform'd; by affected Delays ſpinning out the Time, as his Cardinals had before done in *England*. So giving the Ambaſſadors moſt honourable and court-like Entertainment, and having made *Cranmer* (whom he either knew or ſuppos'd to be the Author of that Book concerning the King's Marriage with *Catherine*) his Penitentiary in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*; being mighty timerous, and equally afraid of the Emperor, the *French* King, and ours, he durſt not come to any Reſolution in a Matter of ſuch Moment, but diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, without determining, or even propoſing any Thing about it.

Dr. *Cranmer* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

From hence, while the reſt return'd Home, *Cranmer*, by the King's private Order, made the Emperor and the Princes of *Germany* in his Way. At that Time the Emperor was in an Expedition againſt the *Turk*, who was engag'd in the Siege of *Vienna*, the Capital of *Auſtria*. Whom when *Cranmer* attended, and asked him in the King's Name, which of his Domeſticks or others that he knew would contradict him? *Cornelius Agrippa* was mention'd; a Man better verſed in the Secrets of Philoſophy than in Divinity. But he being eaſily brought over to *Cranmer*'s Side of the Queſtion, did readily join in perſuading the other learned Men of the Emperor's Retinue, not to oppoſe *Cranmer*; who, he ſaid, had brought the Truth along with him. Therefore meeting with no Oppoſition, he took his Leave of the Emperor. From whence taking a Tour throughout *Germany*, he brought home with him to the King the Opinions and Judgment of the moſt learned Men there, as well in the Univerſities, as in the Courts of Princes, all agreeing with his own.

This Matter thus proſpering on Dr. *Cranmer*'s Behalf, as well touching the King's Queſtion, as concerning the Invalidity of the Pope's Authority, Biſhop *Warham*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, departed this tranſitory Life, whereby that Dignity then being in the King's Gift, was immediately given to Dr. *Cranmer*, as worthy, for his good Services, of ſuch a Promotion. Thus much concerning the Preferment of Dr. *Cranmer*, and by what Means he arrived at this Dignity: Not by Flattery, nor by Bribes, nor by any other unlawful Means; which Things I have more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railing Mouths

Anno 1556. of ſuch, who being themſelves obſcure and unlearned, are not aſhamed moſt ſcurrilouſly to detract ſo learned a Man with the Nickname of *Hoſtler*, whom for his godly Zeal to ſincere Religion, they ought with much Humility to have had in Regard and Reputation.

Now as concerning his Behaviour and Method of living towards God and the World, being now entered into his ſaid Dignity, and forſomuch as the Apoſtle St. *Paul* writing to two Biſhops, *Timothy* and *Titus*, ſetteth out unto us a perfect Deſcription of a true Biſhop, with all the other Properties and Conditions belonging to the ſame, unto which Pattern it is rare in theſe ſtrange Days to find the Image of any Biſhop correſpondent; yet for Example ſake let us take this Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and try him by the Rule thereof, to ſee either how near he cometh to the Deſcription of St. *Paul*, or elſe how far off he ſwerveth from the common Courſe of others in his Time, of his Calling. The Rule of St. *Paul* is found, 1 *Tim.* 3. alſo in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, *chap.* 1. in theſe Words:

The Rule of a true Biſhop. *A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God. Not ſtubborn, nor angry, no Drunkard, no Fighter, nor given to filthy Lucre; but Harborous, one that loveth Goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true Word and Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort*, &c.

Unto this Rule and Touch-ſtone, to lay now the Life and Converſation of this Archbiſhop, we will firſt begin with that which is thus written,

A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God.

As no Man is without Sin, and as every man carrieth about him his peculiar Vice or Failings; yet nevertheleſs the Apoſtle meaneth, that the Biſhop and Miniſter muſt be faultleſs in Compariſon of the common Converſation of Men of the World, who ſeem to live more licentiouſly at their own Liberties and Pleaſures, than a Biſhop or Miniſter ought to do, having a ſmall Regard to the giving of good Example; which a Biſhop and Miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute Life the Word of God be ſlandered and evil ſpoken of: To avoid which, and the better to accompliſh this Precept of the Apoſtle, this worthy Man gave himſelf up to continual Study, ſtrictly obſerving the Order that he in the Univerſity commonly uſed, that is, to be by five a Clock in the Morning at his Book, and ſo continuing in Prayer and Study till nine, he then apply'd himſelf (if the Prince's Affairs did not call him away) until Dinner time to hear Suiters, and to diſpatch ſuch Matters as appertained to his ſpecial Cure and Charge, committing his temporal Affairs, both of his Houſhold and other foreign Buſineſs, to his Officers: So that ſuch Things were never Impediments either to his Study, or to his paſtoral Charge, which principally conſiſted in Reformation of corrupt Religion, and in ſetting forth of true and ſincere Doctrine. For the moſt Part always being in Commiſſion, he aſſociated himſelf with learned Men for ſifting or bolting ſomething or other for the Advantage and Profit of the Church of *England*. By Means whereof, and what for his private Study, he was never idle; beſides that, he accounted it no idle Point to beſtow an Hour or two of the Day in reading over ſuch Works and Books as daily came from beyond the Seas.

After Dinner, if any Suters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and diſpatch them in ſuch an obliging Manner, that every one admired and commended his Lenity and Gentleneſs, although the Caſe required that ſometimes divers of them were committed by him to Priſon. And having no Suters after Dinner, for an Hour, or thereabouts, he would play at Cheſs, or behold ſuch as were at Play. That done, then again to his ordinary Study, where he commonly ſtood (ſeldom ſat down) till five of the Clock, which Hour he beſtowed in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking, or uſing ſome innocent Recreation till Supper-time. At Supper, if he had no Appetite (as many Times he would not ſup) yet he would ſit down at the Table, having his ordinary Proviſion of his Meſs furniſhed with expedient Company, he wearing his Gloves on his Hands, becauſe he would, as it were, thereby wean himſelf from eating of Meat, but yet entertaining the Company with ſuch edifying Diſcourſe as did much delight the Hearers; ſo that by this Means Hoſpitality was well furniſhed, and the Alms-cheſt well maintained for Relief of the Poor. After Supper, he would ſpend, at leaſt, one Hour in walking, or ſome other harmleſs paſs-time, and then again till nine o' Clock at his Study: So that no Hour of the Day was ſpent in vain, but the ſame was ſo beſtow'd, as tended to the Glory of God, the Service of the Prince, or the Advantage of the Church. By all which he gained a good Report amongſt Men, ſo that his Converſation, in Compariſon with other Men, ſeem'd to be faultleſs, as the Miniſter of God.

That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.

Secondly, it is required, *That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.* With which Kind of Vice, without great wrong, this Archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged; whoſe Nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner won to an honeſt Suit or Purpoſe, eſpecially in ſuch Things, wherein by his Word, Writing, Counſel or Deed, he might gratify either any gentle or noble Man, or do good to any mean Perſon, or elſe relieve the Needy and Poor. Only in Cauſes pertaining to God or his Prince, no Man more ſtout, more conſtant, or more hard to be won; as in that Part his earneſt Defence in the Parliament-houſe above three Days together, in diſputing againſt the ſix Articles of *Gardiner*'s Device, can teſtify. And though the King would needs have them upon ſome politick Conſideration to go forward, yet he ſo handled himſelf as well in the Parliament-houſe, as afterwards by writing ſo obediently and with ſuch humble Behaviour in Words towards his Prince, proteſting the Cauſe not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the Author of all Truth, that the King did not only well like his Defence (willing him to depart out of the Parliament-houſe

into the Council-chamber, whilſt the Act ſhould paſs and be granted for Safeguard of his Conſcience; which he with humble Proteſtation refuſed, hoping that his Majeſty in Proceſs of Time would revoke them again) but alſo after the Parliament was finiſhed, the King perceiving the zealous Affection that the Archbiſhop bare towards the Defence of his Cauſe, which many Ways by Scriptures and manifold Authorities and Reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the Lord *Cromwell*, then Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at *Lambeth*; where it was declared by the Vicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the King's Pleaſure, that they all ſhould in his Highneſs's Behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his Travel in that Parliament had ſhewed himſelf both greatly learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged for any Thing that was paſſed contrary to his Allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the King's Majeſty for his great Goodneſs towards him, and them for all their Pains, ſaying, I hope in God, that hereafter my Allegations and Authorities ſhall take Place to the Glory of God and the Advantage of the Realm; in the mean Time I will ſatisfy myſelf with the honourable Conſent of your Honours, and the whole Parliament.

Here is to be noted, that this Man's ſtout and godly Defence of the Truth herein ſo bound the Prince's Conſcience, that he would not permit the Truth in that Man to be clean overthrown with Authority and Power; and therefore this Way God working in the Prince's Mind, a plain Token was declared hereby, that all Things were not ſo ſincerely handled in the Confirmation of the ſaid ſix Articles as it ought to have been, for elſe the Prince might have had a juſt Cauſe to have born his great Indignation towards the Archbiſhop. Let us pray that the like Stoutneſs may be perceived in all eccleſiaſtical and learned Men, where the Truth ought to be defended, and alſo the like relenting and flexibility may take Place in Princes and Noblemen, when they ſhall have Occaſion offered them to maintain the ſame, ſo that they utterly overwhelm not the Truth by Self-will, Power and Authority. Now in the End this Archbiſhop's Conſtancy was ſuch towards God's Cauſe, that he confirmed all his Doings by bitter Death in the Fire, without Reſpect of any worldly Treaſure or Pleaſure. And as concerning his Stoutneſs in his Prince's Cauſe, the contrary Reſiſtance of the Duke of *Northumberland* againſt him proved right well his good Mind that Way; which chanced by reaſon that he would not conſent unto the diſſolving of Chantries, until the King came of Age, to the Intent that they might then better ſerve to furniſh his royal Eſtate, than to have ſo great Treaſure conſumed in his Nonage. Which his Stoutneſs, joined with ſuch Simplicity, ſurely was thought to divers of the Council a Thing incredible, eſpecially in ſuch Sort to contend with him, who was ſo accounted in this Realm, as few or none would or durſt withſtand him.

Example for eccleſiaſtical Paſtors.

So dear to him was the Cauſe of God, and of his Prince, that for the one he would not keep his Conſcience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his Head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very Enemies might eaſily intreat him in any Cauſe reaſonable; ſo that he was altogether free from the Vice of Stubbornneſs, and rather culpable of overmuch Facility and Gentleneſs. Anno 1556.

Not Angry.

Then followeth, Not Angry. Surely if over-much Patience may be a Vice, this Man may ſeem to offend rather on this Side than on the contrary. Albeit for all his Doings I cannot ſay: For the moſt Part ſuch was his Mortification that Way, that few we ſhall find in whom the Saying of our Saviour Chriſt ſo much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a Man to forgive his Enemies, but alſo to pray for them; that Leſſon never went out of his Memory. It was known that he had many cruel Enemies, not for his own Deſerts, but only for the Sake of his Religion: And yet whoſoever he was that ſought his Hindrance, either in Goods, Eſtimation, or Life, and upon Conference would ſeem never ſo ſlenderly to relent and excuſe himſelf, he would both forget the Offence, and ever afterwards familiarly entertain the Offender: Inſomuch that it became a common Proverb; *Do unto my Lord of* Canterbury *a Diſpleaſure, or a ſhrewd Turn, and then you may be ſure to have him your Friend whilſt he liveth.* Of which his gentle Diſpoſition in abſtaining from Revenge, amongſt many Examples thereof, I ſhall repeat one. The ſingular Patience of this Archbiſhop.

It happened an ignorant Prieſt and Parſon in the North Parts, (the Town is not now in Remembrance, but he was Kinſman to one *Cherſey* a Grocer in *London*; being one of thoſe Prieſts that uſed more to ſtudy at the Ale-houſe, than in his Chamber) to ſit on a Time with his honeſt Neighbours at the Ale-houſe in his own Pariſh, where they were talking in the Praiſe of my Lord *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* And this Prieſt envying his Name only for Religion ſake, ſaid to his Neighbours, *What make you of him, he was but an Hoſtler, and hath no more Learning than the Goſlins that go yonder on the Green*, with ſuch like ſlanderous and uncomely Words. His honeſt Neighbours not much liking his irreverend Speech, articled againſt him, and ſent their Complaint to the Lord *Cromwel*, then Vicegerent in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, who ſent for the Prieſt, and committed him to the *Fleet*, intending to have made him recant thoſe ſlanderous Words publickly at *Paul Croſs*. However the Lord *Cromwel*, having great Affairs of the Prince then in Hand, forgot his Priſoner in the *Fleet:* So that the ſaid *Cherſey* the Grocer, underſtanding that his Kinſman was in Confinement, only for ſpeaking Words againſt my Lord of *Canterbury*; conſulted with the Prieſt, and between them deviſed to apply rather to the Archbiſhop for his Deliverance, than to the Lord *Cromwell*, before whom he was accuſed: Well knowing the Difference of their Tempers, the one gentle and full of Clemency, the other ſomewhat more ſevere and rigid, eſpecially againſt a Papiſt: So that *Cherſey* took upon him firſt to try my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Benignity, inaſmuch as his Couſin's Offence was only againſt him, and none other. Whereupon the ſaid *Cherſey* came to one of the Archbiſhop's Gentlemen (whoſe Father bought all his Spices and Fruit of the ſaid A Story between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and a popiſh Prieſt.

Cherſey ſuing for his Kinſman to the Archbiſhop.

Anno 1556.

ſaid *Cherſey*, and ſo thereby of familiar Acquaintance with the Gentleman) and acquainted him with the Trouble his Kinſman was in, deſiring him to be a Means to my Lord his Maſter, to hear his Sute in the Behalf of his Kinſman.

The Matter was moved. The Archbiſhop, like a good-natur'd Man, would never ſhew himſelf ſtrange to the meaneſt Petitioner: He immediately ſent for the ſaid *Cherſey*, who appearing before him, declared, that there was a Kinſman of his in the *Fleet*, a Prieſt of the *North* Country, and as I may tell your Grace the Truth (quoth *Cherſey*) a Man of ſmall Civility, and of leſs Learning. And yet he hath a Parſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my Lord *Cromwell* hath laid him in Priſon) being in his Cure, is unſerved, and he hath continued in durance above theſe two Months, and is called to no Anſwer, and knows not when he ſhall come to any End; ſo that this Impriſonment conſumeth his Subſtance, and will utterly undo him, unleſs your Grace be his good Lord.

I know not the Man, ſaid the Archbiſhop, nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in Trouble.

Said *Cherſey* again, He only hath offended againſt your Grace, and againſt no Man elſe, as may well be perceived by the Articles objected againſt him, the Copy whereof the ſaid *Cherſey* then exhibited to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who well peruſing the ſaid Articles ſaid, This is the common Talk of all the ignorant popiſh Prieſts in *England* againſt me. Surely, *ſaid he*, I was never made privy to this Accuſation, and of his Confinement I never heard before this Time. Notwithſtanding, if there be nothing elſe to charge him withal againſt the Prince or any of the Council, I will at your Requeſt take Order with him, and ſend him Home again to his Cure to do his Duty; and ſo thereupon ſent his Ring to the Warden of the *Fleet*, deſiring him to ſend the Priſoner unto him, with his Keeper in the Afternoon.

The Prieſt ſent for to the Archbiſhop.

When the Keeper had brought the Priſoner at the Hour appointed, and *Cherſey* had well inſtructed his Couſin in any wiſe to ſubmit himſelf to the Archbiſhop, confeſſing his Fault, whereby that Way he ſhould moſt eaſily have an End and win his Favour: The Parſon was carried into the Garden at *Lambeth*, and there the Archbiſhop ſitting under the Vine, demanded of the Parſon what was the Cauſe of his Confinement, and who committed him to the Fleet. The Parſon anſwered and ſaid, that the Lord *Cromwel* ſent him thither, for that certain malicious Pariſhioners of his Pariſh had wrongfully accuſed him of Words which he never ſpake nor meant. *Cherſey* hearing his fooliſh Couſin ſo far out of the Way from his former Inſtruction, ſaid, Thou daſtardly Dolt and Varlet, is this thy Promiſe thou madeſt to me? Are there not a great Number of thy honeſt Neighbours Hands againſt thee, to prove thee a Liar? Surely my Lord (quoth *Cherſey*) it is Pity to do him good. I am ſorry that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him.

The Archbiſhop's Words to the Prieſt.

Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop unto the Parſon, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: For I am intreated to help one out of Trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my Lord *Cromwell* hath committed you to Priſon wrongfully, that lieth in himſelf to amend, and not in me. If your Offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do ſomewhat for your Friend's ſake here. If you have not offended againſt me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came.

Lord, what ado his Kinſman *Cherſey* made with him, calling him all Kind of opprobious Names! In the End my Lord of *Canterbury* ſeeming to riſe and go his Ways, the Prieſt fell on his Knees, and ſaid, I beſeech your Grace to forgive me this Offence, aſſuring your Grace that I ſpake thoſe Words being drunk and not well adviſed.

Ah, ſaid my Lord, this is ſomewhat, and yet it is no good Excuſe: For Drunkenneſs alway uttereth that which lieth hid in the Heart of Man when he is ſober, alledging a Text or two out of the Scriptures concerning the Vice of Drunkenneſs, which cometh not now to Remembrance.

Now therefore (ſaid the Archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your Fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this Preſent of an indifferent Sobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever ſee me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this Day?

The Prieſt anſwered and ſaid, that he never ſaw his Grace in his Life. Why then, ſaid the Archbiſhop, what Occaſion had you to call me an Hoſtler, and that I had not ſo much Learning as the Goſlins which then went upon the Green before your Face? If I have no Learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: Therefore I pray you poſe me, either in Grammar or in other liberal Sciences, for I have at one Time or other taſted partly of them. Or elſe if you are a Divine, ſay ſomewhat that Way.

The Prieſt's Anſwer.

The Prieſt being amazed at my Lord's familiar Talk, anſwered and ſaid, I beſeech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and underſtand not the *Latin* Tongue, but very ſimply. My only Study hath been to ſay my Service and Maſs, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any Prieſt in the Country where I dwell, I thank God.

Well, ſaid my Lord, if you will not poſe me, I will make bold to poſe you, and yet as eaſily as I can deviſe, and that only in the Story of the Bible now in *Engliſh*, in which I ſuppoſe that you are daily exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was King *David*'s Father, ſaid my Lord. The Prieſt ſtood ſtill pauſing a while, and ſaid, In good Faith, my Lord, I have forgotten his Name. Then ſaid my Lord again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was *Solomon*'s Father? The fooliſh Prieſt without all Conſideration of what was demanded of him before, made Anſwer, Good my Lord, bear with me, I am no further ſeen in the Bible, than is daily read in our Service in the Church.

The Prieſt ignorant in the Scripture.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid, This my Queſtion may be found well anſwered in your Service. But I well perceive, howſoever ye have judged heretofore of my Learning, ſure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common Practice of all you that be ignorant and ſuperſtitious Prieſts, to ſlander, back-bite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and well affected towards God's Word and ſincere Religion. Common Reaſon might have taught you what an unlikely Thing it was,

and contrary to all manner of Reaſon, that a Prince having two Univerſities within his Realm of well learned Men, and deſirous to be reſolved of as doubtful a Queſtion as in theſe many Years the like was not moved within *Chriſtendom*, ſhould be driven to that Neceſſity for the Defence of his Cauſe, to ſend out of his Realm an Hoſtler, being a Man of no better Knowledge than is a Goſlin, in an Ambaſſy to anſwer all learned Men, both in the Court of *Rome*, and the Emperor's Court, in ſo difficult a Queſtion as toucheth the King's Matrimony, and the Divorce thereof. I ſay, if you were a Man of any reaſonable Conſideration, you might think it both unſeemly and uncomely for a Prince ſo to do. But look, where Malice reigneth in Man, there Reaſon can take no Place: And therefore I ſee by it, that you are all at a Point, that no Reaſon or Authority can perſwade you to favour my Name, who never meant Evil to you, but both your Advantage and Profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and ſend you better Minds.

Ill-will never ſaith well.

The Archbiſhop forgiveth and diſmiſſeth the Prieſt.

With theſe Words the Prieſt ſeem'd to weep, and deſired his Grace to pardon his Fault and Frailty, ſo that by this Means he might return to his Cure again, and he would certainly recant thoſe fooliſh Words before his Pariſhioners ſo ſoon as he came home, and would become a new Man. Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop, ſo had you need: And giving him a godly Admonition to refuſe the haunting of the Alehouſe, and to beſtow his Time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he diſmiſs'd him from the Fleet.

The Lord *Cromwell*, perceiving within a Fortnight after that his Priſoner was ſent Home without any open Puniſhment, came to *Lambeth* to the Archbiſhop, and in a great Heat ſaid to him, My Lord, I underſtand that you have diſpatched the northern Prieſt home again, that I of late ſent to the *Fleet* for railing againſt you, and calling you an Hoſtler.

Indeed I have done ſo, ſaid the Archbiſhop, for that in his Abſence the People of his Cure wanted their divine Service. It is very devout divine Service that he ſaith, quoth the Lord *Cromwell*; It were more meet for him to be an Hoſtler than a Curate, who ſticked not to call you an Hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his Knavery when I ſent him to Priſon. Howbeit, henceforth, they ſhall cut your Throat before that I ſay any Thing more to them on your Behalf. Why? what would you have done with him, quoth the Archbiſhop? there was nothing laid to his Charge, other than Words ſpoken againſt me, and now the Man hath repented, and is well reconciled, and hath been at great Charges in Priſon; it is Time therefore that he was rid out of his Trouble. Well, ſaid my Lord *Cromwell*, I meant that he ſhould have preached a Recantation at *Paul's Croſs* before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the Archbiſhop, for then you would have had all the World to wonder at me as well as at him. Well, well, ſaid the Lord *Cromwell*, we ſhall ſo long bear with theſe popiſh Knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wonder'd at of all the World.

This Example among others ſerveth to declare, that there remained ſmall Deſire of revenging in the ſaid Archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His Quietneſs and Mortification this Way was ſuch, that it is reported by all that knew him, that he never raged ſo far with any of his Houſhold Servants, as once to call the meaneſt of them Varlet or Knave in Anger, much leſs to reprove a Stranger with any reproachful Words. Much unlike in this Part to the Property, (as it ſeemeth) of ſome other inferior Biſhops of this Realm, which have not ſpared to fly in the Faces, to pluck off the Beards, to burn the Hands, to beat and ſcourge with Rods the Bodies both of Gentlemen, married Men and others, having almoſt nothing elſe in their Mouths, but Fools and Knaves, *&c.* and yet after all this, think themſelves good perfect Biſhops, after the Rule which followeth and ſaith,

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No Striker, no Fighter.

From which kind of Vice, the Nature of this Archbiſhop was ſo far off, as was his Doctrine which he profeſſed, and Death which he ſuffer'd, far from all Condition and Example of blind Popery. After the Prohibition of theſe foreſaid Vices, ſucceedeth the Mother of all good Virtues neceſſarily required by all true Chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpiritual Prelate; which is,

Not given to filthy Lucre, but harborous.

The contrary whereof was ſo odious unto St. *Paul*, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſs than a kind of Idolatry, in that it maketh Men forget their Duty to God ſo far, and inſtead of him to worſhip their Treaſure. How little this Prelate we ſpeak of was infected with this Vice, and how he was no Niggard, all kind of People that knew him, as well learned beyond the Seas and on this Side, to whom yearly he gave in Exhibition great Sums of Money, as others both Gentlemen, mean Men, and poor Men, who had in their Neceſſity that which he could conveniently ſpare, lend or make, can well teſtify. And albeit ſuch was his Liberality to all ſorts of Men, that no Man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheleſs ſuch was again his Circumſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed to the *Tower* by Queen *Mary*, he owed no Man living a Penny, that could or would demand any Duty of him, but ſatisfied every Man to the uttermoſt; whereas ſeveral Sums of Money were owing him by divers Perſons, which by breaking their Bills and Obligations he freely forgave, and ſuppreſſed before his Attainder. Inſomuch that when he perceived the fatal End of King *Edward* would work to him no good Succeſs touching his Body and Goods, he immediately called for his Officers, his Steward and others, commanding them in any wiſe to pay where any Money was owing, which was out of Hand diſpatched. And then he ſaid, now I thank God I am mine own Man, and in Conſcience with God's Help able elſe to anſwer all the World and worldly Adverſities, which ſome Men ſuppoſe he might alſo have avoided, if he would have been counſelled by ſome of his Friends. It followeth moreover:

The Liberality of the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop clearing his Debts before his Attainder.

Harborous.

And as touching this Word Harborous, whereby is meant the good Maintenance of Hoſpi-

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Hoſpitality; ſo little was this Property lacking in him, that ſome Men diſliking the ſame, thought it rather a Houſe of overmuch laviſhing and unprofitable Expence. But as nothing can be ſo well done, which by ſome others ſhall not be maligned and detracted; ſo neither did this Man lack his Cavillers, ſome finding Fault with his overmuch Prodigality, ſome on the contrary Part repining and complaining of his ſcanty Houſekeeping, and ſtrict Order, much beneath his Revenues and Calling. Of which two, the firſt Sort muſt conſider the Cauſes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of Expences. Wherein here cometh to be conſidered, the Time wherein he ſerved; which was when Reformation of Religion began firſt to be advanced. In which Time the whole Weight and Care of the ſame chiefly depended upon him. During which Seaſon almoſt for the Space of ſixteen Years together, his Houſe was never lightly unfurniſhed of a Number both of learned Men and Commiſſioners, from Time to Time appointed for deciding eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome to be too laviſh and open-handed, even more than Hoſpitality required; ſo on the other Side, there wanted not ſome, by whom he was much noted and accuſed, yea, and complained of to King *Henry* the Eighth, for too niggardly and ſlender Houſekeeping, as not worthy to be accounted the Hoſpitality of a mean Gentleman, as by the following doth appear.

After that the ample and great Poſſeſſions, Revenues, Jewels, rich Ornaments, and other Treaſures of the Abbies were diſſolved and brought into the King's Hands, in the diſſolving whereof many Cormorants were fed and ſatisfy'd, and yet not ſo fully ſatisfy'd but that in a few Years they began to be hungry again; and becauſe no more could be ſcraped out of the Abbies, they began to ſeek ſome other Prey to ſatisfy their Appetites, which was to tickle the King's Ears with the rich Revenue of the Biſhops Lands. And to bring this Device to paſs, they procured Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a Promoter of the Matter; who not in all Points much favouring the Archbiſhop, having a convenient Opportunity, declared to the King, that my Lord of *Canterbury* did nothing elſe but ſell his Woods, and let his Leaſes by great and many Fines, making Havock of all the Royalties of the Archbiſhoprick, and that only to the Intent to gather up Treaſure for his Wife and Children, keeping no Manner of Hoſpitality, in reſpect of ſo great a Revenue; advertiſing the King further, that it was the Opinion of many wiſe Men, that it were more meet for the Biſhops to have a ſufficient yearly Stipend in Money out of the Exchequer, than to be encumber'd with thoſe temporal Affairs of their Royalties, being Impediments to their Study and paſtoral Charge, and his Highneſs to have their Lands and Royalties converted to his proper Uſe, which beſides their honeſt Stipends would be no ſmall Advantage and Profit to his Majeſty.

When the King had heard his fair Tale, he ſaid little thereunto, other than this. Well, quoth he, we will talk more of this: Matter at another Time. Now, within a Fortnight after, or thereabouts (whether by Chance, or by Intention, it is not known) it came to paſs, that one Day his Highneſs going to Dinner, had waſhed, Sir *Thomas Seymour* holding the Baſon, and ſaid to the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, Go you out of Hand to *Lambeth* unto my Lord of *Canterbury*, and bid him to be with me at two o'Clock in the Afternoon, and fail not. Sir *Thomas* immediately went to *Lambeth*, and as he came to the Gate, the Porter being in the Lodge, came out, and convey'd him to the Hall, which was thoroughly furniſhed and ſet, both with the Houſhold Servants and Strangers, with four principal head Meſſes of Officers as daily it was accuſtomed to be. When Sir *Thomas Seymour* ſaw that ſtately large Hall ſo well ſet and furniſhed, being therewith abaſhed, and ſomewhat guilty of an Untruth told to the King before, he returned back, and would needs have gone to the Archbiſhop by the Chapel, and not thro' the Hall. *Richard Nevil*, Gentleman, then Steward of the Houſhold, perceiving him to retire, came to him, and deſired to know whether he would ſpeak with my Lord: Sir *Thomas* anſwered, that he muſt needs do ſo from the King's Highneſs, ſaying to him, And this Way I am going to my Lord's Grace. Sir, ſaid the Steward, you cannot go that Way, for the Door is ſhut faſt in Dinner-time; and ſo by gentle Means brought him up through the Hall into the Chamber where my Lord was at Dinner; with whom he dined after he had done his Meſſage, whoſe common Fare might always well beſeem a right honourable Perſonage. When Dinner was ſcarce done, Sir *Thomas* took his Leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

So ſoon as the King ſaw him, he ſaid to him, Have you been with my Lord of *Canterbury?* Sir *Thomas* anſwered, That I have, if it pleaſe your Majeſty, and he will be with your Highneſs immediately. Dined you not with him, ſaid the King? Yes Sir, *ſaid he*, that have I done. And with that Word, whether he eſpy'd by the King's Countenance, or by his Words any Thing tending to Diſpleaſure, he preſently without Delay, kneeled down upon his Knee, and ſaid, I beſeech your Majeſty to pardon me; I do well now remember and underſtand, that of late I told your Highneſs a great Untruth concerning my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Houſekeeping; but from henceforth I intend never to believe that Perſon which did put that vain Tale into my Head: For I aſſure your Highneſs that I never ſaw ſo honourable a Hall ſet in this Realm, except your Majeſty's, in all my Life, with better Order, and ſo well furniſhed in each Degree. If I had not ſeen it myſelf, I could never have believed it, and himſelf alſo ſo honourably ſerved.

Ah Sir, quoth the King, have you now eſpy'd the Truth? I thought you would have told me another Tale when you had been there. He was a Varlet, quoth the King, that told you that Tale; for he ſpendeth (ah good Man!) all that he hath in Houſekeeping. But now I perceive which way the Wind bloweth. There are a Sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the Poſſeſſions and Revenues of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, ſo have you more unthriftily ſpent, ſome at Dice, other ſome in gay Apparel, and other Ways worſe I fear; and now that all is gone, you would fain have me make another Chevance of the Biſhops Lands, to accompliſh your greedy Appetites. But let no other Biſhops beſtow their

Revenues worſe than my Lord of *Canterbury* doth, then ſhall you have no Cauſe to complain of their keeping of Houſe.

And thus the Tale being ſhut up, and ended by the King himſelf, neither Sir *Thomas Seymour*, nor any other on his Behalf ever after durſt renew or revive that Suit, or any other againſt the Archbiſhop in King *Henry*'s Days; ſo that it may be evident to all impartial Men, the Liberality of the Archbiſhop in Houſekeeping what it was, which being defended and commended by the Prince himſelf, may rather give a good Example to his Poſterity to follow, than was then to be depraved of any private Subject, ſuch as knew him not.

The Alms of the Archbiſhop to the Poor.

In which Archbiſhop this moreover is to be noted with a Memorandum touching the Relief of the Poor, Impotent, Sick, and ſuch as then came from the Wars at *Bullen*, and other Parts beyond the Seas, Lame, Wounded, and Deſtitute: For whom he provided, beſides his Manſion-houſe at *Beckisborn* in *Kent*, the Parſonage Barn well furniſhed with certain Lodgings for the ſick and maimed Soldiers. To whom were alſo appointed the Almoner, a Phyſician, and a Surgeon to attend upon them, and to dreſs and cure ſuch as were not able to reſort to their Countries, having daily from the Biſhop's Kitchin hot Broth and Meat: For otherwiſe the common Alms of the Houſhold was beſtow'd upon the poor Neighbours of the Shire. And when any of the Impotent did recover, and were able to travel, they had convenient Money to bear their Charges, according to the Number of Miles from that Place diſtant. And this good Example of Mercy and liberal Benignity, I thought here good not in Silence to be ſuppreſſed, whereby others may be moved according to their Vocation, to walk in the Steps of no leſs leſs Liberality, than in him in this Behalf appeared.

One that loveth Goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

As concerning theſe Qualities, the Buſineſs of his Life before joined with his benign and gentle Diſpoſition, do teſtify that he could not be void of theſe Virtues reigning in him, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave faſt unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholſome Learning, and to reprove them that ſay againſt it.

Then concludeth St. *Paul* with the moſt excellent Virtue of all others to be wiſhed in a Prelate of the Church. For if this Conſtancy be not in him to this End, that is, *To cleave faſt unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholſome Learning and to reprove them that ſay againſt it.* If he be void, I ſay, of theſe Gifts and Graces, he is worthy of no Commendation, but ſhall ſeem an Idol, and a Deceiver of the World. Neither ſhall he deſerve the Name of a Biſhop, if either for Dread or Reward, Affection or Favour, he do at any Time, or in any Point ſwerve from the Truth. As in this Behalf the worthy Conſtancy of this ſaid Archbiſhop never, for the moſt Part, ſhrunk for any Manner of Storm; but was ſo many Ways try'd, that neither the Fear or Favour of his Prince, nor any other Reſpect could alienate or change his Purpoſe, grounded upon that infallible Doctrine of the Goſpel. Notwithſtanding, his conſtant Defence of God's Truth, was ever joined with ſuch Meekneſs toward the King, that he never took Occaſion of Offence againſt him. Anno 1556.

At the Time of ſetting forth the ſix Articles, this Archbiſhop was the Man, and the only Man that oppoſed them, and diſputed with the whole Parliament three Days together againſt them. Inſomuch that the King who could not miſlike his Reaſons, and yet would needs have the Articles paſs, required him to abſent himſelf for a Time out of the Chamber while the Act ſhould paſs, and ſo he did; and ſoon after the King ſent all the Lords to *Lambeth* to comfort and chear up his Heart, that he might not be diſcouraged.

And this was done during the Time of the Lord *Cromwell*'s Authority; but that the Archbiſhop's Conſtancy did not decay with the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell*, will appear by what followeth.

After the Apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwell*, the Adverſaries of the Goſpel thought all Things ſure and ſafe on their own Side, it was ſo appointed amongſt them, that ten or twelve Biſhops, and other learned Men, joined together in Commiſſion, ſhould come to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for the eſtabliſhing of certain Articles of our Religion, which the Papiſts then thought to win to their Purpoſe againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop. For having now the Lord *Cromwell* faſt and ſure, they thought all had been ſafe and ſure for ever: As indeed to all Men's reaſonable Conſideration, that Time appeared ſo dangerous, that there was no manner of Hope that Religion reformed ſhould ſtand one Week longer, ſuch Account was then made of the King's Untowardneſs thereunto. Inſomuch that of all thoſe Commiſſions there was not one left to ſtay on the Archbiſhop's Part, but he alone againſt them all ſtood in Defence of the Truth; and thoſe that he moſt truſted to, namely, Biſhop *Heath* and Biſhop *Skip*, left him in the plain Field, who then ſo turned againſt him, that they took upon them to perſwade him to their Purpoſe: And having him down from the reſt of the Commiſſioners into his Gardens at *Lambeth*, there by all Manner of effectual Perſwaſions entreated him to leave off his over much Conſtancy, and to incline unto the King's Intent, who was fully ſet to have it otherwiſe than he then had penned, or meant to have ſet Abroad. When thoſe two his Familiars, with one or two of his other Friends, had uſed all their Eloquence and Policy, he little regarding their Inconſtancy and Remiſneſs in God's Cauſe and Quarrel, very notably ſaid unto them;

You make much ado (quoth the Archbiſhop) to have me come to your Purpoſe, alledging, that it is the King's Pleaſure to have the Articles, in that Sort you have deviſed them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highneſs by ſiniſter Information, to be bent that Way, you think it a convenient Thing to apply unto his Highneſs's Mind. You be both my Friends, eſpecially one of you I did put to his Majeſty as of truſt. Beware, I ſay, what you do: There is but one Truth

Anno 1556. Truth in our Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highneſs by conſenting unto a contrary Doctrine, and then after in Proceſs of Time, when the Truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highneſs ſhall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Grace's Nature ſo well (quoth the Archbiſhop) that he will never after truſt and credit you, or put any good Confidence in you. And as you are both my Friends, ſo therefore I will you to beware thereof in Time, and diſcharge your Conſciences in Maintenance of the Truth.

But all this would not ſerve, for they ſtill ſwerved; and in diſcharging his Conſcience, and declaring the Truth unto the King, God ſo wrought with the King, that his Highneſs joined with him againſt all the reſt, ſo that the Book of Articles paſſing on his Side, he won the Prize from them all, contrary to all their Expectations, when many Wagers would have been laid in *London*, that he ſhould have been laid up with *Cromwell* at that Time in the Tower for his ſtiff ſtanding to his Tackle. After that Day there could neither Counſellor, Biſhop, nor Papiſt bring him out of the King's Favour.

Notwithſtanding, not long after that, certain of the Council, whoſe Names need not be mentioned, by the Inticement and Provocation of his old Enemy the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others of the ſame Sect, attempted the King againſt him, declaring plainly, that the Realm was ſo infected with Hereſies and Hereticks, that it was dangerous for his Highneſs further to permit it unreformed, leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch Contention ſhould ariſe, and enſue in the Realm among his Subjects, that thereby might ſpring horrible Commotions and Uproars, like as in ſome Parts of *Germany* it did not long ago. The Enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much as to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who by his own preaching, and his Chaplains, had filled the Realm with divers and pernicious Hereſies. The King would needs know his Accuſers. They anſwered, foraſmuch as he was a Counſellor, no Man durſt take upon him to accuſe him; but if it would pleaſe his Highneſs to commit him to the Tower for a Time, there would be Accuſations and Proofs enough againſt him: For otherwiſe, juſt Teſtimony and Witneſs againſt him would not appear, and therefore your Highneſs (ſaid they) muſt needs give us the Counſel, Liberty and Leave to commit him to Priſon.

The King ſent for the Archbiſhop at Midnight, and waited in the Gallery for his coming.

The King perceiving their importunate Suit againſt the Archbiſhop (but yet meaning not to have him wrong'd and utterly given over into their Hands) granted unto them that they ſhould the next Day commit him to the Tower for his Trial. When Night came, the King ſent Sir *Anthony Deny* about Midnight to *Lambeth* to the Archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort unto him at the Court. The Meſſage done, the Archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed himſelf at the Court, and coming into the Gallery where the King walked and tarried for him, his Highneſs ſaid, Ah, my Lord of *Canterbury*, I can tell you News. For divers weighty Conſiderations it is determin'd by me and the Council, that you tomorrow by nine o'Clock ſhould be committed to the Tower, for that you and your Chaplains (as Information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby ſown within the Realm ſuch a Number of execrable Hereſies, that it is feared, the whole Realm being infected with them, no ſmall Contentions and Commotions will ariſe thereby among my Subjects, as of late Days the like was in divers Parts of *Germany*: And therefore the Council have requeſted me, for the Trial of the Matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or elſe no Man dare come forth, as Witneſs in theſe Matters, you being a Counſellor.

When the King had ſaid his Mind, the Archbiſhop kneeled down and ſaid, I am content, if it pleaſe your Grace, with all my Heart to go thither at your Highneſs's Commandment, and I moſt humbly thank your Majeſty that I may come to my Trial; for there be thoſe that have many Ways ſlandered me, and now by this Way I hope to try myſelf not worthy of ſuch Report.

The King perceiving the Man's Uprightneſs, joined with ſuch Simplicity, ſaid; O Lord! what manner of Man be you! what Simplicity is in you! I thought that you would rather have ſued to us to have taken the Pains to have heard you and your Accuſers together for your Trial, without any ſuch Impriſonment. Do you not know what State you be in with the whole World, and how many great Enemies you have? Do you not conſider what an eaſy Thing it is, to procure three or four falſe Knaves to witneſs againſt you? Think you have better luck that Way than your Maſter Chriſt had? I ſee by it you will run headlong to your own Ruin, if I would ſuffer you. Your Enemies ſhall not ſo prevail againſt you, for I have otherwiſe deviſed with myſelf to keep you out of their Hands. Yet notwithſtanding, to morrow when the Council ſhall ſit, and ſend for you, reſort unto them, and if charging you with this Matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, (becauſe you are one of them, a Counſellor) that you may have your Accuſers brought before them without any further Confinement, and uſe for yourſelf as good Arguments that Way as you may deviſe; and if no Intreaty or reaſonable Requeſt will ſerve, then deliver unto them this my Ring (which then the King delivered unto the Archbiſhop) and ſay unto them, If there be no Remedy, my Lords, but that I muſt needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my Cauſe from you, and appeal to the King's own Perſon by this his Token unto you all; for (ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop) ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee this my Ring, they will know it ſo well, that they ſhall underſtand that I have reſumed the whole Cauſe into mine own Hands and Determination, and that I have diſcharged them thereof.

The Archbiſhop perceiving the King's Benignity ſo much towards him, had much ado to forbear Tears. Well, ſaid the King, go your Ways, my Lord, and do as I have bidden you. My Lord humbling himſelf with Thanks, took his Leave of his Majeſty for that Night.

On the Morrow about nine o'Clock before Noon, the Council ſent a Gentleman-uſher for the Archbiſhop, who when he came to the Council-chamber Door, could not be let in, but of Purpoſe (as it ſeemed) was compelled there to wait among the Pages, Lacquies, and ſerving Men. Dr. *Butts* the King's Phyſician reſort-

reſorting that Way, and ſeeing how my Lord of *Canterbury* was uſed, went immediately to the King's Highneſs, and ſaid, May it pleaſe your Grace, my Lord of *Canterbury* is well promoted; for now he is become a Footman: Yonder he hath ſtood this half Hour at the Council-chamber Door amongſt them. Sure it is not ſo! (quoth the King) the Council hath not ſo little Diſcretion as to uſe the Metropolitan of all the Realm in that Manner, eſpecially being one of their own Number. But let him alone (ſaid the King) you ſhall hear more by and by.

Anon the Archbiſhop was called into the Council-chamber, to whom was alledged as before is rehearſed. The Archbiſhop anſwered as the King had before adviſed him; and in the End, when he perceived that no Manner of Perſwaſion or Intreaty could ſerve, he deliver'd the King's Ring, revoking his Cauſe into the King's Hands. At this the whole Council were much amaz'd, and it is an eaſy Matter to imagine how fooliſhly they looked upon one another. The Earl of *Bedford*, with a loud Voice, and rapping out a great Oath, ſaid, When you firſt began the Matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will ſuffer this Man's Finger to ake? much more, I warrant you, will he defend his Life againſt brabling Varlets. You do but encumber yourſelves to hear Tales and Fables againſt him. And ſo immediately upon Receipt of the King's Token, they all aroſe, and carried the King his Ring, ſurrendering the Matter, as the Order and Cuſtom was, into his own Hands.

When they were all come into the King's Preſence, his Highneſs, with a ſevere Countenance ſaid unto them, Ah, my Lords, I thought I had had wiſer Men of my Council than now I find you. What Diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of all the Realm, and one of you in Office, to wait at the Council-chamber Door amougſt Footmen? you might have conſider'd that he was a Counſellor as well as you, and you had no ſuch Commiſſion of me ſo to handle him. I was willing that you ſhould try him as a Counſellor, and not as a mean Subject. But now I well perceive that Things be done againſt him maliciouſly, and if ſome of you might have had your Minds, you would have tried him to the uttermoſt. But I would have you all to know, and I do proteſt, that if a Prince may be beholden to his Subject (ſolemnly laying his Hand upon his Breaſt) by the Faith I owe to God, I take this Man here, my Lord of *Canterbury*, to be of all other a moſt faithful Subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden, giving him great Commendations otherwiſe. And with that one or two of the Chief of the Council, making their Excuſe, declared, that in deſiring his Confinement, it was rather meant for his Trial, that he might have an Opportunity of clearing himſelf of the ſlanderous Reports of the World, than for any Malice conceived againſt him. Well, well, quoth the King, take him and uſe him well, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that every Man caught him by the Hand, and made fair Weather of altogethers, which might eaſily be done with that Man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go ſo far with him, thus to ſeek his Ruin, when they well knew that the King moſt entirely loved him, and would always ſtand in his Defence, whoſoever ſpake againſt him; as many other Times the King's Patience was by ſiniſter Informations againſt him tried; inſomuch that the Lord *Cromwell* was commonly wont to ſay unto him, My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are moſt happy of all Men; for you may do and ſpeak what you liſt; and ſay what all Men can againſt you, the King will never believe one Word to your Detriment or Hindrance. I am ſure I take more Pains than all the Council doth, and ſpend more largely in the King's Affairs, as well beyond the Seas as on this Side: Yea I aſſure you, even very Spies in other foreign Realms, at *Rome* and elſewhere, coſt me above a thouſand Marks a Year: And do what I can to bring Matters to Knowledge, for the Advantage of the King and the Realm, I am every Day chidden, and many falſe Tales now and then believed againſt me; and therefore you are moſt happy, for in no Point can you be diſcredited with the King. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, If the King's Majeſty were not good to me that Way, I were not able to ſtand and endure one whole Week; but your Wiſdom and Policy is ſuch, that you are able to ſhift well enough for yourſelf. Anno 1556.

Now when the King's Highneſs had thus benignly and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid Archbiſhop from this ſore Accuſation by the Council laid againſt him, all wiſe Men would have thought that it had been mere Folly afterwards to have attempted any Matter againſt him: But yet look where Malice reigneth, there neither Reaſon nor Honeſty can take Place. Such therefore as had conceived deep Rancour and Diſpleaſure againſt him, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible Means. Then brought they againſt him a new Kind of Accuſation, and cauſed Sir *John Goſtwike* Knight, a Man of a contrary Religion, to accuſe the Archbiſhop openly in the Parliament-houſe, laying to his Charge his Sermons preached at *Sandwich*, and his Lectures read at *Canterbury*, wherein ſhould be contained manifeſt Hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, *&c.* Which Accuſation came to the King's Ear. Why (quoth the King) where dwelleth *Goſtwike?* as I take it, either in *Bedfordſhire* or *Buckinghamſhire*, and hath he ſo open an Ear that he can hear my Lord of *Canterbury* preaching out of *Kent?* This is very likely, ſaid the King. If he had been a *Kentiſh-man*, there had been ſomething worthy of Conſideration: But as for *Goſtwike* I know him well enough, and what good Religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, ſaid the King to one of his Privy-chamber, if he go not to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and ſo reconcile himſelf to him, that he may become his good Lord, I will pull the Goſlin's Feathers ſo, that hereafter he ſhall have little luſt to ſlander the Metropolitan, or any other learned Man. When Sir *John Goſtwike* heard theſe Words, there was no need to bid him haſten to *Lambeth* unto the Metropolitan, making to him as many Friends as poſſibly he might. When he came to the Archbiſhop he was fain to diſcloſe unto him, by what Means he was procured to do that which he did, requeſting his Clemency to be his good Lord, or elſe he took himſelf to be utterly undone, being ſo in the King's Indignation, as he underſtood he was by that before declared, which Petition was ſoon grant-

An Accuſation brought into the Parliament-houſe by Sir *John Goſtwike* againſt the Archbiſhop.

Sir *John* is checkt by the King for the ſame, and is glad to be Friends with the Archbiſhop again.

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ed by that good-natured Archbiſhop, who not only forgave Sir *John* all his Ingratitude, but alſo went to the King, and procur'd him his Majeſty's Favour again. And thus the King made a ſhort End of this Accuſation.

A new Accuſation brought againſt the Archbiſhop by the Prebendaries of his own Cathedral, and the Juſtices of *Kent*.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious Invention went not the wiſeſt Way to work, to procure a Stranger dwelling afar off, to accuſe the Archbiſhop of his Doctrine preached in his Dioceſs: And therefore hath blind Malice learned ſome more Wiſdom now to accuſe their Archbiſhop in ſuch a Manner as he ſhall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient Enemies, that not only the Prebendaries of his Cathedral Church in *Canterbury*, but alſo the moſt famous Juſtices of the Peace in the Shire ſhould accuſe him, article againſt him; which in very Deed was moſt ſubſtantially brought to paſs, and the Articles both well written and ſubſcribed, were delivered to the King's Highneſs as a Thing of ſuch Effect, that there muſt needs follow to the ſaid Archbiſhop, both Indignation of the Prince, and condign Puniſhment for his grievous Offence committed by him and his Chaplains, in preaching ſuch erroneous Doctrine as they did within his Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; whereof they being ſuch Witneſſes of Credit, no Man had Cauſe to doubt of their circumſpect Doings. This Accuſation particularly ſent out was deliver'd to the King by the Means of ſome of the Council: When the King had peruſed the Book, he wrapt it up and put it in his Sleeve; and finding Occaſion to ſolace himſelf upon the *Thames*, came with his Barge furniſhed with his Muſicians along by *Lambeth* Bridge towards *Chelſea*. The Noiſe of the Muſicians provoked the Archbiſhop to reſort to the Bridge to do his Duty, and to ſalute his Prince. Whom when the King had perceived to ſtand at the Bridge, immediately commanded the Waterman to draw towards the Shoar, and ſo came ſtraight to the Bridge.

Ah, my Chaplain (ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop) come into the Barge to me. The Archbiſhop told his Highneſs that he would take his own Barge, and wait on his Majeſty. No, ſaid the King, you muſt come into my Barge, for I want to talk with you. When the King and the Archbiſhop were both together alone in the Barge, the King ſaid to the Archbiſhop, I have News out of *Kent* for you my Lord. The Archbiſhop anſwered, Good I hope, if it pleaſe your Highneſs. Marry, quoth the King, it is ſo good that I now know the greateſt Heretick in *Kent*, and with that pulled the Book of Articles out of his Sleeve againſt both the Archbiſhop and his Preachers, and gave the Book to him, deſiring him to peruſe the ſame. When the Archbiſhop had read the Articles, and ſaw himſelf ſo uncourteouſly handled of his own Church whereof he was Head, I mean the Prebendaries of his Cathedral, and of ſuch his Neighbours as he had many Ways gratify'd, I mean the Juſtices of the Peace, it much grieved him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled down to the King, and beſought his Majeſty to grant out a Commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed his Highneſs, for them to try out the Truth of this Accuſation. In very Deed, ſaid the King, I do mean ſo to do, and you your ſelf ſhall be chief Commiſſioner, to adjoin to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall think good yourſelf. Then it will be thought, quoth the Archbiſhop, that it is not fair and impartial that I ſhould be my own Judge and my Chaplains alſo. Well, ſaid the King, I will have none other but yourſelf, and ſuch as you will appoint: For I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any Thing, although you be driven to accuſe yourſelf, and I know partly how this Gear proceedeth, and if you handle the Matter wiſely, you ſhall find a pretty Conſpiracy deviſed againſt you. Whom will you have with you, ſaid the King? Whomſoever it ſhall pleaſe your Grace to name, quoth the Archbiſhop. I will appoint Dr. *Belhouſe* for one, name you the other, ſaid the King, meet for that purpoſe. My Chancellor, Dr. *Cox*, and *Huſſey* my Regiſter, ſaid the Archbiſhop, are Men expert to examine ſuch troubleſome Matters. Well, ſaid the King, let there be a Commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into *Kent*, and advertiſe me of your Doings.

They came into *Kent*, and there they ſat about three Weeks to bolt out who was the firſt Occaſion of this Accuſation, for thereof the King would chiefly be advertiſed. Now the Inquiſition being begun by the Commiſſioners, every Man ſhrunk in his Horns, and no Man would confeſs any Thing to the Purpoſe. For Dr. *Cox* and *Huſſey*, being friendly to the Papiſts, handled the Matter ſo, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This Thing being well perceived by the Archbiſhop's Secretary, he wrote immediately to Dr. *Buts* and Mr. *Deny*, declaring that if the King did not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my Lord, than thoſe that then were there with him, it were impoſſible that any Thing ſhould come to Light: And therefore wiſhed that Dr. *Lee*, or ſome other ſtout Man that had been exerciſed in the King's eccleſiaſtical Affairs in his Viſitations, might be ſent to the Archbiſhop. Upon theſe Letters Dr. *Lee* was ſent for to *York* by the King, and having the King's farther Mind declared unto him, when he came to the Court, he reſorted immediately into *Kent*, ſo that on All-hallow Even he deliver'd to the Archbiſhop the King's Ring, with a Declaration of his Highneſs's farther Pleaſure: And by and by upon his Meſſage done, he appointed the Archbiſhop to name him a Dozen or Sixteen of his Officers and Gentlemen, ſuch as had both Diſcretion, Wit, and Audacity, to whom he gave in Commiſſion from the King, to ſearch both the Purſes, Cheſts, and Chambers of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this Confederacy, both within the Cathedral Church and without, and ſuch Letters and Writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the Archbiſhop and him.

Theſe Men thus appointed, went in one Hour and Inſtant to all the Houſes and Places they were appointed to; and within four Hours afterwards the whole Conſpiracy was diſcloſed by finding of Letters, ſome from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſome from Dr. *London* at *Oxford*, and from Juſtices of the Shire, with others; ſo that the firſt Beginning, the Proceeding, and what ſhould have been the End of their Conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certain Chambers and Cheſts of Gentlemen of the Shire were alſo ſearched, where likewiſe Letters were found tending to this Purpoſe. Amongſt others two Letters came to my Lord's Hands, the one wrote by the Suffragan of *Dover*, and the other by Dr. *Barbar* a Civi-

lian, whom the Archbiſhop continually retained in his Houſe for the Expedition of Matters in Suit before him, as a Counſellor in the Law when Need required. Theſe two Men being well promoted by the Archbiſhop, he uſed ever in ſuch Familiarity, that when the Suffragan, being Prebendary of *Canterbury*, came to him, he always ſet him at his own Meſs, and the other never from his Table, as Men in whom he had much Delight and Comfort, when Time of Care and Penſiveneſs happened. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, and the Devil was turned into the Angel of Light, for they were both of this Confederacy.

When my Lord had gotten theſe their Letters into his Hands, he on a Day, when the Suffragan happened to come to him at his Houſe as *Bekisburn*, called to him into his Study the ſaid Suffragan of *Dover* and Dr. *Barbar*, ſaying, Come your Ways with me, for I muſt have your Advice in a Matter. When they were both with him in his Study, he ſaid to them, You twain be Men in whom I have had much Confidence and Truſt; you muſt now give me ſome good Counſel, for I am ſhamefully abuſed by one or twain to whom I have ſhewed all my Secrets from Time to Time, and did truſt them as myſelf. The Matter is ſo now fallen out, that they not only have diſcloſed my Secrets, but alſo have taken upon them to accuſe me of Hereſy, and are become Witneſſes againſt me. I require you therefore of your good Advice how I ſhall behave myſelf towards them. You are both my Friends, and ſuch as I always have uſed when I needed Counſel. What ſay you to the Matter, quoth the Archbiſhop?

Theſe falſe Knaves and Villains give Judgment againſt themſelves.

Marry, quoth Dr. *Barbar*, ſuch Villains and Knaves (ſaving your Honour) were worthy to be hanged out of Hand without any other Law. Hanging were too good, quoth the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do Execution, I would be Hangman myſelf.

At theſe Words the Archbiſhop being aſtoniſhed, caſt up his Hands to Heaven and ſaid, O Lord moſt merciful God, whom may a Man truſt now-a-days! It is moſt true which is ſaid, *Curſed is he who putteth his Truſt in Man, and in his own Strength.* There was never Man handled as I am: But, O Lord, thou haſt evermore defended me, and lent me one great Friend and Maſter (meaning the King) without whoſe Protection I were not able to ſtand upright one Day unoverthrown, I praiſe thy holy Name therefore: And with that he pulled out of his Boſom their two Letters, and ſaid, Know ye theſe two Letters, my Maſters? With that they fell down upon their Knees, and deſired Forgiveneſs, declaring how they a Year before were attempted to do the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailing their Doings, beſought his Grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, ſaid the gentle Archbiſhop, God make you both good Men, I never deſerved this at your Hands: But ask God Forgiveneſs, againſt whom you have highly offended. If ſuch Men as you are not to be truſted, what ſhould I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no Fidelity or Truſt amongſt Men. I am brought to this Point now, that I fear my Left Hand will accuſe my Right Hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Chriſt truly propheſied of ſuch a World to come in the latter Days. I beſeech him of his great Mercy to finiſh that Time ſhortly; and ſo departing, he diſmiſſed them both with gentle and comfortable Words, in ſuch Sort that never after appeared in his Countenance or Words any Remembrance thereof. Anno 1556.

Now, when all thoſe Letters and Accuſations were found, they were put into a Cheſt, the King's Majeſty minding to have peruſed ſome of them, and to have partly puniſhed the Principals of it. The Cheſt and Writings were brought to *Lambeth*; at which Time began the Parliament. Lord, what ado there was to procure the King a Subſidy, to the Intent that thereupon might enſue a Pardon, which indeed followed, and ſo nothing was done, other than their Falſhood known. This was the laſt Puſh of the Pike that was inferred againſt the Archbiſhop in King *Henry* the Eighth's Days: For never after durſt any Man move Matter againſt him in his Time.

And thus have ye both the working and diſcloſing of this popiſh Conſpiracy againſt this worthy Archbiſhop and Martyr of Chriſt, *Thomas Cranmer*. In which Conſpiracy, forſomuch as Complaint was alſo made to the King of his Chaplains and good Preachers in *Kent*, it ſhall not be out of the Story ſomething likewiſe to touch thereof, eſpecially of *Richard Turner*, then Preacher in the Archbiſhop's Dioceſs, and Curate to Mr. *Morrice* the Archbiſhop's Secretary, in the Town of *Chartham*, by whoſe diligent preaching a great Part of this Heatt-burning of the Papiſts took its firſt kindling againſt the Archbiſhop. Touching the Deſcription of which Story, becauſe by me nothing ſhall be ſaid, either more or leſs, than is the Truth, ye ſhall hear the very Certainty thereof truly compiled in a Letter ſent the ſame Time to Dr. *Buts* and Sir *Anthony Deny*, to be ſhewed unto the King, and ſo it was, written by the aforeſaid Mr. *Morice*, then Secretary to the Archbiſhop, Farmer of the ſame Benefice of *Chartham* and Patron to Mr. *Turner* there Miniſter and Preacher aforeſaid.

A Letter of Apology wrote by Mr. Morrice *to Sir* William Buts, *and Sir* Anthony Deny, *defending the Cauſe of Mr.* Richard Turner *Preacher, againſt the Papiſts.*

THE Letter firſt beginning in theſe Words: I am certain (right worſhipful) that it is not unknown to your diſcreet Wiſdom, *&c.* And after a few Lines, coming to the Matter, thus the ſaid Letter proceedeth.

The Troubles of *Richard Turner* Miniſter at *Chartham.*

As your Worſhips well know, it was my Chance to be brought up under my Lord of *Canterbury* my Maſter, in writing of the eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Realm, as well concerning Reformation of corrupt Religion, as concerning the Advancement of that pure and ſincere Religion received by the Doctrine of the Goſpel; which I take to be ſo ſubſtantially handled and built upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, That Hell-gates ſhall never prevail againſt it. The Conſideration whereof compelled me, being a Farmer of the Parſonage of *Chartham* in *Kent*, to retain with me one named *Richard Turner*, a Man not only learned in the Scriptures of God,

but

Anno 1556. but alſo in Converſation of Life towards the World irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my Conſcience I placed at *Chartham* atoreſaid, to be Curate there. This Man, becauſe he was a Stranger in the Country there, and ſo thereby void of Grudge or Diſpleaſure of any old Rancour in the Country, I thought it had been a Mean to have gotten him the better Credit in his Doctrine; but where Malice once taketh Fire againſt Truth, no Policy I ſee is able to quench it. Well, this Man as he knew what appertained to his Office, ſo he ſpared not weekly, both *Sundays* and Holidays to open the Goſpel and Epiſtle unto his Audience after ſuch a Sort, when Occaſion ſerved, that as well by his vehement inveighing againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Power and Authority, as in the earneſt ſetting forth and advancing of the King's Majeſty's Supremacy, innumerable of the People of the Country reſorting unto his Sermons, changed their Opinions, and favoured effectually the Religion received. The Confluence of the People ſo daily increaſed, that the Church being a fair, ample, and large Church, was not now and then able to receive the Number. The Fame of this new Inſtruction of the People was ſo blazed abroad, that the Popiſh Prieſts were wonderfully amazed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their Pope ſo to be defaced, and their Prince ſo highly advanced.

The great Concourſe of People to Mr. *Turner*'s Preaching.

Now thought they it is high Time for us to work, or elſe all here will be utterly loſt by this Man's Preaching: Some of them went with Capons, ſome with Hens, ſome with Chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, unto the Juſtices, ſuch as then favoured their Cauſe and Faction, and ſuch as were no ſmall Fools, as Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hales*, Sir *Thomas Moile*, Knights, with other Juſtices. The Prebendaries of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury* were made privy hereof, giving their Succour and Aid thereunto. So that in Concluſion poor *Turner*, and other Preachers, were grievouſly complained of unto the King's Majeſty. Whereupon my Lord of *Canterbury*, and certain other Commiſſioners, were appointed at *Lambeth* to ſit upon the Examination of theſe ſeditious Preachers. Howbeit, before *Turner* went up to his Examination, I obtained of Sir *Thomas Moile*, that he in *Eaſter* Week was content to hear *Turner* preach a rehearſal Sermon in his Pariſh-Church at *Weſtwell*, of all the Doctrine of his Sermons preached at his Cure in *Chartham*; which he moſt gently granting, heard *Turner* both Beforenoon and Afternoon on the *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* Week laſt paſt, and, as it ſeemed, took all Things in good Part, remitting *Turner* home to his ſaid Cure with gentle and favourable Words. I ſuppoſed by this Means to have ſtayed Mr. *Turner* at home from further Examination, hoping that Sir *Thomas Moile* would have anſwered for him at *Lambeth* before the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after Mr. *Moile*'s coming to *London*, ſuch Information was laid in againſt *Turner*, that he was ſent for to make Anſwer himſelf before the ſaid Commiſſioners; and there appearing before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfect, and learned Anſwer unto the Articles objected, that he was with a good Exhortation diſcharged home again, without any manner of Recantation or other Injunction.

Now when the Pope-Catholick Clergy of *Kent* underſtood of his coming Home without Controlment, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before againſt their blind and dumb Ceremonies, ſtraightway by the Help of *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, they found a new Means to put him to utter Confuſion, deviſing that he came home from Examination in ſuch glorious Pomp by the Highways-ſide in the Woods adjoining, that five hundred Perſons met him then with banquetting Diſhes to welcome him Home, ſtirring the People rather to an Uproar and Commotion, than to keep them in any quiet Obedience; when in very Deed, contrary to this Surmiſe, (as God would) on this Side *Rocheſter* a Mile or two, for avoiding all ſuch light and glorious Talk with any his Familiars and Acquaintance, he of Purpoſe left the Highway, and came thro' the Woods all alone above eighteen Miles together on Foot, ſo wearied and meagered for Want of Suſtenance, that when he came into my Houſe at *Chartham*, he was not well able to ſtand or ſpeak for Faintneſs and Thirſt.

This malicious Tale being reported to the King's Highneſs, his Majeſty was ſo ſore grieved therewith, that he ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, willing him to cauſe *Turner* to be whip'd out of the Country. By Means whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent again for *Turner*: I hearing thereof immediately made Report by my Letters, with ſuch Vehemency proving it mere Malice, that the Archbiſhop underſtanding the Truth, pacify'd again the King's Wrath. Home cometh *Turner* once again to his Cure without Blot; which ſo wrung the Papiſts in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt againſt him concerning any Accuſation for Matters in *Kent*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being his Ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiſcredited. Then was there one new Matter deviſed, how that he had preached erroneous Doctrines in other Countries before he came into *Kent*, laying to his Charge that he had both tranſlated the Maſs into *Engliſh*, and ſaid, or miniſtred the ſame, and that he had preached againſt Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and Praying for the Dead, *&c.* By Means whereof, he was now convened before the whole Council by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſent *Syriake Petite* Gentleman for him, who brought him up to *London* bound (as I heard ſay) and being examined before the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and others, he was committed to Ward for a Seaſon.

Conſpiracy againſt the Archbiſhop in *Kent*.

In the mean Time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being in *Kent* about the Trial of a Conſpiracy purpoſed againſt himſelf by the Juſtices of the Shire, and the Prebendaries of *Chriſt-Church*: *Turner* is now ſent down to the Archbiſhop, to the Intent he ſhould recant that Doctrine which long ago he in other Places out of *Kent* had preached, to the utter Subverſion and defacing of all that he had moſt godly and earneſtly here in *Kent* taught both to the Glory of God, and the Furtherance and ſetting forth of the King's Highneſs Proceedings. If his Majeſty will thus permit learned honeſt Men thus daily to be over-crowned and trodden under Foot with a ſort of tyrannous or rather traiterous Papiſts (who cannot abide to hear his Majeſty's Supremacy advanced, nor the ſincere Word of God preached) it were better for Men to dwell amongſt the Infidels and Miſcreants than in *England*.

What Reaſon is this, that *Turner* ſhould recant

cant here in *Kent* the Doctrine which in other Counties he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing moſt deſperately of five hundred Mens Conſciences and above, (I dare ſay) who lately by his ſincere Preaching have embraced a right good Opinion both of the King's Supremacy, and alſo of the reformed Religion received? All good Subjects may well lament the King's Majeſty's Eſtate in this Behalf, that no Man may dare to be ſo bold to advance his Highneſs's Title, but that every ignorant and malicious Papiſt ſhall ſpurn againſt him, ſeeking his utter Undoing, and that by the Aid of papiſtical Juſtices ſet in Authority. I beſeech your Worſhips to pardon me of my rude and homely Terms. They herein deſerve worſe, if worſe may be deviſed. For what honeſt Man can bear with this, that ſo noble a Prince's Ears ſhall be thus impudently abuſed with manifeſt Lies and Fables, as this one is of *Turner*'s coming Home in ſuch a Triumph as they craftily and falſly had deviſed? It is eaſily to be eſpied what they mean and go about, that, the Prince being alive, dare take in hand ſo uncourteouſly to abuſe both the gentle Nature of the Prince, and his godly Preacher, the Advancer and Extoller of his juſt Authority.

What think your Worſhips they would attempt if his Majeſty were at God's Mercy (as God forefend that ever any of us ſhould ſee that Day, without better Reformation) that can thus dally with his Highneſs, blinding his Eyes with Miſts, whilſt he liveth and reigneth amongſt us in moſt Proſperity? As for my Lord of *Canterbury*, he dare nothing do for the poor Man's Delivery, he hath done ſo much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the King's Head, that he is the Maintainer and Supporter of all the Hereticks within the Realm; nor will he permit me or my Neighbours to reſort unto the Council, for his Purgation while he was at *Chartham*, ſaying only I have obtained this at his Hand, that I may become a Suitor in Writing to my Friends and good Maſters in the Court for his Delivery.

And therefore it is (right worſhipful) that I have now taken Pen in Hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our Miſery unto you concerning the extreme handling of this poor honeſt Man, Mr. *Turner*, that if it may poſſibly be brought to paſs by your godly Wiſdom, the poor Man may be releaſed and diſcharged of his Recantation; you cannot do to God and your Prince a more acceptable Service in my poor Opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould be driven to recant (as I am ſure he will ſooner die) both the Cauſe of God and the King will ſuffer no ſmall Detriment amongſt his poor loving Subjects here. For if there be no better Stay for the Maintenance of theſe godly Preachers, the King's Authority concerning his Supremacy ſhall lie poſt alone hidden in the Act of Parliament, and not in the Hearts of his Subjects.

If they can bring to paſs that *Turner* may recant, to the defacing of his good Doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in Effect ſhall not *Turner* recant, but King *Henry* the Eighth in *Turner*'s Perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant, to the Wounding of all Men's Conſciences here. If the King's Majeſty do not eſteem his Authority given to his Highneſs by God's Word and his Parliament; it were well done that the Preachers had good Warning to talk no more to the People thereof, rather than thus to be toſſed and troubled for doing their Duties by the Members of Antichriſt. Anno 1556.

And now to the Intent that they might effectually for ever ſlander *Turner*'s Doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending againſt the ſix Articles this laſt Seſſions, by the Witneſs of two Papiſts of the Pariſh of *Chartham* his utter Enemies, *Saunders* and *Brown* by Name, for a Sermon preached at *Chartham* on *Paſſion-Sunday*, which chanced on St. *Gregory*'s Even, they both being abſent that Day at *Wye* Fair, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached againſt the Maſs: Saying, that our Saviour Chriſt was the only ſole Prieſt, which ſung Maſs on the Altar of the Croſs, there ſacrificing for the Sins of the World once for ever, and that all other Maſſes were but Remembrances and Thankſgiving for that one Sacrifice; or ſuch Words in Effect.

Wherefore to conclude (right worſhipful) knowing your godly Zeal, as well towards the Preferment of ſincere Religion, as your no leſs Affection towards the King's Majeſty's Perſon and his godly Proceedings, I moſt humbly beſeech you, in the Bowels of our Saviour Chriſt, ſo to ponder the weighty Conſideration of the Premiſſes, as by your Travels unto the King's Majeſty, or to the honourable Council, we here in *Kent* that have now of late our Hearts bent towards the Obſervation of the Law of God and the Prince, through *Turner*'s godly Perſuaſions, may receive from your Worſhips ſome comfortable Words of his Deliverance, or elſe certainly many an honeſt and ſimple Man, lately embracing the Truth, may perhaps fall away deſperately from the ſame, not without Danger of their Souls. In accompliſhing whereof your Worſhips ſhall not only do unto Almighty God and the Prince moſt true and acceptable Service, but alſo bind the ſaid Mr. *Turner*, with all others to whom this Cauſe doth appertain, both daily to pray for your Proſperities, and alſo to be at your Commandments during their Lives. From *Canterbury* the ſecond Day of *November*.

Your Worſhips evermore at Command,
R. M.

And thus much containeth the Letter ſent (as is ſaid) by Mr. *Morrice* to Dr. *Buts* and Sir *Anthony Deny*. Now, what Succeſs and Speed this Letter had, hereafter ſhall be declared. For Dr. *Buts*, the King's Phyſician aforeſaid, after the Receipts of theſe Letters, conſidering the weighty Contents of the ſame, as he was ever a forward Friend in the Goſpel's Cauſe, ſo he thought not to foreſlack this Matter to the uttermoſt of his Diligence, and ſo watching his Opportunity when the King was in trimming and in waſhing (as his Manner was at certain Times to call for his Barber) Dr. *Buts* (whoſe Manner was at ſuch Times ever to be preſent, and with ſome pleaſant Conceits to refreſh and ſolace the King's Mind) brought with him in his Hand this Letter. The King asking what News, Dr. *Buts* pleaſantly and merrily beginneth to inſinuate to the King the Effect of the Matter, and ſo at the King's Command read out the Letter; which when the King had heard, and pauſed a little thereon, commanded the Letter to be read again. The Hearing and Conſideration whereof ſo altered the King's Mind,

Anno 1556.

that whereas before he commanded the ſaid *Turner* to be whipped out of the Country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful Subject. And here of that Matter an End. Let us now return to the Archbiſhop again.

Who although he was encompaſſed about (as is ſaid) with mighty Enemies, and by many crafty Trains impugned, yet through God's more mighty Providence, working in the King's Heart ſo to favour him, he rubbed out all King *Henry*'s Time without Blemiſh or Foil, by means of the King's Protection; who not only defended the ſaid Archbiſhop againſt ſuch conſpired Adverſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpecial Favonr to him in ſuch a Manner, that he being not ignorant of his Wife, whom he had married before at *Noremberge*, (being Niece to the Wife of *Oſiander*) keeping her alſo their ſix Articles Time contrary to Law, notwithſtanding he both permitted the ſame, and kept his Counſel.

This Archbiſhop married his ſecond Wife at *Noremberge.*

Then after the Death of King *Henry*, immediately ſucceeded his Son King *Edward*, under whoſe Government and Protection the State of this Archbiſhop, being his Godfather, was not impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean Time of King *Henry* aforeſaid, unril the entering in of King *Edward*, it ſeemed that *Cranmer* was ſcarcely yet thoroughly perſwaded in the right Knowledge of the Sacrament, or at leaſt was not yet fully ripened in the ſame: Wherein ſhortly after he being more groundedly confirmed by Confidence with Biſhop *Ridley*, in Proceſs of Time did ſo profit in more ripe Knowledge, that at laſt he took upon him the Defence of that whole Doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down firſt the corporal Preſence; ſecondly, the fantaſtical Tranſubſtantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous Adoration; fourthly, the falſe Error of the Papiſts, that wicked Men do eat the natural Body of Chriſt; and laſtly, the blaſphemous Sacrifice of the Maſs. Whereupon in Concluſion he wrote five Books for the publick Inſtruction of the Church of *England*, which Inſtruction to this Day ſtandeth, and is received in the Church of *England.*

The true Doctrine of the Sacrament in five Books, ſet forth by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Againſt theſe five Books of the Archbiſhop, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Arch-enemy to Chriſt and his Goſpel, being then in the Tower, ſlubbereth up a certain Anſwer, ſuch as it was, which he in open Court exhibited up at *Lambeth*, being there examined by the Archbiſhop aforeſaid, and other the King's Commiſſioners in King *Edward*'s Days, which Book was intituled, *An Explication and Aſſertion of the true catholick Faith, touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written againſt the ſame.*

Stephen Gardiner's Explication againſt the Archbiſhop.

Againſt this Explication, or rather caviling Sophiſtication of *Stephen Gardiner* Doctor of Law, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* learnedly and copiouſly reply'd again, which alſo he publiſh'd Abroad to the Eyes and Judgments of all Men.

The unquiet Spirit of *Stephen Gardiner* being not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out another Book in *Latin* of the like popiſh Argument, but after another Title, named *Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus.* Whereunto firſt the Archbiſhop again intending a full Confutation, had already abſolved three Parts of his Anſwer lying in Priſon. Of which Parts two periſhed in *Oxford*; the other yet remaineth in my Hands ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhall ſee good. Alſo Biſhop *Ridley* lying likewiſe the ſame Time in Priſon having there the ſaid Book of *Marcus Antonius*, for lack of Pen and Paper, with a Lead of a Window, in the Margin of the Book wrote Annotations, as Streightneſs of Time would ſerve him, in Refutation of the ſame Book. And finally, becauſe theſe worthy Martyrs had neither Liberty nor Leiſure to go through with that Travel, that which lacked in them, for Accompliſhment of that Behalf, was ſupply'd ſhortly after by *Peter Martyr*, who abundantly and ſubſtantially hath overthrown that Book in his learned Defence of the Truth, againſt the falſe Sophiſtication of *Marcus Antonius* aforeſaid.

Beſides theſe Books above cited of this Archbiſhop, divers other Things there were alſo of his doing, as the Book of the Reformation, the Catechiſm, with the Book of Homilies, whereof Part was by him contrived, Part by his Procurement approved and publiſhed. Whereunto alſo may be adjoined another Writing or Confutation of his againſt 88 Articles by the Convoeation deviſed and propounded, but yet not ratify'd nor received in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII.

And thus much concerning the Actions of this Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, during the Lives of King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* his Son. During whoſe Lives this Archbiſhop lacked no ſtay of Maintenance againſt all his Maligners.

Afterward this King *Edward*, a Prince of moſt worthy Qualifications, falling ſick, when he perceived that his Death was at hand, and the Force of his painful Diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to live longer, and knowing that his Siſter *Mary* was wholly wedded to the popiſh Religion, bequeathed the Succeſſion of this Realm to the Lady *Jane* (a Lady of great Birth, but of greater Learning, being Niece to King *Henry* VIII. by his Siſter) by Conſent of the Council and Lawyers of this Realm. To this Teſtament of the King's, when all the Nobles of the Realm, Eſtates and Judges had ſubſcribed; they ſent for the Archbiſhop, and required him that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But he excuſing himſelf on this Manner, ſaid, That it was otherwiſe in the Teſtament of King *Henry* his Father, and that he had ſworn to the Succeſſion of *Mary*, as then the next Heir; by which Oath he was ſo bound, that without manifeſt Perjury he could not go from it.

The Council anſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had Conſcience as well as he; and moreover, that they were ſworn to that Teſtament, and therefore he ſhould not think there was any Danger therein, or that he ſhould be in more peril of Perjury than the reſt.

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, that he was Judge of no Man's Conſcience but his own: And therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, ſo he would not commit his Conſcience unto other Mens Facts, or caſt himſelf into Danger, ſeeing that every Man ſhould give Account of his own Conſcience, and not of other Mens. And as concerning Subſcription, before he had ſpoken with the King himſelf, he utterly refuſed to do it.

The King therefore being demanded of the Archbiſhop concerning this Matter, ſaid, That the Nobles and Lawyers of this Realm coun-

ſelled him unto it, and perſwaded him that the Bond of the firſt Teſtament could nothing hinder, but that this Lady *Jane* might ſucceed him as Heir, and the People without Danger acknowledge her as their Queen. Who then demanding Leave of the King that he might firſt talk with certain Lawyers that were in the Court; when they all agreed that by Law of the Realm it might be ſo, returning to the King, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Well, not long after this King *Edward* died, being almoſt ſixteen Years old, to the great Sorrow, but greater Calamity of the whole Realm. After whoſe Deceaſe immediately it was commanded that the Lady *Jane* (who was unwilling thereunto) ſhould be proclaimed Queen. Which Thing the common People much miſliked, not that they did ſo much favour the Lady *Mary*, before whom they ſaw the Lady *Jane* preferred, as for the Hatred conceived againſt ſome whom they could not favour.

Beſides this, there happened alſo other Cauſes of Diſcord between the Nobles and Commons the ſame Time: For what Injuries of Commons and Encloſures wrongfully held, with other inordinate Pollings and uncharitable Dealing between the Landlords and Tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the Matter fell out, that the Lady *Mary* hearing of the Death of her Brother, and ſhifting for herſelf, was ſo aſſiſted by the Commons, that ſhe ſoon prevailed. Who being eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of the Realm, not long after came to *London*; and after ſhe had firſt cauſed the two Fathers, the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Duke of *Suffolk* to be beheaded (as has been already related) ſhe likewiſe cauſed the Lady *Jane*, being both in Age tender, and innocent from this Crime, after ſhe could by no Means be turned from the Conſtancy of her Faith, together with her Husband, to be beheaded.

The reſt of the Nobles, paying Fines, were forgiven, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* only excepted; who though he deſired Pardon (by means of his Friends) could obtain none; inſomuch that the Queen would not once vouchſafe to ſee him. For as yet the old Grudge againſt the Archbiſhop for the Divorcement of her Mother, remained hid in the Bottom of her Heart. Beſides this Divorce ſhe remembered the State of Religion changed; all which was imputed to the Archbiſhop as the Cauſe thereof.

While theſe Things were in doing, a Rumour was in all Mens Mouths, That the Archbiſhop, to curry Favour with the Queen, had promiſed to ſay a Dirige Maſs after the old Cuſtom, for the Funeral of King *Edward* her Brother. Neither wanted there ſome who reported that he had already ſaid Maſs at *Canterbury*; which Maſs indeed was ſaid by Dr. *Thornton*. This Rumour *Cranmer* thinking ſpeedily to ſtay, gave forth a Writing of his Purgation: The Tenor whereof being before expreſſed, I need not here again to recite.

This Bill being thus written, and lying openly in a Window in his Chamber, cometh in by Chance Mr. *Story* then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who after he had read and peruſed the ſame, required the Archbiſhop to have a Copy of the Bill. The Archbiſhop granting the ſame, and by Mr. *Story*'s lending it to another Friend, there were divers Copies taken, and the Thing publiſhed Abroad among the common People, inſomuch that almoſt every Scrivener's Shop was occupy'd in copying out the ſame: And ſo at length ſome of theſe Copies coming to the Biſhop's Hands, and ſo brought to the Council, and they ſending it to the Commiſſioners, the Matter was known, and ſo he commanded to appear. Anno 1556.

Whereupon Dr. *Cranmer* appeared at the Day prefixed, before the ſaid Commiſſioners, bringing a true Inventory, as he was commanded, of all his Goods. That done, a Biſhop of the Queen's privy Council, being one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, after the Inventory was received, bringing in mention of the Bill; My Lord, ſaid he, there is a Bill put forth in your Name, wherein you ſeem to be aggrieved with ſetting up the Maſs again; we doubt not but you are ſorry that it is gone Abroad. This Biſhop was Dr. *Heath*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*.

To whom the Archbiſhop anſwered, As I do not deny myſelf to be the Author of that Bill or Letter, ſo muſt I confeſs here unto you, concerning the ſame Bill, that I am ſorry that the ſaid Bill went from me in ſuch Sort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. *Story* got the Copy from me, and it is now come Abroad, and as I underſtand, the City is full of it. For which I am ſorry, that it ſo paſſed my Hands: For I intended otherwiſe to have made it in a more large and ample Manner, and minded to have ſet it on *Paul*'s Church Door, and on the Doors of all the Churches in *London*, with mine own Seal joined thereunto.

At which Words, when they ſaw the Conſtancy of the Man, they diſmiſſed him, affirming they had no more at preſent to ſay unto him, but that ſhortly he ſhould hear farther. The ſaid Biſhop declared afterwards to one of Dr. *Cranmer*'s Friends, that notwithſtanding his Attainder of Treaſon, the Queen's Determination at that Time was, that *Cranmer* ſhould only have been deprived of his Archbiſhoprick, and have had a ſufficient Living aſſigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true Inventory, with Commandment to keep his Houſe without meddling in Matters of Religion. But how true that was I have not to ſay. This is certain, that not long after this, he was ſent to the Tower, and ſoon after condemned for Treaſon. Notwithſtanding the Queen, when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his Pardon, ſeeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and eſpecially, ſeeing he laſt (of all others) ſubſcribed to King *Edward*'s Requeſt, and that againſt his own Will, releaſed to him his Action of Treaſon, and accuſed him only of Hereſy, which the Archbiſhop liked well, and came to paſs as he wiſhed, becauſe the Cauſe was not his own, but Chriſt's; not the Queen's but the Church's. Thus ſtood the Cauſe of *Cranmer*, till at length it was determined by the Queen and the Council, that he ſhould be removed from the Tower where he was Priſoner, to *Oxford*, there to diſpute with the Doctors and Divines. And privily Word was ſent before to them of *Oxford* to prepare themſelves, and make them ready to diſpute. And although the Queen and the Biſhops had concluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the Matter ſhould be debated with Arguments, that under ſome honeſt Shew of Diſputation the Murder of the Man might be covered. Neither could their haſty

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What this Diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the Queſtions and Reaſons on both Sides, and alſo touching his Condemnation by the Univerſity and the Prolocutor, becauſe it hath been ſufficiently declared, we intend now therefore to proceed to his final Judgment and Order of Condemnation, which was the 12th Day of *September* 1555, and ſeven Days before the Condemnation of Biſhop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer*, as is beforementioned. The Story whereof followeth, faithfully corrected by the Report and Narration (coming by Chance to our Hands) of one who being both preſent thereat, and alſo a devout Favourer of the See and Faction of *Rome*, can lack no Credit (I think) with ſuch who ſeek what they can to diſcredit whatſoever maketh not with their phantaſied Religion of *Rome*.

After the Diſputations done and finiſhed in *Oxford* between the Doctors of both Univerſities, and the three worthy Biſhops, Dr. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, ye heard then how Sentence condemnatory immediately upon the ſame was adminiſtred againſt them by Dr. *Weſton* and others of the Univerſity; whereby they were judged to be Hereticks, and ſo committed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *Oxford*. But foraſmuch as the Sentence given againſt them was void in Law (for at that Time the Authority of the Pope was not yet received into the Land) therefore a new Commiſſion was ſent from *Rome*, and a new Proceſs framed for the Conviction of theſe reverend and godly learned Men aforeſaid. In which Commiſſion, firſt was Dr. *James Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter* the Pope's Sub-delegate, with Dr. *Martin* and Dr. *Story*, Commiſſioners in the King and Queen's Behalf for the Execution of the ſame. Of which three Commiſſioners abovenamed, as touching Dr. *Martin*, this by the Way is to be underſtood, that although he was uſed for an Inſtrument of the Pope's Side to ſerve a Turn (whoſe Book alſo is extant againſt the lawful Marriage of Prieſts) yet notwithſtanding neither was he ſo bitter an Enemy in this Perſecution as other Commiſſioners were; and alſo in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, where divers other Doctors of the Arches refuſed to be ſworn againſt the Pope, he denied not the Oath; and yet notwithſtanding not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the Purpoſe of this Story. Whereof firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the Circumſtance, and the whole State of the Matter, as in a general Deſcription, before we come to their Orations, according as in a Parcel of a certain Letter concerning the ſame it came to our Hands.

Imprimis, Here is to be underſtood, that at the coming down of the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, which was upon *Thurſday* the 12th of *September* 1555, in the Church of St. *Mary*, and in the Eaſt End of the ſaid Church at the high Altar, was erected a ſolemn Scaffold for Biſhop *Brooks* aforeſaid, repreſenting the Pope's Perſon, ten Foot high. The Seat was made that he might ſit under the Sacrament of the Altar. And on the right Hand of the Pope's Delegate, beneath him ſate Dr. *Martin*, and on the left Hand ſate Dr. *Story* the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, who were both Doctors of the Civil Law, and underneath them other Doctors, Scribes and Phariſees alſo, with the Pope's Collector, and a Rabblement of ſuch others.

And thus theſe Biſhops being placed in their Pontificalibus, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſent for to come before them. He having Intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himſelf. He came forth of the Priſon to the Church of St. *Mary*, ſet forth with Bills and Gleves for fear he ſhould ſtart away, being clothed in a fair black Gown with his Hood on both Shoulders, ſuch as Doctors of Divinity uſe to wear in the Univerſity. Who, after he was come into the Church, and did ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus, he did not put off his Cap to any of them, but ſtood ſtill till he was called.

And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or elſe his Doctor, called *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, appear here and make Anſwer to what ſhall be laid to thy Charge; that is to ſay, for Blaſphemy, Incontinence and Hereſy; and make Anſwer here to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, repreſenting the Pope's Perſon.

Upon this he being brought nearer unto the Scaffold, where the aforeſaid Biſhop ſate, he firſt well viewed the Place of Judgment, and eſpying where the King and Queen's Majeſty's Proctors were, putting off his Cap, he firſt humbly bowing his Knee to the Ground, made Reverence to the one, and after to the other.

The Archbiſhop giveth Reverence to the Queen's Commiſſioners, but refuſeth the ſame to the Pope's Delegate.

That done, beholding the Biſhop in the Face, he put on his Bonnet again, making no manner of Token of Obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Biſhop being offended, ſaid unto him, that it might beſeem him right well, weighing the Authority he did repreſent, to do his Duty unto him.

Whereunto Dr. *Cranmer* anſwered and ſaid, That he had once taken a ſolemn Oath, never to conſent to the admitting of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority into this Realm of *England* again; and that he had done it adviſedly, and meant by God's Grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by Sign or Token, which might argue his Conſent to the receiving of the ſame, and ſo he deſired the ſaid Biſhop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any Contempt to his Perſon, which he could willingly have honoured as well as any of the others, if his Commiſſion had come from as good an Authority as theirs. This anſwered he both modeſtly, wiſely, and patiently, with his Cap on his Head, not once bowing or making any Reverence to him that repreſented the Pope's Perſon, which was wonderouſly marked by the People that were there preſent and ſaw it, and marked it as nigh as could be poſſible.

The Oration of Dr. Brooks *Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *unto Dr.* Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the Church of St.* Mary *at* Oxford, March 12, 1556.

WHEN after many Means uſed, they perceived that the Archbiſhop would not move his Bonnet, the Biſhop proceeded in theſe Words following.

My Lord, at this preſent we are to come to you as Commiſſioners, and for you, not intruding

truding ourſelves by our own Authority, but ſent by Commiſſion, partly from the Pope's Holineſs, partly from the King and Queen's moſt excellent Majeſties, not to your utter Diſcomfort, but to your Comfort if you will yourſelf. We come, not to judge you, but to put you in Remembrance of what you have been, and may be. Neither come we to diſpute with you, but to examine you in certain Matters; which being done, to make Relation thereof to him that hath Power to judge you. The Firſt being well taken, ſhall make the Second to be well taken. For if you, of your Part be moved to come to a Conformity, then ſhall not only we of our Side take Joy of our Examination, but alſo they that have ſent us.

And firſt, as Charity doth move us, I would think good ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſecond Chapter of St. *John* in the *Revelations*, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the firſt Works, or if not*, and ſo as ye know what followeth. Remember yourſelf from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the Univerſal and Catholick Church of Chriſt, from the very true and received Faith of all *Chriſtendom*, and that by open Hereſy. You have fallen from your Promiſe to God, from your Fidelity and Allegiance, and that by open Preaching, Marriage, and Adultery. You have fallen from your ſovereign Prince and Queen by open Treaſon. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your Fall is great, the Danger cannot be ſeen. Wherefore, when I ſay, Remember from whence you are fallen, I put you mind, not only of your Fall, but alſo of the State you were in before your Fall. You were ſometime, as I and other poor Men, in a mean Eſtate, God I take to witneſs, I ſpeak it to no Reproach or Abaſement of you, but to put you in Memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high Degree, from one Degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you an Ambaſſador, Metropolitan of all *England*, and Paſtor of his own Flock: Such great Truſt did he put you in, in his Church; What could he do more? for even as he ordained *Moſes* to be a Ruler over his Church of *Iſrael*, and gave him full Authority of the ſame: So did he make you over his Church of *England*. And when did he this for you? forſooth, when you gave no Occaſion or Cauſe of miſtruſt either to him or to his Magiſtrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your Time ye were not upright in the Honour and Faith of Chriſt, but rather ſet up of Purpoſe as a fit Inſtrument, whereby the Church might be ſpoiled and brought into Ruin; yet may it appear by many your Doings otherwiſe, and I for my Part, as it behoveth each one of us, ſhall think the beſt. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the Face of the World? who was thought to have more Conſcience of a Vow making, and obſerving the Order of the Church, more earneſt in the Defence of the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar than ye were? and then all Things proſper'd with you; your Prince favoured you; yea, God himſelf favoured you; your Candleſtick was ſet up in the higheſt Place of the Church, and the Light of your Candle was over all the Church; I would God it had ſo continued ſtill. Anno 1556.

But after ye began to fall by Schiſm, and would not acknowledge the Pope's Holineſs as ſupream Head, but would ſtoutly uphold the unlawful Requeſts of King *Henry* VIII. and would bear with what ſhould not be born withal, then began you to fancy unlawful Liberty; and when you had exiled a good Conſcience, then enſued great Shipwrack in the Sea, which was out of the true and catholick Church caſt into the Sea of Deſparation: For, as he ſaith, Without the Church there is no Salvation. When ye had forſaken God, God forſook you, and gave you over to your own Will, and ſuffered you to fall from Schiſm to Apoſtacy, from Apoſtacy to Hereſy, and from Hereſy to Perjury, from Perjury to Treaſon, and ſo in Concluſion, into the full Indignation of our ſovereign Prince, which you may think a juſt Puniſhment of God for your other abominable Opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the loweſt Degree of all, to the End of Honour and Life. For if the Light of your Candle be as it hath been hitherto dusky, your Candleſtick is like to be removed, and have a great Fall, ſo low, and ſo far out of Knowledge, that it be quite of God's Favour, and paſt all Hope of Recovery: For in Hell there is no Redemption. The Danger whereof being ſo great, very Pity cauſeth me to ſay, *Remember from whence thou haſt fallen.* I add alſo, and whither you fall.

But here peradventure you will ſay to me, What Sir, my Fall is not ſo great as you make it: I have not yet faln from the catholick Church. For that is not the catholick Church that the Pope is Head of. There is another Church. But as touching that I anſwer, You are ſure of that as the *Donatiſts* were, for they ſaid they had the true Church, and that the Name of true Chriſtians remained only in *Africk*, were only their ſeditious Sect was preached. And as you think, ſo thought *Novatus*, That all they that did acknowledge their ſupream Head at the See of *Rome*, were out of the Church of Chriſt. But here St. *Cyprian* defending *Cornelius* againſt *Novatus*, Book 2. Epiſt. 6. ſaith on this wiſe, The Church is one, which Church whereas it is one, it cannot be here and there. So that if *Novatus* were in the Church, then was not *Cornelius*, who indeed by lawful Succeſſion ſucceeded Pope *Fabian*. Here St. *Cyprian* intendeth by the whole Proceſs to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true Church was only *Rome*. Gather you then what will follow of your Fall. But you will ſay peradventure, that you fell not by Hereſy, and ſo ſaid the *Arians*, alledging for themſelves that they had Scripture, and going about to perſuade their Schiſm by Scripture; for indeed they had more Places by two and forty, which by their Torture ſeemed to depend upon Scripture, than the Catholicks had.

So did the *Marcions* provoke their Hereſy to Scripture. But thoſe are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alledged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly reſted and wrong, according to their own Fantaſies. And therefore were they all juſtly condemned for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the Church replieth againſt them, ſaying, What make

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make you here in my Heritage? from whence came you? the Scripture is mine Inheritance; I am right Heir thereof: I hold it by true Succeſſion of the Apoſtles; for as the Apoſtles required me to hold, ſo do I hold it. The Apoſtles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as Baſtards, having no Title thereunto.

Alſo ye will deny that ye have fallen by Apoſtacy, by breaking your Vow; and ſo *Vigilantius* ſaid, inſomuch that he would admit none to his Miniſtry, but thoſe who had their Wives bagged with Children. What now? ſhall we ſay that *Vigilantius* did not fall therefore? Did not *Donatus* and *Novatus* fall, becauſe they ſaid ſo, and brought Scripture for their Defence? Then let us believe as we liſt, pretending well, and ſay ſo; nay, there is no Man ſo blind that will not ſay ſo: For except the Church which condemneth them for their ſay-ſo, do approve us for to do-ſo, then will ſhe condemn you alſo. So that your Denial will not ſtand. And therefore I tell you, Remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long you ſhall fall if you hold on as you do begin. But I truſt you will not continue, but revoke yourſelf in Time, and the Remedy followeth.

Repent, and do thy firſt Works, for by ſuch Means as ye have fallen ye muſt riſe again. Firſt, your Heart hath fallen, then your Tongue and your Pen, and beſides your own Damage, hath cauſed many more to fall. Therefore, firſt your Heart muſt turn, and then ſhall the Tongue and the Pen be quickly turned; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candleſtick out of his Place.

I need not to teach you a Method to turn; you know the ready Way yourſelf. But I would God I could but exhort you to the Right and Truth, then the Way ſhould ſoon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable Hereſy into the Way of Perdition, I doubt not but very Conſcience would move you, as much for them as for yourſelf, to come again. And ſo would you ſpare neither Tongue nor Pen, if the Heart were once reformed; for as touching that Point, the Holy Ghoſt toucheth their Hearts very near by the Mouth of his Holy Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he requireth the Blood of his Flock at the Prieſt's Hands, for lack of good and wholſome Food. How much more ſhould this touch your guilty Heart, having overmuch Diligence to teach them the Way of Perdition, and feeding them with Baggage and corrupt Food, which is Hereſy; *Ezek.* 33. *He that ſhall convert a Sinner from his wicked Life, ſhall ſave his Soul from Death, and ſhall cover the Multitude of Sins.* So that if it be true that he who converteth a Sinner, ſaveth a Soul; then the contrary muſt needs be true, that he that perverteth a Soul, and teacheth him the Way of Perdition, muſt needs be damned.

Origen, on the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, ſaith, The Damnation of thoſe that preach Hereſy doth increaſe to the Day of Judgment. The more that periſh by heretical Doctrine, the more grievous ſhall their Torment be, that miniſter ſuch Doctrine. *Berengarius*, who ſeemed to fear that Danger, provided for it in his Life-time, but not without a troubled and diſquiet Conſcience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not ſo much for himſelf, as for them whom he had with moſt peſtilent Hereſies infected. For as he lay in his Death-bed upon Epiphany-day, he demanded of them that were preſent, Is this (quoth he) the Day of *Epiphany*, and appearing of the Lord? they anſwered him Yea. Then (quoth he) this Day ſhall the Lord appear to me, either to my Comfort, or to my Diſcomfort. This Remorſe argueth, that he feared the Danger of them whom he had taught and led out of the Faith of Chriſt. *Origines* upon him ſaith in this wiſe, *Although his own Blood was not upon his Head, for that he did repent, and was ſorry for his former Errors, yet being converted, he feared the Blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his Doctrine.*

Let this moe you even at the laſt Point. Inſomuch as your Caſe is not unlike to *Berengarius*, let your Repentance be like alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you (tell me) from this godly Return? Fear that ye have gone ſo far, ye may not return. Nay then I may ſay as *David* ſaid, *Ye fear where ye have no Cauſe to fear.* For if ye repent and be heartily ſorry for your former Hereſy and Apoſtacy, ye need not to fear. For as God of his Part is merciful and gracious to the repentant Sinner, ſo is the King, ſo is the Queen merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own Caſe, ſince ye might have ſuffered a great while ago for Treaſon committed againſt her Highneſs, but that ye have been ſpared and reſerved upon hope of Amendment, which ſhe conceived very good of you, but now (as it ſeemth) is but a very deſperate Hope. And what do you thereby? *According to the Hardneſs of your Heart ye treaſure up to yourſelf Anger in the Day of Wrath.*

Well, what is it then, if Fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unſay that that you have ſaid? Nay, it is no Shame, unleſs you think it Shame to agree with the true and the catholick Church of Chriſt. And if that be Shame, then blame St. *Paul*, who perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſt with the Sword; then blame St. *Peter*, who deny'd his Maſter Chriſt with an Oath, that he never knew him. St. *Cyprian* before his Return being a Witch; St. *Auſtin* being nine Years out of the Church: They thought it no Shame after their Return of that they had returned. Shall it then be Shame for you to convert and conſent with the Church of Chriſt? No, no.

What is it then that doth hinder you? Glory of the World? nay, as for the Vanity of the World, I for my Part judge not in you, being a Man of Learning and knowing your Eſtate.

And as for the Loſs of your Eſtimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of all *England*, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhall be as well ſtill, yea, and rather better.

And as for the winning of good Men, there is no doubt but all that be here preſent, and the whole Congregation of Chriſt's Church alſo will more rejoice of your Return, than they were ſorry for your Fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt for they ſhall all come after; and to ſay the Truth, if you ſhould loſe them for ever it were no Force, ye ſhould have no leſs thereby at all. I do not here touch them which ſhould confirm your Eſtimation. For as St. *Paul*, after his Converſion, was received into the Church of Chriſt, with wonderful Joy to the whole Congregation, even ſo ſhall you be. The

Fame of your Return ſhall be ſpread Abroad throughout all *Chriſtendom*, where your Face was never known.

But you will ſay perhaps, your Conſcienee will not ſuffer you. My Lord, there is a good Conſcience, and there is a bad Conſcience. The good Conſcience have not they, as St. *Paul* declareth to *Timothy* concerning *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*. The evil and bad Conſcience is, ſaith St. *Cyprian*, well to be known by his Mark. What Mark? This Conſcience is marked with the Print of Hereſy. This Conſcience is a naughty, filthy, and a branded Conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I have conceived a better Hope of you than ſo, or elſe would I never go about to perſwade or exhort you. But what Conſcience ſhould ſtay you to return to the catholick Faith and univerſal Church of Chriſt? What Conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deviliſh and ſeveral Church! to a Liberty which never had Ground in the Holy Scriptures? If you judge your Liberty to be good, then judge you all *Chriſtendom* to do Evil beſides you.

O what a preſumptuous Perſwaſion is this, upon this utterly to forſake the Church of Chriſt? Under what Colour or Pretence do you this? For the Abuſes? as though in your Church were no Abuſes: Yes that there were. And if you forſake the univerſal Church for the Abuſes, why do you not then forſake your particular Church, and ſo be flitting from one to another? That is not the next Way, to ſlip from the Church for the Abuſes; for if you had ſeen Abuſes, you ſhould rather have endeavoured for a Reformation than for a Defection. He is a good Surgeon, who for a little Pain in the Toe will cut off the whole Leg. He helpeth well the Tooth-ach, which cutteth away the Head by the Shoulders. It is mere Folly to amend Abuſes by Abuſes. Ye are like *Diogenes*; for *Diogenes* on a Time envying the Cleanlineſs of *Plato*, ſaid on this wiſe, Behold, I tread upon the Pride of *Plato*. *Plato* anſwered, But with another ſort of Pride. So that *Diogenes* ſeemed more faulty of the two.

Abuſes in the Church require a Reformation, and not a Defection.

But when we have ſaid all that we can, peradventure you will ſay, I will not return. And to that I ſay, I will not anſwer. Nevertheleſs hear what Chriſt ſaith to ſuch obſtinate and ſtiff-necked People in the Parable of the Supper. When he had ſent out his Men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his Servants go into the Ways and Streets, to compel Men to come in. If then the Church will not loſe any Member that may be compelled to come in, ye muſt think it good to take the Compulſion, leſt you loſe your Part of the Supper which the Lord hath prepared for you, and this Compulſion ſtandeth well with Charity.

But it may be perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſtick to your Tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in Hand that your Opinion is good, and that ye ſhall die in a good Quarrel, and God ſhall accept your Oblation. But hear what Chriſt ſaith of a meaner Gift; If thou come to the Altar to offer thy Oblation, and knoweſt that thy Brother hath ſomewhat to ſay againſt thee, leave there thy Gift, and go and be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer up thy Gift, or elſe thy Brother will make thy Offering unſavoury before God. This he ſaid unto all the World, to the End they ſhould know how their Offerings ſhould be received, if they were not according. Anno 1556.

Matth. 7.

Remember you therefore before you offer up your Offering, whether your Gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of *Rome*, and alſo of *England*, where not one only Brother, but a Number have Matter againſt you, ſo juſt that they will make your Burnt-offering to ſtink before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſt needs appoint upon a Sacrifice, make yet a Mean firſt to them that have to lay againſt you. I ſay no more than the Church hath allowed me to ſay. For the Sacrifice that is offered without the Church is not profitable. The Premiſſes therefore conſidered, for God's ſake, I ſay, *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy firſt Works, or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candleſtick out of his Place, except thou repent.* Caſt not yourſelf away, ſpare your Body, ſpare your Soul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedding of Chriſt's Blood for you in vain. Harden not your Heart, acknowledge the Truth, yield to the preſcript Word of God, to the catholick Church of *Rome*, to the received Verity of all *Chriſtendom*. Wed not yourſelf to your own Self-will. Stand not too much in your own Conceit. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all *Chriſtendom* is beſides you. Leave off this unjuſt Cavil. How? leave what? Leave Reaſon, leave Wonder, and believe as the catholick Church doth believe and teach you. Perſwade with yourſelf, that without the Church there is no Salvation. And thus much have I ſaid of Charity. If this poor ſimple Exhortation of mine may ſink into your Head, and take Effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not as I would, but as I could for this Preſent.

And thus Biſhop *Brooks* finiſhing his Oration, ſat down. After whom, Dr. *Martin* taking the Matter in Hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Dr. Martin.

ALbeit there be two Governments, the one Spiritual, and the other Temporal, the one having the Keys, and the other the Sword; yet in all Ages we read that for the Honour and Glory of God both theſe Powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Teſtament, we ſhall find that ſo did *Joſias* and *Ezekias*. So did the King of the *Ninivites* compel a general Faſt through all the whole City. So did *Darius* in breaking the great idol *Bel*, and delivered godly *Daniel* out of the Den of Lions. So did *Nebuchadonoſor* make and inſtitute Laws againſt the Blaſphemers of God. But to let paſs theſe Examples, with a great Number more, and to come to Chriſt's Time, it is not unknown what a great Travel they took to ſet forth God's Honour: And although the Rule and Government of the Church did only appertain to the Spiritualty, yet for the Suppreſſion of Hereſies and Schiſms, Kings were admitted as Aiders thereunto. Firſt, *Conſtantine* the Great called a Council at *Nice* for the Suppreſſion of the *Arian* Sect, where the ſame Time was raiſed a great Contention among them. And after long Diſputation had, when the Fathers could not agree upon the putting

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down the *Arians*, they referred their Judgment to *Conſtantine*. God forbid, quoth *Conſtantine*; You ought to rule me, and not I you. And as *Conſtantine* did, ſo did *Theodoſius* againſt the *Neſtorians*, ſo did *Marcianus* againſt *Manicheus*. *Jovinian* made a Law, that no Man ſhould marry with a Nun, that had wedded herſelf to the Church.

So had King *Henry* VIII. the Title of Defender of the Faith, becauſe he wrote againſt *Luther* and his Accomplices. So theſe 900 Years the King of *Spain* had that Title of Catholick, for the Expulſion of the *Arians*, and to ſay the Truth, the King and Queen's Majeſties do nothing degenerate from their Anceſtors, taking upon them to reſtore again the Title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right Heir hereof, the Pope's Holineſs.

Therefore theſe two Princes, perceiving this noble Realm, how it hath been brought from the Unity of the true and catholick Church, which you and your Confederates do and have renounced; perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable Errors, and will by no Means be revoked from the ſame, have made their humble Requeſt and Petition to the Pope's Holineſs, *Paul* the Fourth, as ſupream Head of the Church of Chriſt, declaring to him, that where you were Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, and at your Conſecration took two ſolemn Oaths for your due Obedience to be given to the See of *Rome*, to become a true Preacher or Paſtor of his Flock, yet contrary to your Oath and Allegiance for Unity have ſowed Diſcord; for Chaſtity, Marriage and Adultery; for Obedience, Contention; and for Faith, ye have been the Author of all Miſchief. The Pope's Holineſs, conſidering their Requeſt and Petition, hath granted them, that according to the Cenſure of this Realm, Proceſs ſhould be made againſt you.

And whereas in this late Time you both excluded Charity and Juſtice, yet hath his Holineſs decreed, that you ſhall have both Charity and Juſtice ſhewed unto you. He willeth you ſhould have the Laws in moſt ample Manner to anſwer in your Behalf, and that you ſhall here come before my Lord of *Glouceſter*, as high Commiſſioner from his Holineſs, to the Examination of ſuch Articles as ſhall be propoſed againſt you, and that we ſhould require the Examination of you in the King's and Queen's Majeſties Behalf. The King and Queen as touching themſelves becauſe by the Law they cannot appear perſonally, [*Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ*] have appointed as their Attorneys Dr. *Story* and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordſhip our Proxy, ſealed with the Broad Seal of *England*, and offer myſelf to be Proctor in the King's Majeſties Behalf. I exhibit here alſo certain Articles, containing the manifeſt Adultery and Perjury: Alſo Books of Hereſy made partly by him, partly ſet forth by his Authority. And here I produce him as Party principal to anſwer to your good Lordſhip.

Thus when Dr. *Martin* had ended his Oration, the Archbiſhop began as followeth.

Cranmer. Shall I then make my Anſwer.

Martin. As you think good, no Man ſhall hinder you.

And here the Archbiſhop kneeling down on both Knees towards the Weſt, ſaid firſt the Lord's-Prayer. Then riſing up he reciteth the Articles of the Creed. Which done, he entreth with his Proteſtation in Form as followeth.

The Faith and Profeſſion of Dr. Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *before the Commiſſioners.*

THIS I do profeſs as touching my Faith, and make my Proteſtation, which I deſire you to note. I will never conſent that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall have any Juriſdiction within this Realm.

Story. Take a Note thereof.

Martin. Mark, Mr. *Cranmer*, how you anſwer for yourſelf. You refuſe and deny him, by whoſe Laws you do remain in Life, being otherwiſe attained of High-treaſon, and but a dead Man by the Laws of the Realm.

Cranmer. I proteſt before God I was no Traitor, but indeed I confeſſed more at my Arraignment than was true.

Martin. That is not to be reaſoned at this preſent. Ye know ye were condemned for a Traitor, and a Cauſe determined is taken for a Truth. But proceed to your Matter.

Cranmer. I will never conſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for then ſhould I give myſelf to the Devil; for I have made an Oath to the King, and I muſt obey the King by God's Laws. By the Scripture the King is Chief, and no foreign Perſon in his own Realm above him. There is no Subject but to a King. I am a Subject, I owe my Fidelity to the Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no Man can ſerve two Maſters at once, as you in the Beginning of your Oration declared by the Sword and Keys, attributing the Keys to the Pope, and the Sword to the King. But I ſay the King hath both. Therefore he that is ſubject to *Rome*, and the Laws of *Rome*, he is perjured; for the Pope's and the Judges Laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

Cauſes alledged why Dr. *Cranmer* cannot receive the Pope.

A Prieſt indebted, by the Laws of the Realm ſhall be ſued before a temporal Judge; by the Pope's Laws contrary.

The Pope doth the King Injury, in that he hath his Power from the Pope. The King is Head in his own Realm: But the Pope claimeth all Biſhops, Prieſts, Curates, *&c.* So the Pope in every Realm hath a Realm.

Again, by the Laws of *Rome* the Benefice muſt be given by the Biſhop, by the Laws of the Realm the Patron giveth the Benefice. Herein the Laws be as contrary as Fire and Water.

No Man can by the Laws of *Rome* proceed in a Premunire, and ſo is the Law of the Realm expelled, and the King ſtandeth accurſed in maintaining his own Lands. Therefore in Conſideration that the King and the Queen take their Power of him, as though God ſhould give it to them, there is no true Subject, unleſs he be abrogate, ſeeing the Crown is held of him being out of the Realm.

The Biſhop of *Rome* is contrary to God, and injurious to his Laws; for God commanded all Men to be diligent in the Knowledge of his Law; and therefore hath appointed one holy Day in the Week at the leaſt, for the People to come to the Church and hear the Word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better underſtand it, to hear it in

in their Mother Tongue which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willeth the Service to be had in the *Latin* Tongue, which they do not underſtand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the Prieſt giveth Thanks, God would that the People ſhould do ſo too, and God will them to confeſs altogether, the Pope will not.

Now as concerning the Sacrament, I have taught no falſe Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar: For if it can be proved by any Doctor above a thouſand Years after Chriſt, that Chriſt's Body is there really, I will give over. My Book was made ſeven Years ago, and no Man hath brought any Authors againſt it. I believe that whoſo eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion; but not that corporally that ſitteth in Heaven.

Now Chriſt commanded all to drink of the Cup: The Pope taketh it away from the Laymen; and yet one ſaith, that if Chriſt had died for the Devil, that he ſhould drink thereof. Chriſt biddeth us to obey the King, [*etiam Diſcolo.*] the Biſhop of *Rome* biddeth us to obey him; therefore, unleſs he be Antichriſt, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I ſhould obey him, I cannot obey Chriſt.

He is like the Devil in his Doings; for the Devil ſaid to Chriſt, If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the Kingdoms of the World. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* giveth Princes their Crowns being none of his own; for where Princes either by Election, either by Succeſſion, either by Inheritance obtain their Crown, he ſaith that they ſhould have it from him.

Chriſt ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that advanceth himſelf above all other Creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch Sort beſides the Pope, then in the mean Time let him be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an End.

Cranmer. For he will be the Vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the Old and New Teſtament alſo, yea and with Apoſtacy.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my Conſcience obey the Pope. I ſpeak not this for Hatred I bear to him that now ſupplieth the Room, for I know him not. I pray God give him Grace not to follow his Anceſtors. Neither ſay I this for my Defence, but to declare my Conſcience for the Zeal that I bear to God's Word trodden under Foot by the Biſhop of *Rome*. I caſt Fear apart, for Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, that in the latter Days they ſhould ſuffer much Sorrow, and be put to Death for his Name Sake: Fear them not (ſaith he) but fear him which when he hath killed the Body hath Power to caſt the Soul into Fire everlaſting. Alſo Chriſt ſaith, *Matt.* 16. that he that will live ſhall die, and he that loſeth his Life for my Name's Sake, he ſhall *Matt.* 8. find it again. Moreover he ſaid, confeſs me before Men, and be not afraid; for if you do ſo, I will ſtand with you; if you ſhrink from me I will ſhrink from you. This is a comfortable and terrible Saying, this maketh me to ſet all Fear apart. I ſay therefore the Biſhop of *Rome* treadeth under foot God's Laws and the King's.

The Pope would give Biſhopricks, ſo would the King. But at the laſt the King got the upper Hand, and ſo are all Biſhops perjured, firſt to the Pope, and then to the King. Anno 1556.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the Clergy. For if a Clerk come before a Judge, the Judge ſhall make Proceſs againſt him, but not to execute any Laws. For if the Judge ſhould put him to Execution, then is the King accurſed in maintaining his own Laws. And therefore ſay I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the King, that firſt received the Pope. But I ſhall heartily pray for ſuch Counſellors as may inform her the Truth; for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

Martin. As you underſtand, then if they maintain the Supremacy of *Rome*, they cannot maintain *England* too.

Cranmer. I require you to declare to the King and Queen what I have ſaid, and how their Oaths do ſtand with the Realm and the Pope. St. *Gregory* ſaith, he that taketh upon him to be Head of the univerſal Church, is worſe than the Antichriſt. If any Man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt God's Word to hold his Stirrop when he taketh his Horſe, and kiſs his Feet (as Kings do) then will I kiſs his Feet alſo.

And you for your Part, my Lord, are perjured; for now you ye ſit Judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive your Biſhoprick of the King. You have taken an Oath to be Adverſary to the Realm; for the Pope's Laws are contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Glouceſter. You were the Cauſe that I did forſake the Pope, and did ſwear that he ought not to be ſupream Head, and gave it to King *Henry* the Eighth, that he ought to be it; and this you made me to do.

Cranmer. To this I anſwer: You report me ill, and ſay not the Truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The Truth is, that my Predeceſſor, Archbiſhop *Warham*, gave the Supremacy to King *Henry* the Eighth, and ſaid, that he ought to have it before the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that God's Word would bear him. And upon the ſame was there ſent to both the Univerſities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to know what the Word of God would do touching the Supremacy, and it was reaſoned upon, and argued at length. So at the laſt both the Univerſities agreed, and ſet to their Seals, and ſent it to King *Henry* the Eighth to the Court, that he ought to be ſupreme Head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were at that time Doctor of Divinity, and your Conſent was thereunto, as by your Hand doth appear. Therefore you miſ-report me, that I was the Cauſe of your falling away from the Pope, but it was your ſelf. All this was in Archbiſhop *Warham*'s Time, and while he was alive, ſo that it was three Quarters of a Year after e'er ever I had the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* in my Hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is ill done. All this while his Cap was on his Head.

Archbp. *Warham* firſt gave up the Supremacy to the King.

Glouceſter. We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us.

Dr. Story's *Oration.*

PLeaſeth it your good Lordſhip, becauſe it hath pleaſed the King and Queen's Majeſties to appoint my Companion and me

Anno 1556. to hear the Examination of this Man before your good Lordſhip, to give me Leave ſomewhat to talk in that Behalf. Although I know that in Talk with Hereticks there cometh Hurt to all Men; for it wearieth the Stedfaſt, troubleth the Doubtful, and taketh in Snare the Weak and Simple: Yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bound to anſwer your Lordſhip ſitting for the Pope's Holineſs, becauſe of a Premunire, and the Word of God as he termeth it; I think good ſomewhat to ſay, that all Men may ſee how he runneth out of his Race of Reaſon into the Rage of common Talk, ſuch as here I truſt hath done much good. And as the King and Queen's Majeſties will be glad to hear of your moſt charitable Dealing with him; ſo will they be weary to hear the Blundering of this ſtubborn Heretick. And where he alledgeth Divinity, mingling right and wrong together, he ſhould not have been heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for him to alledge, the Judge is not competent? Do we not ſee that in the Common Law it is not lawful for a Man in *Weſtminſter* Hall to refuſe his Judge? And ſhall we diſpute againſt one that denies Principals? Although there be here a great Company of learned Men, that know it unmeet ſo to do, yet have I here a plain Canon, wherein he declareth himſelf convicted *Ipſo facto*. The Canon [as we have tranſlated it into *Engliſh*] is this; *Let it be their own Deſtruction whoſoever acts contrary to the apoſtolick Decrees, let them have no Place amongſt the Prieſts, but be put out from the holy Miniſtry, neither be capable of holding any Cure, ſeeing they are condemned by the holy apoſtolick Church for their Diſobedience and Preſumption, but let them be caſt out by the greater Excommunication, to whom the Diſcipline of the Holy Church being committed, not only ought to obey themſelves, but alſo teach others to do ſo, yet will reſiſt her Divine and pontifical Services, and ſo diſobey the apoſtolical Precepts.*

Note the worſhipful Reaſons of Dr. *Story*, wherewith he proveth the Pope's Supremacy.

He hath alledged many Matters againſt the Supremacy, but maliciouſly. Ye ſay the King in his Realm is ſupreme Head of the Church. Well Sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholick Church before any King was chriſtened. Then if it were a perfect Church, it muſt needs have a Head, which muſt needs be before any King was Member thereof; for you know *Conſtantinus* the Emperor was the firſt chriſtened King that ever was. And although you are bound (as St. *Paul* ſaith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have Rule of the People, yet doth it not follow that they have Cure of Souls: For if you argue from the more powerful, the Head may do that the Miniſter cannot do; but the Prieſt may conſecrate, and the King cannot, therefore the King is not Head.

Dr. *Story* reaſoneth, as though to feed with the Word, and to govern with the Sword were all one.

It was licenſed by Chriſt do every Man to bring into the Sheepfold, and to augment the Flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to *Peter*.

And where the Apoſtles to call upon Men to obey their Princes, to pay Tribute to whom Tribute is due; Cuſtom to whom Cuſtom; they perceiving that Men were bent to a kind of Liberty and Diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to Obedience and Payment of their Tribute, which Exhortation extendeth only to temporal Matters.

And again where you ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* maketh Laws contrary to the Laws of the Realm; that is not true: For this is a Maxim in the Law, That which is true in a Part, cannot be falſe in the whole.

Now as touching that monſtrous Talk of your Conſcience, that is no Conſcience that ye profeſs; it is but private Judgment, Choice, and Opinion. And as yet for all your glorious Babble, you have not proved by God's Laws that ye ought not to anſwer the Pope's Holineſs.

The Canons which be received of all *Chriſtendom* compel you to anſwer, therefore you are bound ſo to do. And although this Realm of late-time, through ſuch Shciſmaticks as you were, hath exiled and baniſhed the Canons, yet that cannot make for you: For you know yourſelf, that equal Things produce equal Things, nor can a Part oblige the whole. Wherefore this Iſland, being indeed but a Member of the whole, could not determine againſt the whole. That notwithſtanding the ſame Laws, being put away by Parliament, are now received again by a Parliament, and have as full Authority now as they had then, and they will now that ye anſwer to the Pope's Holineſs; therefore by the Laws of this Realm ye are bound to anſwer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this *Thomas Cranmer* (I cannot otherwiſe term him, conſidering his Diſobedience) hath brought for his Defence, ſhall nothing prevail with you, nor take any Effect. Require him therefore to anſwer directly to your good Lordſhip; command him to ſet aſide his Trifles, and to be obedient to the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm. Take witneſs here of his ſtubborn Contempt againſt the King and Queen's Majeſties, and compel him to anſwer directly to ſuch Articles as we ſhall here lay againſt him, and in Refuſal your good Lordſhip is to excommunicate him.

As ſoon as Dr. *Story* had thus ended his Tale, Dr. *Martin* began again to enter Speech with the Archbiſhop; which Diſcourſe I thought proper here to mention, although the Report of the ſame be ſuch, as the Author thereof ſeemeth in his Writings very partial; for as he expreſſeth the Speech of Dr. *Martin* at full, and to the uttermoſt of his Diligence, leaving out nothing in that Part that either was or could be ſaid more; ſo again on the other Part, how raw and weak he leaveth the Matter, it is eaſy to perceive; who neither comprehendeth all that Dr. *Cranmer* again anſwered for his Defence, nor yet in thoſe ſhort Speeches which he expreſſeth, ſeemeth to diſcharge the Part of a ſincere and faithful Reporter. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as it is I thought good to let the Reader underſtand, who in peruſing the ſame may uſe therein his own Judgment and Conſideration.

Talk between Dr. Martin *and Archbiſhop* Cranmer.

MARTIN. Mr. *Cranmer*, ye have told here a long glorious Tale, pretending ſome Matter of Conſcience in Appearance, but in Verity you have no Conſcience at all. You ſay that you have ſworn once to King *Henry* VIII. againſt the Pope's Juriſdiction, and therefore you may never forſwear the ſame; and ſo ye make a great Matter of Conſcience in the Breach of the ſaid Oath. Here will I ask you a Queſtion or two. What if ye made an Oath

to an Harlot, to live with her in continual Adultery, ought you to keep it?

Cranmer. I think not.

Unadviſed Oaths are not to be kept.

Martin. What if you did ſwear never to lend a poor Man one Penny, ought you to keep it?

Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. Herod did ſwear whatſoever his Harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her *John Baptiſt*'s Head; did he well in keeping his Oath?

Cranmer. I think not.

Jephtha's Oath.

Martin. Jephtha one of the Judges of *Iſrael* did ſwear unto God, that if he would give him Victory over his Enemies, he would offer unto God the firſt Soul that came forth of his Houſe; it happened that his own Daughter came firſt, and he ſlew her to ſave his Oath. Did he well?

Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. So ſaith St. *Ambroſe De officiis, It is a miſerable Neceſſity which is paid with Parricide.* Then Mr. *Cranmer*, you can no leſs confeſs by the Premiſſes, but that you ought not to have Conſcience of every Oath, but if it be juſt, lawful, and adviſedly taken.

Cranmer. So was that Oath.

Martin. That is not ſo, for firſt it was unjuſt, for it tended to the taking away of another Man's Right. It was not lawful, for the Laws of God and the Church were againſt it. Beſides, it was not voluntary; for every Man and Woman were compelled to take it.

Cranmer. It pleaſeth you to ſay ſo.

The Archbiſhop being ſworn to the King, ought not to ſwear to the Pope.

Martin. Let all the World be Judge. But Sir, you that pretend to have ſuch a Conſcience to break an Oath, I pray you did you never ſwear and break the ſame?

Cranmer. I remember not.

Martin. I will help your Memory. Did you never ſwear Obedience to the See of *Rome?*

Cranmer. Indeed I did once ſwear unto the ſame.

Martin. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by Records and Writings here ready to be ſhewed.

The Archbiſhop ſworn firſt to the Pope by Proteſtation.

Cranmer. But I remember I ſaved all by Proteſtation that I made by the Counſel of the beſt learned Men I could get at that Time.

Martin. Hearken good People what this Man ſaith. He made a Proteſtation one Day, to keep never a whit of that which he would ſwear the next Day; was this the Part of a chriſtian Man? If a chriſtian Man would bargain with a *Turk*, and before he maketh his Bargain, ſolemnly, before Witneſs readeth in his Paper that he holdeth ſecretly in his Hand, or peradventure proteſteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatſoever he ſhall promiſe to the *Turk*; I ſay, if a chriſtian Man ſhould ſerve a *Turk* in this Manner, that the chriſtian Man were worſe than the *Turk*. What would you then ſay to this Man, that made a ſolemn Oath and Promiſe unto God and his Church, and made a Proteſtation before quite contrary.

Cranmer. That which I did, I did by the beſt learned Mens Advice I could get at that Time.

Martin. I proteſt before all the learned Men here, that there is no Learning will ſave your Perjury herein; for there be two Rules of the Civil Law clean contrary againſt you, and ſo brought forth his Rules, which being done he proceeded further. But will you have the Truth of the Matter. King *Henry* the Eighth even then meant the lamentable Change which after you ſee came to paſs, and to further his piriful Proceedings from the Divorcement of his moſt lawful Wife, to the deteſtable departing from the bleſſed Unity of Chriſt's Church, this Man made the aforeſaid Proteſtation; and on the other Side he letted not to make two ſolemn Oaths quite contrary, and why? for otherwiſe by the Laws and Canons of this Realm, he could not aſpire to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. Anno 1556.

Dr. *Cranmer* unwilling to be made Archbiſhop.

Cranmer. I proteſt before you all, there was never Man came more unwillingly to a Biſhoprick, than I did to that. Inſomuch that when King *Henry* ſent for me in Poſt, that I ſhould come over, I prolonged my Journey by ſeven Weeks at the leaſt, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean Time.

Martin. You declare well by the Way that the King took you to be a Man of good Conſcience, who could not find within all his Realm any Man that would ſet forth his ſtrange Attempts, but was inforced to ſend for you in Poſt to come out of *Germany*. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a Compact between you, being then Queen's *Anne*'s Chaplain, and the King: Give me the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and I will give you Licence to live in Adultery.

Cranmer. You ſay not true.

Martin. Let your Proteſtation, joined with the reſt of your Talk, give Judgment. [*Hinc prima mali labes.*] Of that your execrable Perjury, and his coloured and too ſhamefully ſuffered Adultery, came Hereſy and all Miſchief to this Realm.

And thus have I ſpoken as touching the Conſcience you make for breaking your heretical Oath made to the King. But to break your former Oath made at two ſundry Times both to God and his Church, you have no Conſcience at all. And now to anſwer another Part of your Oration, wherein you bring in God's Word, that you have it on your Side and no Man elſe, and that the Pope hath deviſed a new Scripture contrary to the Scripture of God; ye play herein as the Phariſees did, which cried always, The * Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord, when they meant nothing ſo. This bettereth not your Cauſe, becauſe you have God's Word for you; for *Baſilides* and *Phontinus* the Hereticks ſaid, that they had God's Word to maintain their Hereſy. So *Neſtorius*, ſo *Macedonius*, ſo *Pelagius*, and briefly, all the Hereticks that ever were, pretended that they had God's Word for them; yea, and ſo the Devil being the Father of Hereſies, alledged God's Word for him, ſaying, It is written: So ſaid he to Chriſt, Caſt thyſelf downward, which you applied moſt falſly againſt the Pope. But if you mark the Devil's Language well, it agreed with your Proceedings moſt truly. For, Caſt thy ſelf downward, *ſaid he*, and ſo taught you to caſt all Things downward. Down with the Sacrament, down with the Maſs, down with the Altars, down with the Arms of Chriſt, and up with a Lion and a Dog; down with the Abbeys, down with the Chauntries, down with Hoſpitals and Colleges, down with † Faſting and Prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your Proceedings and Preachings tended to no other, but to fulfil the Devil's Requeſt, Caſt thyſelf downward. And therefore tell not us, that

* Nay, the Phariſees cried not The Word of the Lord, but the Temple of the Lord, as the Papiſts do now againſt the Proteſtants.

So did King *Ezekias* and *Joſias* down with the Monuments of Idolatry, and are commended.

† Another falſe Slander of Dr. *Martin.*

Anno 1556. that you have God's Word. For God hath given us by his Word a Mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the Devil, and that your Doctrine came not of Chriſt but of Antichriſt. For Chriſt foreſaid, there ſhould come againſt his Church, ravening Wolves, and falſe Apoſtles. But how ſhould we know them? Chriſt teacheth us, ſaying, By their Fruits ye ſhall know them. Why, what be their Fruits? St. *Paul* declareth, After the Fleſh they walk in Concupiſcence and Uncleanneſs, they contemn Powers. Again, In the latter Days there ſhall be perilous Times. Then ſhall there be Men loving themſelves, covetous, proud, diſobedient to Parents, Treaſon-workers. Whether theſe be not the Fruits of your Goſpel, I refer me to this worſhipful Audience; whether the ſaid Goſpel began not with Perjury, proceeded with Adultery, was maintained with Hereſy, and ended in Conſpiracy.

Whether theſe be the Fruits of the Papiſts more, let the Converſation of them both give Judgment.

Now Sir, two Points more I marked in your raging Diſcourſe that you made here: The one againſt the Holy Sacrament; the other againſt the Pope's Juriſdiction, and the Authority of the See Apoſtolick.

Touching the Firſt, ye ſay you have God's Word with you, yea and all the Doctors. I would here ask you one Queſtion, whether God's Word be contrary to itſelf, and whether the Doctors teach Doctrine contrary to themſelves, or no? for you Mr. *Cranmer* have taught in this high Sacrament of the Altar three contrary Doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one the Word of the Lord.

Cranmer. Nay, I taught but two contrary Doctrines in the ſame.

Martin. What Doctrine taught you when you condemned *Lambert* the Sacramentary in the King's Preſence in *Whitehall.*

So was St. *Auguſtine* firſt a Pagan, then a Manichee, and then a Catholick.

Cranmer. I maintained then the Papiſts Doctrine.

Martin. That is to ſay, the catholick and univerſal Doctrine of Chriſt's Church. And how when King *Henry* died; did you not tranſlate *Juſtus Jones*'s Book?

Cranmer. I did ſo.

Martin. Then there you defended another Doctrine touching the Sacrament, by the ſame Token, that you ſent to *Lynn* your Printer, that whereas in the firſt Print there was an Affirmative, that is to ſay Chriſt's Body really in the Sacrament, you ſent then to your Printer to put in a [not], whereby it came miraculouſly to paſs, that Chriſt's Body was clean convey'd out of the Sacrament.

Cranmer. I remember there were two Printers of my ſaid Book, but where the ſame [not] was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a *Lutheran* ye became a *Zwinglian*, which is the vileſt Hereſy of all in the high Myſtery of the Sacrament, and for the ſame Hereſy you did help to burn *Lambert* the Sacramentary, which you now call the catholick Faith, and God's Word.

Cranmer. I grant then that I believed otherwiſe than I do now, and ſo I did until my Lord of *London*, Dr. *Ridley*, did confer with me, and by ſundry Perſwaſions and Authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my Opinion.

Martin. Now Sir, as touching the laſt Part of your Oration, you denied that the Pope's Holineſs was ſupreme Head of the Church of Chriſt.

Cranmer. I did ſo.

Martin. Who ſay you then is ſupreme Head?

Cranmer. Chriſt.

Martin. But whom hath Chriſt left here in Earth his Vicar and Head of his Church?

Cranmer. No Body.

Martin. Ah, why told you not King *Henry* this when you made him ſupreme Head? and now no Body is. This is Treaſon againſt his own Perſon, as you then made him.

Cranmer. I mean not but every King in his own Realm and Dominion is ſupreme Head, and ſo was he ſupreme Head of the Church of Chriſt in *England.*

Martin. Is this always true? and was it ever ſo in Chriſt's Church?

Cranmer. It was ſo.

Martin. Then what ſay you by *Nero?* He was the mightieſt Prince of the Earth after Chriſt was aſcended: Was he Head of Chriſt's Church?

Cranmer. Nero was *Peter*'s Head.

Martin. I ask whether *Nero* was Head of the Church or no? if he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid before, that all Princes be, and ever were Heads of the Church within their Realms.

Cranmer. Nay, it is true, for *Nero* was Head of the Church: That is, in worldly Reſpect of the temporal Bodies of Men, of whom the Church conſiſteth; for ſo he beheaded *Peter* and the Apoſtles. And the *Turk* too is Head of the Church in *Turkey.*

Martin. Then he that beheaded the Heads of the Church, and crucify'd the Apoſtles, was Head of Chriſt's Church; and he that was never Member of the Church, is Head of the Church, by your new-found underſtanding of God's Word.

It is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but much other Matter paſſed in this Communication between them, eſpecially on the Archbiſhop's Behalf. Whoſe Anſwers I do not think to be ſo ſlender, nor altogether in the ſame Form of Words framed, if the Truth as it was, might be known: But ſo it pleaſed the Notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his Mother See of *Rome* in favour of his Faction, to diminiſh and drive down the other Side, either in not ſhewing all, or in reporting the Thing otherwiſe than it was; as the common Guiſe is of moſt Writers, to what ſide their Affection moſt weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the Story of this Matter.

It followed then (ſaid this Reporter) when the Archbiſhop thus had anſwered, and the Standers by began to murmur againſt him, the Judges not content with his Anſwers, willed him to anſwer directly to the Interrogatories; which Interrogatories articulated againſt him in form of Law, where theſe under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbiſhop, with his Anſwers annexed to the ſame.

1. *Interrog.* Firſt was objected, That he the aforeſaid *Thomas Cranmer*, being yet free, and before he entered into holy Orders, mar-

ried one *Joan*, ſurnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the Sign of the *Dolphin* in *Cambridge*.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that whether ſhe was called Black or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one *Joan*, that he granted.

2. *Interrog.* That after the Death of the aforeſaid Wife, he entered into holy Orders, and after that was made Archbiſhop by the Pope.

Anſwer. He received (he ſaid) a certain Bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbiſhop by him.

3. *Interrog. Item*, That he being in holy Orders, married another Woman as his ſecond Wife, named *Anne*, and ſo was twice married.

Anſwer. To this he granted.

4. *Interrog. Item*, In the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, he kept the ſaid Wife ſecretly, and had Children by her.

Anſwer. Hereunto he alſo granted, affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other Prieſts, holding and keeping other Men's Wives.

5. *Interrog. Item*, In the Time of King *Edward*, he brought out the ſaid Wife openly, affirming and profeſſing publickly the ſame to be his Wife.

Anſwer. He denied not but he ſo did, and lawfully might do the ſame, foraſmuch as the Laws of the Realm did ſo permit him.

6. *Interrog. Item*, That he ſhamed not openly to glory himſelf to have had his Wife in ſecret many Years.

Anſwer. And though he ſo did (he ſaid) there was no Cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed thereof.

7. *Interrog. Item*, That the ſaid *Thomas Cranmer* falling afterward into the deep Bottom of Errors, did fly and refuſe the Authority of the Church, did hold and follow the Hereſy concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet Abroad divers Books.

Anſwer. Whereunto when the Names of the Books were recited to him, he denied not ſuch Books which he was the Author of. As touching the Treatiſe of *Peter Martyr* upon the Sacrament, he denied that he ever ſaw it before it was Abroad, yet did approve and well like of the ſame. As for the Catechiſm, the Book of the Articles, with the other Book againſt *Wincheſter*, he granted the ſame to be his Doings.

8. *Interrog. Item*, That he compelled many againſt their Wills to ſubſcribe to the ſame Articles.

Anſwer. He exhorted (he ſaid) ſuch as were willing to ſubſcribe; but againſt their Wills he compelled none.

9. *Interrog. Item*, Forſomuch as he ceaſed not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate Crimes, he was therefore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to *Oxford*, at what Time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there ſhould be held.

Anſwer. To this he ſaid, that he knew no ſuch enormous and inordinate Crimes that ever he committed.

10. *Interrog. Item*, That in the ſaid City of *Oxford* he did openly maintain his Hereſy, and there was convict upon the ſame.

Anſwer. He defended (he ſaid) there the Cauſe of the Sacrament; but that he was convicted in the ſame, that he denied. Anno 1556.

11. *Interrog. Item*, When he perſevered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the publick Cenſure of the Univerſity pronounced an Heretick, and his Books to be heretical.

Anſwer. That he was ſo denounced he denied not, but that he was an Heretick, or his Books heretical, that he denied.

12. *Interrog. Item*, That he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the Note of Schiſm, as who not only himſelf receded from the catholick Church and See of *Rome*, but alſo moved the King and Subjects of this Realm to the ſame.

Anſwer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (ſaid he) was only from the See of *Rome*, and had in it no Matter of any Schiſm.

13. *Interrog. Item*, That he had been twice ſworn to the Pope; and withal Dr. *Martin* brought out the Inſtrument of the publick Notary, wherein was contained his Proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, asking if he had any Thing elſe proteſted.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did nothing but by the Laws of the Realm.

14. *Interrog. Iiem*, That he the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did not only offend in the Premiſſes, but alſo in taking upon him the Authority of the See of *Rome*, in that without Leave and Licenſe from the ſaid See, he conſecrated Biſhops and Prieſts.

Anſwer. He granted that he did execute ſuch Things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at what Time it was permitted to him by the publick Laws and Determination of the Realm.

15. *Interrog. Item*, That when the whole Realm had ſubſcribed to the Authority of the Pope, he only ſtill perſiſted in his Error.

Anſwer. That he did not admit the Pope's Authority, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he denied.

16. *Interrog. Item*, That all and ſingular the Premiſſes be true.

Anſwer. That likewiſe he granted, excepting thoſe Things whereunto he had now anſwered.

After he had thus anſwered to the Objections aforeſaid, and the publick Notary had entered the ſame, the Judges and Commiſſioners, as having now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to ariſe and depart. But the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* thinking it not proper ſo to diſmiſs the People, being ſomewhat ſtirred with the Words of the Archbiſhop bagan his Oration in the hearing of the People, thus to declaim.

The Oration of Biſhop Brooks, *in cloſing up his Examinations againſt Dr.* Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

MR. *Cranmer* (I cannot otherwiſe term you, conſidering your Obſtinacy) I am right ſorry, I am right heartily ſorry to hear ſuch Words eſcape your Mouth ſo unadviſedly. I had conceived a right good Hope of your Amendment. I ſuppoſe that this Obſtinacy of yours came not of a Vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt Conſcience, which was the Occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your Return.

But

Anno 1556.

But now I perceive by your fooliſh Babble that it is far otherwiſe. Ye are ſo puffed up with Vain-glory, there is ſuch a notorious Mark of Hereſy crept into your Conſcience, that I am clean void of Hope, and my Hope is turned into Perdition. Who can ſave that will be loſt? God would have you to be ſaved, and you refuſe it. Thy Perdition is only upon thyſelf, O *Iſrael*; only in me is thy Salvation, ſaith the Lord by his Prophet. You have uttered ſo erroneous Talk, with ſuch open Malice againſt the Pope's Holineſs, with ſuch open lying againſt the Church of *Rome*, with ſuch open Blaſphemy againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, that no Mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

To reaſon with you, although I would of myſelf to ſatisfy this Audience, yet may I not by our Commiſſion, neither can I find how I may do it with the Scriptures: For the Apoſtle doth command, that ſuch a one ſhould not only not be talked withal, but alſo ſhunned and avoided; ſaying, An heretical Perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe and ſinneth, being of his own Judgment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes, ye have oft been lovingly admoniſhed, ye have been oft ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt Year in the open School, in open Diſputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have been openly driven out of the School with Hiſſes: Your Book which ye brag you made ſeven Years ago, and no Man anſwered it, *Marcus Antonius* hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted Hereſy.

Wherefore being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the Man whom the Apoſtle noteth, hear then what *Origen* ſaith, who wrote above 1300 Years ago, and interpreteth the Saying of the Apoſtle in this wiſe, in *Apologia Pamphili*; *All thoſe ought to be eſteemed Hereticks, who profeſſing to believe in Chriſt, judge otherwiſe of his Truth, than the eccleſiaſtical Tradition.* Even now you profeſſed a Kind of Chriſtianity and Holineſs unto us, for at your Beginning you fell down upon your Knees, and ſaid the Lord's Prayer (God knows like an Hypocrite) and then ſtanding upon your Feet, you rehearſed the Articles of your Faith; but to what End I pray you elſe, but to cloak that inward Hereſy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, ſimple, and unlearned Peoples Eyes? For what will they ſay or think, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what mean theſe Men to ſay that he is an Heretick, they are deceived, this is a good Chriſtian, he believeth as we believe.

What an Heretick is, after the Pope's making.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the Name of an Heretick? To the ſimple and unlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that have profeſſed a greater Knowledge and higher Doctrine, it is not enough to recite your Belief. For unleſs (as *Origen* ſaith) ye believe all Things that the Church hath decreed beſides, you are no chriſtian Man. In which becauſe you do halt, and will come to no Conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for an Heretick, with whom we ought neither to diſpute, neither to reaſon, whom we ought rather to eſchew and avoid.

Nevertheleſs, although I do not intend to reaſon with you, but to give you up as an Abject and an Out-caſt from God's Favour, yet becauſe ye have uttered, to the annoying of the People, ſuch peſtilent Hereſies as may do Harm among ſome rude and unlearned, I think meet to ſay ſomewhat herein; not becauſe I hope to have any good at your Hands, which I would willingly wiſh, but that I may eſtabliſh the ſimple People which be here preſent, leſt they being ſeduced by your diabolical Doctrine, may periſh thereby.

And firſt (as it behoveth every Man to purge himſelf firſt before he enter with any other) where you accuſe me of an Oath made againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*. I confeſs it, and deny it not, and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this Realm, good and catholick Men, the Saying of the Prophet, *We have ſinned with our Fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. The Sins of my Youth, and my Ignorances, O Lord, do not remember.* I was then a young Man, and as young a Scholar here in the Univerſity.

I knew not then what an Oath did mean, and yet to ſay the Truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed I ſay by you Mr. *Cranmer*, and here were you the Author and Cauſe of my Perjury, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two Oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the Oath I made to the Pope's Holineſs appertaineth only to ſpiritual Things; the other Oath that I made to the King pertaineth only to temporal Things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my temporal Livings to proceed only from the King, and from none elſe. But all Men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your Opinions.

Now Sir, as concerning the Supremacy which is only due to the See of *Rome*, a Word or two. Although there be a Number of Places which do confirm that Chriſt appointed *Peter* Head of the Church, yet this is a moſt evident Place. When Chriſt demanded of his Apoſtles whom Men called him, they anſwered, Some *Elias*, ſome a Propher, &c. But Chriſt reply'd unto *Peter* and ſaid, Whom ſay'ſt thou *Peter* that I am? *Peter* anſwered, Thou art Chriſt the Son of God: And Chriſt reply'd, Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church. The Doctors interpreting this Place, Upon this Rock, expound it thus, Not only on the Faith of *Peter*, but upon *Peter* himſelf. And why did Chriſt change his Name from *Simon* to *Peter*, which in *Latin* is a Stone, but only to declare that he was only the Foundation and Head of the Church?

Again, where Chriſt demanded of *Peter*, being amongſt the reſt of his Apoſtles, three Times a-row, *Peter*, loveſt thou me? he gave him Charge over his Sheep, Feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs. Which Place *Chryſoſtom* interpreting, ſaith, Feed, that is, be you in my Stead, and Head of your Brethren. To conclude, when they came that required Didrachma of Chriſt, he commanded *Peter* to caſt his Net into the Sea, and to take out of the Fiſhes Mouth that he took, a Piece of Money which was a double Didrachma, and give it, ſays he, for thee and me. Which Words do ſignify, that when he had paid for them two he had paid for all the reſt. For as in the old Law there were appointed two Heads over the People of *Iſrael*, *Moſes* and *Aaron*, *Moſes* as Chief, and *Aaron* next Head under him; ſo in the new Law there were two Heads of the Church, which were Chriſt

and *Peter*. Chriſt is Head of all, and *Peter* next under him. St. *Auſtin*, in 75 queſt. *Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti*, ſaith, *Our Saviour Chriſt commanding the Tribute to be given for him and for* Peter, *meant thereby the ſame to be given for all others, for he appointed him to be Head of them.* What can be more plain than this? but I will not tarry upon this Matter.

Now as touching the Pope's Laws, where you ſay they be contrary, becauſe the Service which ſhould be (as you ſay) in *Engliſh*, is in *Latin*; I anſwer, Whoſoever will take the Pains to peruſe the fourteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſhall find, that his Meaning is concerning Preaching, and by the Way only of Praying.

Again, where you ſay, that the Pope's Holineſs doth take away one Part of the Sacrament from the Laymen, and Chriſt would have it under both, ye can ſay no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth, And all drank thereof. Now if a Man would be ſo froward with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gave it only to his Apoſtles, in whoſe Places ſucceeded Prieſts, and not Laymen.

The Authority of the Church in changing our Saviour's Ordinances.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both Kinds, yet the Church hath Authority to change that, as well as others. Ye read, that Chriſt calling his Apoſtles together, ſaid unto them, *Go, and preach the Goſpel to every Nation, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* But the Apoſtles being deſirous to publiſh Chriſt's Name every where, did baptize only in Chriſt's Name. Again, Chriſt before his laſt Supper waſhed his Apoſtles Feet, ſaying, *If I have waſhed your Feet, being your Lord and Maſter, alſo you ought to waſh the Feet one of another. I have given you Example.* This was a Precept, yet hath the Church altered it, that the ſimple People ſhould not think a Re-baptization in it. *So becauſe*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I have received of the Lord the ſame which I have delivered unto you, that our Lord, the ſame Night in which he was betrayed*, &c. Notwithſtanding that this was a Precept that the Sacrament ſhould be adminiſtred after Supper, the Church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received faſting. And where Chriſt did break the Bread, we receive the whole Hoſt. Chriſt adminiſtred ſitting at the Table, we ſtanding at the Altar.

It was alſo commanded in *Acts 25.* that Chriſtian Men ſhould abſtain from ſtrangled and Blood. But the Church perceiving it to be a Precept but for a Time, hath altered it. Chriſt commanded to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and the Church hath alter'd it to *Sunday*. If then the Church may change Things that be ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures, ſhe may alſo change the Form of receiving of Lay-men under both Kinds, for divers Occaſions.

Reaſons why Laymen receive not under both Kinds.

Firſt, That in carrying it to the Sick, the Blood may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next, That no Occaſion might be given to Hereticks to think, that there is not ſo much under one Kind as under both.

But why would you have it under both Kinds, I pray you elſe, but only to pervert and contradict the Commandment of the Church? For when you had it under both Kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both Kinds. Now, Sir, as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, where you ſay, you have a Number of Doctors on your Side, and we none of our Side, that is to ſay, to confirm the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, indeed one to ſtop your Mouth I think it not poſſible to find. Nevertheleſs where your Requeſt is to have one ſhewed unto you, and then you will recant, I will ſhew you two. Anno 1556.

St. *Auſtin* upon *Pſalm* 33. He carried himſelf in his own Hands: I find not how this is true in *David* (ſaith he) literally, that he was borne in his own Hands; but in Chriſt I find it literally, when he gave his Body to his Apoſtles at his laſt Supper.

Again, St. *Cyprian de Cœna Domini*, ſaith, The Bread which our Lord gave to his Diſciples, was not a bare Likeneſs, but the Nature being changed, was made Fleſh by his Almighty Word. What can be more plain than this? yet to your Expoſition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, ſignificative, and other ſuch like Terms, and I will defend that Chriſt hath not yet aſcended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, *&c.* Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the Number of them, whom *Chryſoſtom* ſpake of in this wiſe, ſaying, Hear O thou Chriſtian Man, wilt thou do more than Chriſt could do? Chriſt confuted the Phariſees, yet he could not put them to Silence, and art thou ſtronger than Chriſt? Wilt thou go about to bring them to Silence that will receive no Anſwer? as who ſhould ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much have I ſaid, not for you, Mr. *Cranmer*, for my Hope that I conceived of you is now gone and paſt; but ſomewhat to ſatisfy the rude and unlearned People, that they perceiving your arrogant Lying, and lying Arrogancy, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable Schiſm.

And thus the Prelate ended his worſhipful Tale. After whom Dr. *Story* taketh the Matter, and thus inferr'd in Words, as followeth:

Mr. *Cranmer*, you have made a goodly Proceſs concerning your heretical Oath made to the King, but you forget your Oath made to the See apoſtolick. As concerning your Oath made to the King, if you made it to him only, it took an End by his Death, and ſo it is releaſed; if you made it to his Succeſſors, well Sir, the true Succeſſors have the Empire, and they will you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a Member of Chriſt's Church again, and it ſtandeth well with Charity.

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again, ſaith the Reporter: But what his Anſwer was, that he ſuppreſſeth, and returneth to the Words of Dr. *Story*, who imperiouſly turning his Speech again to the Archbiſhop, ſaid as followeth:

Hold your Peace Sir, and ſo ſhall it right well become you, conſidering that I gave you Licenſe before to ſay your Fancy. Your Oath was no Oath: For it lacked the three Points of an Oath, that is to ſay, Judgment, Righteouſneſs, and Truth.

Theſe, with the like Words to the ſame Effect, being uttered by Dr. *Story*, ſeeking to break up and make an End of that Seſſion, immediately called for Witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworn upon the Book, to utter and declare the next Day whatſoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred againſt Dr. *Cranmer*'s Hereſy. The Names of the Witneſſes are theſe following:

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Dr. *Marſhall*, Commiſſary, and Dean of *Chriſt-Church*.
Dr. *Smith*, Under Commiſſary.
Dr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Curtop*,
Dr. *Crook*, Mr. *Warde*,
Mr. *London*, Mr. *Serles*.

After the Depoſitions of which Witneſſes being taken, Dr. *Story* admoniſhed the Archbiſhop, permitting him to make his Exceptions, if he thought any of the ſaid Witneſſes were to be refuſed. The Archbiſhop refuſed them all, as being Men perjured, and not in chriſtian Religion. For if to ſwear, ſaid he, againſt the Pope were unlawful, they ſhould rather have given their Lives, than their Oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forſwore before. Nevertheleſs, this Anſwer of the Archbiſhop being lightly regarded, as little to the Purpoſe appertaining, he was commanded again to the Place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his firſt coming in, ſhewed low Obedience to Dr. *Martin* and Dr. *Story*, the Queen's Commiſſioners. Then Dr. *Story* pointing him to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, ſaid, that he ought rather to give Reverence unto him. So the moſt reverend Archbiſhop departing without any Obeyſance exhibited to the ſaid Biſhop of *Glouceſter* the Pope's Delegate, all the others roſe up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the Seſſion for that Day, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

And thus much hitherto concerning the ſummary Effect of this Action or Seſſion, with the Orations, Diſcourſes, and Articles commenced againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, alſo with the Reaſons and Anſwers of the ſaid Archbiſhop to their Objections and Interrogatories. Touching which his Anſwers, forſomuch as they being recited by Report of a Papiſt, (as is aforeſaid) ſeem to be partially handled, it ſhall therefore not greatly be out of the Matter, as ye have heard the Orations of Biſhop *Brooks*, with the Reaſons and Talk of the other Commiſſioners, amplify'd and ſet forth at large on the one Side, ſo now in repeating the Words and Anſwers of the other Part, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what Speech the ſaid Archbiſhop uſed for himſelf in the ſame Action, by the faithful Relation and Teſtimony of certain others, who were likewiſe there preſent, and do thus report the Effect of the Archbiſhop's Words, anſwering to the firſt Oration of Biſhop *Brooks* in Manner as followeth.

A more full Anſwer of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury *to the firſt Oration of Biſhop* Brooks.

MY Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in Remembrance of many Things touching my ſelf, wherein I do not mean to ſpend the Time in anſwering of them. I acknowledge God's Goodneſs to me in all his Gifts, and thank him as heartily for this State wherein I find myſelf now, as ever I did for the Time of my Proſperity; and it is not the Loſs of my Promotions that grieveth me. The greateſt Grief I have at this Time is, and one of the greateſt that ever I had in all my Life, to ſee the King and Queen's Majeſties by their Proctors here to become my Accuſers, and that in their own Realm and Country, before a foreign Power. If I have tranſgreſſed the Laws of the Land, their Majeſties have ſufficient Authority and Power both from God, and by the Ordinance of the Realm, to puniſh me, whereunto I both have, and at all Times ſhall be content to ſubmit myſelf.

Alas! what hath the Pope to do in *England*? whoſe Juriſdiction is ſo far different from the Juriſdiction of this Realm, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The Laws alſo are ſo diverſe, that whoſoever ſweareth to both, muſt needs incur Perjury to the one. Which as often as I remember, even for the Love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily ſorry to think upon it, how that her Highneſs the Day of her Coronation, at which Time ſhe took a ſolemn Oath to obſerve all the Laws and Liberties of this Realm of *England*, at the ſame Time alſo took an Oath to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and promiſed to maintain that See. The State of *England* being ſo repugnant to the Supremacy of the Pope, it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt needs be forſworn in the one. Wherein if her Grace had been faithfully advertized by her Council, then ſurely ſhe would never have done it.

The Laws of this Realm are, that the King of *England* is the ſupreme and ſole Governor of all his Countries and Dominions: And that he holdeth his Crown and Sceptre of himſelf, by the antient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Deſcents of the Kings of the Realm, and of none other. The Pope ſaith, that all Emperors and Kings hold their Crowns and Regalties of him, and that he may depoſe them when he liſt; which is High Treaſon for any Man to affirm and think, being born within the King's Dominions.

The Laws of *England* are, that all Biſhops and Prieſts offending in Caſes of Felony or Treaſon, are to be judg'd and try'd by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm. The Pope's Laws are, that the ſecular Power cannot judge the ſpiritual Power, and that they are not under their Juriſdiction; which robbeth the King of one Part of his People.

The Laws alſo of *England* are, that whoſoever hindereth the Execution or Proceeding of the Laws of *England* for any other foreign Laws eccleſiaſtical or temporal, incurreth the Danger of a Premunire. The Pope's Laws are, that whoſoever hindereth the Proceedings or Executions of his Laws, for any other Laws, of any other King or Country, both the Prince himſelf, his Council, all his Officers, Scribes, Clerks, and whoſoever give Conſent or Aid to the making or executing of any ſuch Laws, ſtand accurſed. An heavy Caſe (if his Curſe were any Thing worth) that the King and Queen cannot uſe their own Laws, but they and theirs muſt ſtand accurſed.

Theſe Things and many more Examples he alledged, which (he ſaid) ſtirred him, that he could not give his Conſent to the receiving of ſuch an Enemy into the Realm, ſo ſubverting the Dignity and ancient Liberties of the ſame.

And as for the Matter of Hereſy and Schiſm, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted, and called God to witneſs, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an Hereſy to deny the Pope's Authority, and the Religion which the See of *Rome* hath publiſhed to the World theſe latter Years, then all the ancient

Fathers

Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf taught Hereſy; and he deſired all then preſent to bear him witneſs, that he took the Traditions and Religion of that uſurping Prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the Doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by Writing, and the Author of the ſame to be very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of by the Apoſtles and Prophets, in whom did moſt evidently concur all Signs and Tokens whereby he was painted out to the World to be known.

For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all Emperors and Kings of the World, whom he affirmeth to hold their Eſtates and Empires of him, as of their Chief, and to be at his Commandment to depoſe and erect at his good Will and Pleaſure, and that Stories make Mention of his intolerable and inſolent Pride and Tyranny, uſed over them in ſuch Sort, as no King would have uſed to his chriſtian Subjects, nor yet a good Maſter to his Servants, ſetting his Feet on the Emperor's Neck, affirming that to be verify'd in him, which was ſpoken only of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe Words, *Thou ſhalt go upon the Lion and the Adder, the young Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy Feet.* Other ſome had he made to hold his Stirrup, others he had diſplaced and removed from their Empires and Seats Royal: And not content herewithal, more inſolent than *Lucifer*, he hath occupy'd not only the higheſt Place in this World, above Kings and Princes, but hath further preſum'd to ſit in the Seat of Almighty God, which only he reſerved to himſelf, which is the Conſcience of Man; and to keep the Poſſeſſion thereof, he hath promiſed Forgiveneſs of Sins *Toties Quoties.*

Marks of Antichriſt.

He hath brought in Gods of his own framing, and invented a new Religion, full of Gain and Lucre, quite contrary to the Doctrine of the holy Scripture, only for the maintaining of his Kingdom, diſplacing Chriſt from his Glory, and holding his People in a miſerable Servitude of Blindneſs to the Loſs of a great Number of Souls, which God at the latter Day ſhall exact at his Hand; boaſting many Times in his Canons and Decrees, that he can diſpenſe *againſt* Peter, *againſt* Paul, *againſt the Old and New Teſtament: And that he of the Fulneſs of Power may do as much as God.* O Lord! who ever heard ſuch Blaſphemy? if there be any Man that can advance himſelf above him, let him be judged Antichriſt.

The Pope diſpenſeth againſt the New and Old Teſtament.

This Enemy of God and of our Redemption, is ſo evidently painted out in the Scriptures by ſuch manifeſt Signs and Tokens, which all ſo clearly appear in him, that except a Man will ſhut up his Eyes and Heart againſt the Light, he cannnot but know him: And therefore for my Part I will never give my Conſent to the receiving of him into this Church of *England.* And you, my Lord, and the reſt that ſit here in Commiſſion, conſider well and examine your own Conſciences; you have ſworn againſt him, you are learned, and can judge of the Truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein diſcharged mine own Conſcience toward the World, and I will write alſo my Mind to her Grace, touching this Matter.

The Copy of which Letter ſent to the Queen, ye ſhall find after in the End of his Story. While he thus made his Anſwer, ye heard before how Dr. *Martin* and Dr. *Story* interrupted him divers Times with blaſphemous Talk, and would fain have had the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* to put him to Silence: Who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his Tale at full. After this ye heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers Articles, whereof the Chief was, That at the Time of being created Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was ſworn to the Pope, and had his Inſtitution and Induction from him, and then promiſed to maintain the Authority of that See, and therefore was perjured: Wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt Oath, and return to his old Fold again, than to continue obſtinate in an Oath forced in the Time of Schiſm.

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To that he anſwered, ſaving his Proteſtation (which Term he uſed before all his Anſwers) That at ſuch Time Archbiſhop *Warham* died, he was Ambaſſador in *Germany* for the King, who thereupon ſent for him Home, and having Intelligence by ſome of his Friends (who were near about the King) how he intended to beſtow the Archbiſhoprick upon him, and therefore counſelled him in that Caſe to make haſte Home, he feeling in himſelf a great Inability to ſuch a Promotion, and very ſorry to leave his Study, and eſpecially conſidering by what Means he muſt have it, which was clean againſt his Conſcience, which he could not utter without great Peril and Danger, deviſed an Excuſe to the King of Matter of great Importance, for which his longer Abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſary, thinking by that Means in his Abſence, that the King would have beſtow'd it upon ſome other, and ſo remained there by that Deviee, one half Year after the King had written for him to come Home. But after that no ſuch Matter fell out, as he ſeemed to make Suſpicion of, the King ſent for him again. Who after his Return, underſtanding ſtill the Archbiſhoprick to be reſerved for him, made Means by divers of his beſt Friends to ſhift it off, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller Living, that he might more quietly follow his Book.

How Dr. *Cranmer* was made Archbiſhop againſt his Will.

To be brief, when the King himſelf ſpake with him, declaring that his full Intention, for his Service ſake, and for the good Opinion he conceived of him, was to beſtow that Dignity upon him, after long diſabling of himſelf, perceiving he could by no Perſwaſions alter the King's Determination, he freely opened his Conſcience unto him, moſt humbly craving his Grace's Pardon, for that he ſhould declare unto his Highneſs. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the Office, then he muſt receive it at the Pope's Hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his Highneſs was only the ſupreme Governour of this Church of *England*, as well in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal; and that the full Right and Donation of all Manner of Biſhopricks and Benefices, as well as of any other temporal Dignities and Promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other foreign Authority, whatſoever it was, and therefore if he might in that Vocation ſerve God, him, and his Country, ſeeing it was his Pleaſure ſo to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majeſty, and of none other Stranger, who had no Authority within this Realm, neither in any ſuch Gift, nor in any other Thing. Whereat the King, ſaid he, ſtaying a while and muſing,

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asked me how I was able to prove it. At which Time I alledged many Texts out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers alſo, approving the ſupreme and higheſt Authority of Kings in their Realms and Dominions, diſcloſing therewithal the intolerable Uſurpation of the Pope of *Rome*.

Afterwards it pleaſed his Highneſs (quoth the Archbiſhop) many and ſundry Times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the King himſelf called Dr. *Oliver*, and other civil Lawyers, and deviſed with them how he might beſtow it upon me, inforcing me nothing againſt my Conſcience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the Way of Proteſtation, and ſo one to be ſent to *Rome* who might take the Oath, and do every Thing in my Name. Which when I underſtood, I ſaid, he ſhould do it *Super animam ſuam*: And I indeed *Bona fide* made my Proteſtation, that I did not acknowledge his Authority any further than as it agreed with the expreſs Word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all Times to ſpeak againſt him, and ſo to impugn his Errors, when Time and Occaſion ſhould ſerve me. And this my Proteſtation I did cauſe to be inrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

The Archbiſhop anſwereth for his Wife and Children.

They objected to him alſo that he was married, which he confeſſed. Whereunto Dr. *Martin* ſaid, that his Children were Bondmen to the See of *Canterbury*. At which Saying the Archbiſhop ſmiled, and asked him if a Prieſt at his Benefice kept a Concubine, and had by her Baſtards, whether they were Bondmen to the Benefice or no, ſaying, I truſt you will make my Children's Cauſes no worſe.

Becauſe there was Offence taken at this Word Supreme Head, it was declared in the Queen's Stile to be Supreme Governor.

After this Dr. *Martin* demanded of him, who was ſupreme Head of the Church of *England?* Marry, quoth my Lord of *Canterbury*, Chriſt is Head of this Member, as he is of the whole Body of the univerſal Church. Why, quoth Dr. *Marin*, you made King *Henry* VIII. ſupreme Head of the Church. Yea, ſaid the Archbiſhop, of all the People of *England*, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal. And not of the Church, ſaid Dr. *Martin?* No, ſaid he, for Chriſt is the only Head of his Church, and of the Faith and Religion of the ſame. The King is Head and Governour of his People, which are the viſible Church. What, quoth *Martin*, you never durſt tell the King ſo. Yes, that I durſt, quoth he, and did in the Publication of his Stile, wherein he was named ſupreme Head of the Church, there was never other Thing meant. A Number of other fond and fooliſh Objections were made, with Repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

Thus after they had received his Anſwers to all their Objections, they cited him (as is aforeſaid) to appear at *Rome* within fourſcore Days, to make there his perſonal Anſwers: Which he ſaid, if the King and Queen would ſend him, he would be content to do; and ſo thence was carried to Priſon again, where he continually remained, notwithſtanding that he was commanded to appear at *Rome*.

Wherein all Men that have Eyes to ſee, may eaſily perceive the crafty Practice of theſe Prelates, and the vizored Face of their Juſtice, as though the Court of *Rome* would condemn a Man before he anſwered for himſelf, as all Law and Equity required. But the very ſame inſtant Time, the Holineſs of that unholy Father, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice, ſent his Letter Executory unto the King and Queen to degrade and deprive him of his Dignity: Which Thing he did not only before the fourſcore Days were ended, but before there were twenty Days ſpent. Furthermore, whereas the ſaid Archbiſhop was firſt detained in ſtrait Confinement, ſo that he could not appear (as was notorious both in *England* and alſo in the *Romiſh* Court) and therefore had a lawful and moſt juſt Excuſe of his Abſence by all Laws, both Popiſh and others: Yet in the End of the ſaid fourſcore Days, was that worthy Martyr decreed *Contumax*, that is, ſturdily, frowardly, and wilfully abſent, and in Pain of the ſame his Abſence condemned and put to Death.

Dr. Thirlby *and Dr.* Bonner *coming with a new Commiſſion to ſit upon the Archbiſhop*, February 14.

THIS Letter or Sentence definitive of the Pope, was dated about the firſt Day of *January*, and was delivered here in *England* about the midſt of *February*. Upon the Receipt of which Letters, another Seſſion was appointed, for the Archbiſhop to appear the 14th Day of *February*, before certain Commiſſioners directed down by the Queen, the chief whereof was the Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Thirlby*. Concerning which Dr. *Thirlby* by the Way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the ſaid Archbiſhop's Houſhold Chaplain, yet he was ſo familiarly acquainted with him, ſo dearly beloved, ſo inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a Chaplain, but rather like a natural Brother) that there was never any Thing in the Archbiſhop's Houſe ſo dear, were it Plate, Jewels, Horſe, Maps, Books, or any Thing elſe, but if *Thirlby* did never ſo little commend it (a ſubtle Kind of begging) the Archbiſhop ſoon after either gave it to him, or elſe ſent it after him to his Houſe. So greatly was the Archbiſhop enamoured with him, that whoſoever would obtain any Thing of him, moſt commonly would make their Way before by Dr. *Thirlby*. Which by-matter of the ſaid Dr. *Thirlby* I thought here to recite; not ſo much to upbraid the Man with the Vice of Unthankfulneſs, as chiefly and only for this, to admoniſh him of old Benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old Benefactor, and ſo to favour the Cauſe and Quarrel of him whom he was ſo ſingularly bounden unto.

With the ſaid Dr. *Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, was alſo aſſigned in the ſame Commiſſion Dr. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*; which two coming to *Oxford* upon St. *Valentine*'s Day, as the Pope's Delegates, with a new Commiſſion from *Rome*, by the Virtue thereof commanded the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to come before them, in the Choir of *Chriſt's-church*, before the High Altar, where they ſitting (according to their Manner) in their Pontificalibus, firſt began as the Faſhion is, to read their Commiſſion: Wherein is contained, how that in the Court of *Rome* all Things being indifferently examined, both the Articles laid to his Charge, with the Anſwers made unto them, and Witneſſes examined on both Parts, and Council heard as well on the King and Queen's Behalf,

half, his Accuſers, as on the Behalf of *Thomas Cranmer*, the Party guilty, ſo that he wanted nothing appertaining to his neceſſary Defence, *&c.* which foreſaid Commiſſion, as it was in reading, O Lord, ſaid the Archbiſhop, what Lies be theſe, that I being continually in Priſon, and never could be ſuffered to have Counſel or Advocate at Home, ſhould produce Witneſs and appoint my Counſel at *Rome?* God muſt needs puniſh this open and ſhameleſs lying. They read on the Commiſſion which came from the Pope, *Plenitudine poteſtatis*, ſupplying all Manner of Defects in Law or Proceſs, committed in dealing with the Archbiſhop, and giving them full Authority to proceeding to Deprivation and Degradation of him, and ſo upon Excommunication to deliver him up to the Secular Power.

The Order of the Archbiſhop's Degradation.

When the Commiſſion was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his Degradation, firſt cloathed and diſguiſed him, putting on him a Surplice, and then an Albe; after that the Veſtment of a Sub-deacon, and every other Furniture, as a Prieſt ready to Maſs.

When they had apparelled him ſo far; What, ſaid he, I think I ſhall ſay Maſs: Yea, ſaid *Coſins*, one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains, my Lord, I truſt to ſee you ſay Maſs for all this. Do you ſo, quoth he? that ſhall you never ſee, nor will I ever do it.

Then they inveſted him in all Manner of Robes of a Biſhop and Archbiſhop, as he is at his Inſtallment, ſaving that as every Thing then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo every Thing here was of Canvas and old Rags, with a Mitre and a Pall of the ſame Suit put upon him in Mockery, and then the Croſier-ſtaff was put in his Hand.

This done after the Pope's pontifical Form and Manner, *Bonner*, who for the Space of many Years had borne, as it ſeemed, no great good Will towards him, and now rejoiced to ſee this Day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his Pleaſure at full, began to ſtretch out his Eloquence making his Oration to the Aſſembly after this Manner of Sort.

Bonner's eloquent Oration againſt the Archbiſhop.

This is the Man that hath ever deſpiſed the Pope's Holineſs, and now is to be judged by him. This is the Man that hath pulled down ſo many Churches, and now is come to be judged in a Church. This is the Man that condemned the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and now is come to be condemned before that bleſſed Sacrament hanging over the Altar. This is the Man that like *Lucifer* ſat in the Place of Chriſt upon an Altar to judge others, and now is come before an Altar to be judged himſelf.

Whereunto the Archbiſhop interrupting him, ſaid, that in that he bely'd him, as he did in many other Things: For that which he would now ſeem to charge him withal, was his own Fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the Thing you mean was in *Paul's-church*, ſaid he, where I came to ſit in Commiſſion; and there was a Scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your Officers, and whether there were any Altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once ſuſpected it, wherefore you do wittingly Evil to charge me with it.

Bonner's ill Manners to his Brother in Time of Adverſity.

But *Bonner* went on ſtill in his rhetorical Repetition, lying and railing againſt the Archbiſhop, beginning every Sentence with, This is the Man, this is the Man, till at length every Man grew tired of his unmannerly Uſage of him in that Time and Place; inſomuch that the Biſhop of *Ely* divers Times pulled him by the Sleeve to make an End, and ſaid to him afterward when they went to Dinner, that he had broken Promiſe with him: For he had intreated him earneſtly to uſe him with Reverence. Anno 1556.

After all this was done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his degrading, and firſt to take from him his Croſier-ſtaff out of his Hands, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliver, and withal imitating the Example of *Martin Luther*, pulled an Appeal out of his left Sleeve under the Wriſt, which he there and then delivered unto them, ſaying, I appeal to the next general Council; and herein I have comprehended my Cauſe and Form of it, which I deſire may be admitted; and pray'd divers of the Standers by, by Name to be Witneſſes, and eſpecially Mr. *Curtop*, to whom he ſpake twice.

The Copy of which Appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in Form here followeth.

The Tenor of the Appeal of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury *from the Pope to the next General Council.*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Firſt, my plain Proteſtation made, that I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt one holy catholick and apoſtolical Church, or the Authority thereof (which Authority I have in great Reverence, and to whom my Mind is in all Things to obey) and if any Thing peradventure, either by Slipperineſs of Tongue, or by Indignation of Abuſes, or elſe by the Provocation of mine Adverſaries be ſpoken or done otherwiſe than well, or not with ſuch Reverence as becometh me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

Although the Biſhop of *Rome* (whom they call Pope) beareth the room of Chriſt in Earth, and hath Authority of God, yet by that Power or Authority he is not become unſinnable, neither hath he received that Power to deſtroy, but to edify the Congregation. Therefore if he ſhall command any Thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good Part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obey'd, if he command any Thing againſt the Precepts of God: No, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, even as *Paul* withſtood *Peter*. And if he be aided by help of Princes, deceived perchance by falſe Suggeſtion, or with evil Counſel, cannot be reſiſted, but the Remedies of withſtanding him be taken away, there is nevertheleſs one Remedy of appealing (which no Prince can take away) uttered by the Law of Nature: Forſomuch as it is a certain Defence, which is meet for every Body by the Law of God, of Nature, and of Man.

And whereas the Laws do permit a Man to appeal, not only from the Griefs and Injuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatned to be done, inſomuch that the Inferior cannot make Laws of not appealing to a Superior Power; and ſince it is openly enough confeſſed, that a holy general Council,

Anno 1556. cil, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the holy catholick Church, is above the Pope, eſpecially in Matters concerning Faith; that he cannot make Decrees that Men ſhall not appeal from him to a general Council: Therefore I *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or in Time paſt Ruler of the metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*, Doctor in Divinity, do ſay and publiſh before you the Publick Notary, and Witneſſes here preſent, with Mind and Intent to challenge and appeal from the Perſons and Griefs underneath written, and to proffer myſelf in Place and Time convenient and meet, to prove the Articles that follow. And I openly confeſs, that I would lawfully have publiſhed them before this Day, if I might have had either Liberty to come Abroad myſelf, or Licenſe of a Notary and Witneſſes. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the Laws.

1. *Firſt*, I ſay, and publiſh, that *James* by the Mercy of God, Prieſt, called Cardinal of the Pit, and of the Title of our Lady in the Church of *Rome*, Judge and Commiſſary ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy Lord the Pope (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to *Rome*, there to appear fourſcore Days after the Citation ſerved on me, to make anſwer to certain Articles touching the Peril of my State and Life: And whereas I was kept in Priſon with moſt ſtrait Ward, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to go to *Rome*, nor to come out of Priſon (and in ſo grievous Cauſes concerning State and Liſe, no Man is bound to ſend a Proctor) and though I would never ſo fain ſend my Proctor, yet by reaſon of Poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I ſhould bear my Proctor's Coſts and Charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheleſs the moſt reverend Cardinal aforeſaid doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appear or not, he will nevertheleſs yet proceed in Judgment againſt me; wherein I feel myſelf ſo grieved, that nothing can be imagined more miſchievous or further from Reaſon.

Note with what Juſtice and Sincerity this catholick Church doth proceed.

2. *Secondly*, The reverend Father *James Brooks*, by the Mercy of God Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Judge and Under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the moſt reverend Cardinal, cauſed me to be cited at *Oxford* (where I was then kept in Priſon) to anſwer to certain Articles, concerning the Danger of my State and Life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the Laws, deſired Counſel of the learned in the Law, that Thing was moſt unrighteouſly denied me, contrary to the Equity of all Laws both of God and Man. Wherein again I feel myſelf moſt wrongfully grieved.

3. And when I refuſed the ſaid Biſhop of *Glouceſter* to be my Judge, for moſt juſt Cauſes, which I then declared, he nevertheleſs went on ſtill, and made Proceſs againſt me, contrary to the Rule of the Laws of appealing, which ſay, A Judge that is refuſed ought not to proceed in the Cauſe, but to leave off. And when he had required of me Anſwers to certain Articles, I refuſed to make him any Anſwer: I ſaid I would yet gladly make Anſwer to the moſt renowned King's and Queen's Deputies or Attorneys then preſent, with this Condition notwithſtanding, that mine Anſwer ſhould be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my Proteſtation made and admitted, I made Anſwer; but my Anſwer was ſudden and unprovided for: And therefore I deſired to have a Copy of mine Anſwers, that I might put to, take away, change and amend them; and this was alſo permitted me. Nevertheleſs, contrary to his Promiſe made unto me, no Reſpect had to my Proteſtation, nor Licence given to amend mine Anſwer, the ſaid reverend Father Biſhop of *Glouceſter* (as I hear) commanded mine Anſwers to be inacted contrary to the Equity of the Law. In which Thing again I feel me much grieved.

4. Furthermore, I could not for many Cauſes admit the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority in this Realm, nor conſent to it: For my ſolemn Oath hindering me, which I made in the Time of King *Henry* VIII. of moſt famous Memory, according to the Laws of *England*: *Secondly*, becauſe I knew the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* which he uſurpeth, to be againſt the Crown, Cuſtoms, and Laws of this Realm of *England*, inſomuch, that neither the King can be crowned in this Realm, without the moſt grievous Crime of Perjury, nor may Biſhops enjoy their Biſhopricks, nor Judgments to be uſed according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, except by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, be accurſed both the King and Queen, the Judges, Writers, and Executors of the Laws and Cuſtoms, with all that conſent to them. Finally, the whole Realm ſhall be accurſed.

5. Moreover that heinous and uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, through Reſervations of the Biſhopricks, Proviſions, Annuates, Diſpenſations, Pardons, Appellations, Bulls, and other Merchandize of *Rome*, was wont exceedingly to ſpoil and conſume the Riches and Subſtance of this Realm, all which Things ſhould follow again by recognizing and receiving of that uſurped Authority unto the unmeaſurable Loſs of this Realm.

6. Finally, it is moſt evident by that uſurped Authority, not only the Crown of *England* to be under Yoke, the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm to be thrown down, and trodden under Foot, but alſo the moſt holy Decrees of Councils, together with the Precepts both of the Goſpel and of God.

The primitive State of the Church of *Rome* ſincere and pure.

When in Times paſt the Son of Righteouſneſs being riſen in the World, chriſtian Religion by the Preaching of the Apoſtles began to be ſpread very far Abroad, and to flouriſh, inſomuch that their Sound went out into all the World; innumerable People, which walked in Darkneſs ſaw a great Light, God's Glory every where publiſhed did flouriſh, the only Cark and Care of the Miniſters of the Church was purely and ſincerely to preach Chriſt; the People to embrace and follow Chriſt's Doctrine. Then the Church of *Rome*, as it were Lady of the World, both was, and alſo was counted worthily the Mother of other Churches, foraſmuch as then ſhe firſt begat to Chriſt, nouriſhed with the Food of pure Doctrine, did help them with their Riches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a Sanctuary for the miſerable, ſhe rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the Examples of the Biſhops of *Rome*, Riches were deſpiſed, worly Glory and Pomp was trodden under Foot, Pleaſures and Riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain Life, being full of all Miſeries, was laughed to Scorn, whilſt through the Example of *Romiſh* Martyrs, Men did every where preſs forward to the Life to come. But afterward when the Ungraciouſneſs

neſs of damnable Ambition, never-ſatisfy'd Avarice, and the horrible Enormity of Vices had corrupted and taken the See of *Rome*, there followed every where almoſt the Deformities of all Churches, growing out of Kind into the Manners of the Church their Mother, leaving their former Innocency and Purity, and ſlipping into foul and heinous Uſages.

For the aforeſaid and many other Griefs and Abuſes (which I intend to prove, and to proffer myſelf in Time convenient to prove hereafter) ſince Reformation of the abovementioned Abuſes is not to be looked for of the Biſhop of *Rome*, neither can I hope by reaſon of his wicked Abuſes and uſurped Authority, to have him an equal Judge in his own Cauſe: Therefore I do challenge and appeal in theſe Writings from the Pope, having no good Council, and from the above-named Pretences, Commiſſions, and Judges, from their Citations, Proceſſes, and from all other Things that have or ſhall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their Sentences, Cenſures, Pains and Puniſhments of Curſing, Suſpenſion, and Interdicting, and from all others whatſoever their Denouncings and Declarations (as they pretend) of Schiſm, of Hereſy, Adultery, Deprivation, degrading by them, or by any of them, in any manner wiſe attempted, done and ſet forward to be attempted, to be done, and to be ſet forward hereafter (ſaving always their Honours and Reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, moſt tyrannical and violent, and from every Grief to come, which ſhall happen to me, as well for myſelf as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my Side, unto a free general Council, that ſhall hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure Place, to which Place I, or a Proctor deputed by me, may freely and with Safety come, and to him or them, to whom a Man may by the Law, Privilege, Cuſtom, or otherwiſe challenge and appeal.

And I deſire the firſt, the ſecond, and third Time, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly, that I may have * Meſſengers, if there be any Man that will and can give me them. And I make open Promiſe of proſecuting this mine Appellation, by the way of Diſannulling, Abuſe, Inequality, and Unrighteouſneſs, or otherwiſe as I ſhall be better able: Choice and Liberty reſerved to me, to put to, diminiſh, change, correct, and interpret my Sayings, and to reform all Things after a better Faſhion, ſaving always to me every other Benefit of the Law, and to them that either be, or will be on my Part.

* Letters of Protection and Defence.

And touching my Doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my Doctrine, of what kind ſoever it be, I proteſt that it was never my Mind to write, ſpeak, or underſtand any thing contrary to the moſt holy Word of God, or elſe againſt the holy catholick Church of Chriſt, but purely and ſimply to imitate and teach thoſe Things only, which I had learned of the ſacred Scripture, and of the holy catholick Church of Chriſt from the Beginning, and alſo according to the Expoſition of the moſt holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

And if any Thing hath peradventure chanced otherwiſe than I thought, I may err, but Heretick I cannot be, foraſmuch as I am ready in all Things to follow the Judgment of the moſt ſacred Word of God, and of the holy catholick Church, deſiring none other Thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have ſwerved from the Truth. Anno 1556.

And I proteſt and openly confeſs, that in all my Doctrine and Preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my Doctrine whatſoever it be, not only I mean and judge thoſe Things, as the catholick Church, and the moſt holy Fathers of old with one Accord have meant and judged, but alſo I would gladly uſe the ſame Words that they uſed, and not uſe any other Words, but to ſet my Hand to all and ſingular their Speeches, Phraſes, Ways and Forms of Speech, which they do uſe in their Treatiſes upon the Sacrament, and to keep ſtill their Interpretation. But in this Thing I only am accuſed for an Heretick, becauſe I allow not the Doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and becauſe I conſent not to Words not accuſtomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but newly invented and brought in by Men, and belonging to the Deſtruction of Souls, and overthrowing of pure and old Religion. Yea, even, *&c.*

This Appeal being put up to the Biſhop of *Ely*, he ſaid to the Archbiſhop, My Lord, our Commiſſion is to proceed againſt you, *Omni appellatione remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why (quoth the Archbiſhop) then you do me the more wrong; for my Caſe is not as every private Man's Caſe. The Matter is immediately between the Pope and me, and none otherwiſe: And I think no Man ought to be a Judge in his own Cauſe.

Well, quoth *Ely*, if it may be admitted it ſhall, and ſo received it of him. And then he began earneſtly to perſwade with the Archbiſhop to conſider his State, and to weigh it well, while there was Time to do him good, promiſing to become a Suiter to the King and Queen for him; and ſo proteſted his great Love and Friendſhip that had been between them, heartily weeping, ſo that for a Time he could not go on with his Tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queen's Commandment, whom he could not deny, elſe no worldly Advantage ſhould have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the ſorrowfulleſt Things that ever happened unto him. The Archbiſhop gently ſeeming to comfort him, ſaid, he was very well content withal; and ſo they proceeded to his Degradation: The perfect Form whereof, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereunto appertaining, taken out of the Pope's Pontifical, we have already deſcribed.

To be ſhort, when they came to take off his Pall (which is a ſolemn Veſture only belonging to an Archbiſhop) then ſaid he, Which of you hath a Pall, to take off my Pall? which imported as much as they being his Inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them anſwered, confeſſing that as they were but Biſhops they were inferior to him, and therefore not competent Judges; but, as being the Pope's Delegates, they had Authority to take his Pall, which accordingly they did; and ſo proceeding took every thing in Order from him, as it was put on. Then a Barber clipped his Hair round about, and the Biſhop ſcraped the Tops of his Fingers, where he had been anointed, wherein Biſhop *Bonner* behaved

Anno 1556. himſelf as roughly and unmannerly, as the other Biſhop was to him ſoft and gentle. Whilſt they were thus doing, All this, quoth the Archbiſhop, needed not; I had myſelf done with this Gear long ago. Laſt of all they ſtripped him out of his Gown into his Jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman Beadle's Gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as ill ſhaped, as one might probably ſee, and a Towniman's Cap on his Head, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular Power.

Lord *Bonner* unlordeth the Archbiſhop.

After this Pageant of Degradation, and all was finiſhed, then ſpake Lord *Bonner*, ſaying to him, Now are you no Lord any more: And ſo whenſoever he ſpake to the People of him (as he was continually barking againſt him) he ever uſed this Term, This Gentleman here, *&c.*

It's happy this Biſhop had ſo much Manners yet to call him Gentleman.

And thus with great Compaſſion and Pity of every Man in this evil-favoured Gown was he carried to Priſon. Whom there followed a Gentleman of *Glouceſterſhire*, with the Archbiſhop's own Gown, who ſtanding by, and being thought to be toward one of the Biſhops, had it delivered unto him; who by the Way talking with him, ſaid, the Biſhop of *Ely* proteſted his Friendſhip with Tears. Yet (ſaid he) he might have uſed a great deal more Friendſhip towards me, and never have been the worſe thought on, for I have well deſerved it: And going up into the Priſon with him, asked him if he would drink. Who anſwered him, ſaying, if he had a Piece of Salt Fiſh, that he had a better Will to eat: For he had been that Day ſomewhat troubled with this Matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is paſt, my Heart (ſaid he) is well quieted. Whereupon the Gentleman ſaid, he would give him Money with all his Heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the Law, and fearing Mr. *Farmer*'s Caſe, durſt therefore give him nothing, but gave Money to the Bailiffs that ſtood by, and ſaid, that if they were good Men they would beſtow it on him (for my Lord of *Canterbury* had not one Penny in his Purſe to help him) and ſo left him, my Lord bidding him earneſtly farewel, commending himſelf to his Prayers and all his Friends. That Night this Gentleman was ſtayed by *Bonner* and *Ely*, for giving him this Money: And but for the Help of his Friends, he had been ſent up to the Council. Such was the Cruelty and Iniquity of the Time, that Men could not do Good without Puniſhment.

Courteſy ſhewed to the Archbiſhop by a Gentleman.

This Mr. *Farmer* had loſt all his Lands for relieving a Prieſt in the *Tower* in King *Henry*'s Time.

In this mean Time while the Archbiſhop was thus remaining in Durance (whom they had kept now in Priſon almoſt the Space of three Years) the Doctors and Divines of *Oxford* buſied themſelves all that ever they could about Dr. *Cranmer* to perſuade him to recant, endeavouring by all the crafty Practices and Allurements they could invent to bring their Purpoſe to paſs. And to the Intent they might win him the more eaſily, they entertain'd him in the Dean's Houſe of *Chriſt-Church* in the ſaid Univerſity, where he lacked no delicate Fare, play'd at Bowls, had his Pleaſure for walking, and all other Things that might bring him from Chriſt. And beſides all this, they ſecretly ſuborned certain Men, who when they could not expugn him by Arguments and Diſputation, ſhould by Intreaty and fair Promiſes, or any other Means allure him to a Recantation; perceiving otherwiſe what a great Wound they ſhould receive, if the Archbiſhop had ſtood ſtedfaſt in his Sentence: And again on the other Side, how great Profit they ſhould get, if he, as the principal Stander-bearer, ſhould be overthrown. By reaſon whereof the wily Papiſts flocked about him, with threatning, flattering, intreating and promiſing, and all other Means; eſpecially *Henry Sydall*, and Frier *John de Villa Garcina* a *Spaniard*, to the End to drive him, to the uttermoſt of their Poſſibility, from his former Sentence to Recantation.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the King and Queen, and eſpecially how gainful to him, and for his Soul's Health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreover, how the Council and the Noblemen bare him good Will. They put him in hope, that he ſhould not only have his Life, but alſo be reſtored to his ancient Dignity, ſaying, it was but a ſmall Matter, and ſo eaſy that they required him to do, only that he would ſubſcribe to a few Words with his own Hand; which if he did, there ſhould be nothing in the Realm that the Queen would not eaſily grant him, whether he would have Riches or Dignity, or elſe if he had rather live a private Life in quiet Reſt, in whatſoever Place he liſted, without all publick Miniſtry, only that he would ſet his Name in two Words to a little Leaf of Paper; but if he refuſed there was no hope of Health and Pardon: For the Queen was ſo purpoſed, that ſhe would have *Cranmer* a Catholick, or elſe no *Cranmer* at all. Therefore he ſhould chuſe whether he thought it better to end his Life ſhortly in the Flames and Fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much Honour to prolong his Life until the Courſe of Nature did call him: For there was no middle Way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his Wealth, his Eſtimation and Quietneſs, ſaying, that he was not ſo old, but that many Years yet remained in this his ſo luſty Age; and if he would not do it in reſpect of the Queen, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his Life, and not ſuffer that other Men ſhould be more careful for his Health than he was himſelf; ſaying, that this was agreeable to his Learning and notable Virtues; which being adjoined with his Life would be profitable both to himſelf and to many others; but being extinct by Death, ſhould be fruitful to no Man: That he ſhould take good Heed that he went not too far; yet there was Time enough to reſtore all Things ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himſelf. Therefore they would have him to lay hold upon the Occaſion of his Health while it was offered, leſt if he would now refuſe it, he might hereafter ſeek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the Deſire of Life did nothing move him, yet he ſhould remember that to die is grievous in all Ages, and eſpecially in theſe his Years and Flower of Dignity it were more grievous: But to die in the Fire and ſuch Torments is moſt grievous of all. With theſe and like Provocations theſe fair Flatterers ceaſed not to ſollicit and urge him, uſing all poſſible Means they could to draw him to their Side; whoſe Force his manly Conſtancy did a great while reſiſt. But at laſt when they made no End of calling and crying upon him, the Archbiſhop being overcome, whether through their Importunity, or by his own Imbecility, or of what Mind I cannot tell, at length gave his Hand.

Dr. *Cranmer* recanteth.

It might be ſupppoſed that it was done for the Hope of Life, and better Days to come. But as we may ſince perceive by a Letter of his to a Lawyer, the greateſt Cauſe why he deſired his Time to be delayed, was that he would make an End of *Marcus Antonius*, which he had already begun: But howſoever it was, plain it was to be againſt his Conſcience. The Form of which Recantation, made by the Friars and Doctors, whereto he ſubſcribed, was this:

The Copy and Words of Dr. *Cranmer*'s Recantation.

I Thomas Cranmer, *late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *do renounce, abhor and deteſt all Manner of Hereſies and Errors of* Luther *and* Zuinglius, *and all other Teachings which be contrary to ſound and true Doctrine. And I believe moſt conſtantly in my Heart, and with my Mouth I confeſs one holy and catholick Church viſible, without which there is no Salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Biſhop of* Rome *to be ſupreme Head in Earth, whom I acknowledge to be the higheſt Biſhop and Pope, and Chriſt's Vicar, unto whom all chriſtian People ought to be ſubject.*

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe and worſhip in the Sacrament of the Altar the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the Forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread through the mighty Power of God being turned into the Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the Wine into his Blood.

And in the other ſix Sacraments alſo (like as in this) I believe and hold as the univerſal Church holdeth, and the Church of Rome *judgeth and determineth.*

Furthermore, I believe that there is a Place of Purgatory, where Souls departed be puniſhed for a Time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholeſomely pray, like as it doth honour Saints and make Prayers to them.

Finally, in all Things I profeſs, that I do not otherwiſe believe, than the catholick Church and the Church of Rome *holdeth and teacheth. I am ſorry that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God, that of his Mercy he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his Church, and alſo I deſire and beſeech all chriſtian People to pray for me.*

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine Example or Doctrine, I require them by the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that they will return to the Unity of the Church, that we may be all of one Mind, without Schiſm or Diviſion.

And to conclude, as I ſubmit myſelf to the catholick Church of Chriſt, and to the ſupreme Head thereof, ſo I ſubmit myſelf unto the moſt excellent Majeſties of Philip *and* Mary, *King and Queen of this Realm of* England, *&c. and to all other their Laws and Ordinances, being ready always as a faithful Subject ever to obey them. And God is my Witneſs, that I have not done this for Favour or Fear of any Perſon, but willingly and of mine own Mind, as well to the Diſcharge of mine own Conſcience, as to the Inſtruction of others.*

This Recantation of the Archbiſhop was not ſo ſoon conceived, but the Doctors and Prelates without Delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted, and ſet Abroad in all Mens Hands. Whereunto for better Credit, firſt was added the Name of *Thomas Cranmer*, with a ſolemn Subſcription, then followed the Witneſſes of this Recantation, *Henry Sydal*, and Friar *John de villa Garcina*. All this while *Cranmer* had no certain Aſſurance of his Life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the Doctors; but after they had their Purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all Adventure, as became Men of that Religion to do. The Queen, having now gotten a Time to revenge her old Grief, received his Recantation very gladly: But of her Purpoſe to put him to Death ſhe would nothing relent. Anno 1556.

Now was Dr. *Cranmer* in a miſerable Caſe, having neither inwardly any Quietneſs in his own Conſcience, nor yet outwardly any Help in his Adverſaries. *Cranmer* is drawn into a miſerable Condition by the falſe and cruel Papiſts.

Beſides this, on the one Side was Praiſe, on the other Side Scorn, on both Sides Danger, ſo that he could neither die honeſtly, nor yet honeſtly live. And whereas he ſought Profit, he fell into double Diſprofit, that neither with good Men he could avoid ſecret Shame, nor yet with evil Men the Note of Diſſimulation.

In the mean Time while theſe Things were doing (as I ſaid) in the Priſon amongſt the Doctors, the Queen taking ſecret Counſel how to diſpatch *Cranmer* out of the Way (who as yet knew not of her ſecret Hate, and not expecting Death) appointed Dr. *Cole*, and ſecretly gave him in Commandment, that againſt the 21ſt of *March*, he ſhould prepare a funeral Sermon for *Cranmer*'s burning, and ſo inſtructing him orderly and diligently of her Will and Pleaſure in that Behalf, ſendeth him away.

Soon after the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, and the Lord *Chandois*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, and Sir *John Brown* were ſent for, with other worſhipful Men and Juſtices, commanded in the Queen's Name to be at *Oxford* at the ſame Day, with their Servants and Retinue, leſt *Cranmer*'s Death ſhould raiſe there any Tumult.

Dr. *Cole* having this Leſſon given him before, and charged by her Commandment, returned to *Oxford*, ready to play his Part; who as the Day of Execution drew near, even the Day before, came into the Priſon to Dr. *Cranmer*, to try whether he abode in the catholick Faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when *Cranmer* had anſwered, that by God's Grace he would be daily more confirmed in the catholick Faith; *Cole* departing for that Time, the next Day following repaired to the Archbiſhop again, giving no Signification as yet of his Death that was prepared: And therefore in the Morning, which was the 21ſt Day of *March* appointed for *Cranmer*'s Execution, the ſaid *Cole* coming to him, asked him if he had any Money; to whom when he had anſwered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen Crowns to give to the Poor to whom he would: And ſo exhorting him as much as he could to Conſtancy in Faith, departed thence about his Buſineſs, as to his Sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like Arguments, the Archbiſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then becauſe the Day was not far paſt, and the Lords and Knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the *Spaniſh* Friar, Witneſs of his Recantation, bringing a Paper with Articles, which *Cranmer* ſhould openly profeſs in his Recantation before the People, earneſtly deſiring him that he would write the

Anno 1556. the ſaid Inſtrument with the Articles with his own Hand, and ſign it with his Name: Which when he had done, the Friar deſired that he would write another Copy thereof which ſhould remain with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the Archbiſhop being not ignorant whereunto their ſecret Devices tended, and thinking that the Time was at Hand in which he could no longer diſſemble the Profeſſion of his Faith with Chriſt's People, he put his Prayer and his Exhortation written in another Paper ſecretly into his Boſom, which he intended to recite to the People before he ſhould make the laſt Profeſſion of his Faith, fearing leſt if they heard the Confeſſion of his Faith firſt, they would not afterwards have ſuffered him to exhort the People.

Soon after about nine of the Clock, the Lord *Williams*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Sir *John Browne*, and the other Juſtices, with certain other Noblemen, that were ſent of the Queen's Council, came to *Oxford* with a great Train of waiting-men. Alſo of the other Multitude on every Side (as is wont in ſuch a Matter) was made a great Concourſe, and greater Expectation: For firſt of all, they that were of the Pope's Side were in great Hope that Day to hear ſomething of *Cranmer* that ſhould eſtabliſh the Vanity of their Opinion: The other Part, who were indu'd with a better Mind, could not yet doubt, that he who by continual Study and Labour for ſo many Years, had ſet forth the Doctrine of the Goſpel, either would or could now in the laſt Act of his Life forſake his Part. Briefly, as every Man's Will inclined, either to this Part or to that, ſo according to the Diverſity of the Deſires, every Man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an uncertain Thing the Certainty could be known of none what would be the End; all their Minds were hanging between Hope and Doubt. So that the greater the Expectation was in ſo doubtful a Matter, the more was the Multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great Expectation, Dr. *Cranmer* at length came from the Priſon of *Bocardo* unto St. *Mary*'s Church, becauſe it was a foul and rainy Day, the chief Church in the Univerſity, in this Order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their Place and Degree; after them was *Cranmer* brought between two Friars, who mumbling two and and fro certain *Pſalms* in the Streets, anſwered one another until they came to the Church Door, and there they began the Song of *Simeon*, *Nunc dimittis*; and entering into the Church, the Pſalm-ſaying Friars brought him to his Standing, and there left him. There was a Stage over-againſt the Pulpit, of a mean Height from the Ground, where *Cranmer* had his Standing, waiting until Dr. *Cole* made him ready to his Sermon.

The lamentable Caſe and Sight of that Man gave a ſorrowful Spectacle to all chriſtian Eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbiſhop, Metropolitan, and Primate of all *England*, and the King's Privy Counſellor, being now in a bare and ragged Gown, and ill favouredly cloathed, with an old ſquare Cap, expoſed to the Contempt of all Men, did admoniſh Men not only of his own Calamity, but alſo of their State and Fortune. For who would not pity his Caſe and bewail his Fortune, and might not fear his own Chance, to ſee ſuch a Prelate, ſo grave a Counſellor, and of ſo long continued Honour, after ſo many Dignities, in his old Years to be deprived of his Eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painful a Death to end his Life, and now preſently from ſuch freſh Ornaments, to deſcend to ſuch vile and ragged Apparel?

In this Habit, when he had ſtood a good Space upon the Stage, turning to a Pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven and pray'd unto God once or twice, till at length Dr *Cole* coming into the Pulpit, and beginning his Sermon, entered firſt into mention of *Tobas* and *Zachary*; whom after he had praiſed in the Beginning of his Sermon for their Perſeverance in the true worſhipping of God, he then divided his whole Sermon into three Parts (according to the ſolemn Cuſtom of the Schools) intending to ſpeak firſt of the Mercy of God: Secondly, of his Juſtice to be ſhewed: And laſt of all, how the Prince's Secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the Beginning, he took Occaſion by and by to turn his Tale to *Cranmer*, and with many hot Words reproved him, that once he being indu'd with the Savour and Feeling of wholſome and catholick Doctrine, fell into the contrary Opinion of pernicious Error; which he had not only defended by Writings, and all his Power, but alſo allured other Men to do the like, with great Liberality of Gifts, as it were appointing Rewards for Error; and after he had allured them, by all Means did cheriſh them.

It were too long to repeat all Things, that in long Order were pronounced. The Sum of his Tripartite Declamation was, that he ſaid God's Mercy was ſo tempered with his Juſtice, that he did not altogether require Puniſhment according to the Merits of the Offenders, nor yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame altogether to go unpuniſhed, yea though they had repented. As in *David*, who when he was bidden chuſe of three Kinds of Puniſhment which he would, and he had choſen Peſtilence for three Days; the Lord forgave him half the Time, but did not releaſe all: And that the ſame Thing came to paſs in him alſo, to whom although Pardon and Reconciliation was due according to the Canons, ſeeing he repented him of his Errors, yet there were Cauſes why the Queen and the Council at this Time judged him to Death; of which, leſt he ſhould marvel too much, he ſhould hear ſome.

If *Cole* gave this Judgment upon *Cranmer* when he had repented, what Judgment is then to be given of *Cole*, who always continued in Error, and never yet repented.

Firſt, that being a Traitor, he had diſſolved the lawful Matrimony between the King her Father and Mother; beſides the driving out of the Pope's Authority, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, that he had been an Heretick, from whom as from an Author and only Fountain, all heretical Doctrine and ſchiſmatical Opinions, that ſo many Years have prevailed in *England*, did firſt riſe and ſpring; of which he had not been a ſecret Favourer only, but alſo a moſt earneſt Defender even to the End of his Life, ſowing them Abroad by Writings and Arguments, privately and openly, not without great Ruin and Decay of the catholick Church.

If all Hereticks in *England* ſhould be burnt, where would Dr. *Cole* have been ere now?

And further, it ſeemed meet, according to the Law of Equality, that as the Death of the Duke of *Northumberland* of late, made even with *Thomas Moor*, Chancellor, that died for the Church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*: And becauſe

becauſe that *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Farrar*, were not able to make even with that Man, it ſeemed that *Cranmer* ſhould be joined to them to fill up their Part of Equality.

Beſides theſe, there were other juſt and weighty Cauſes, which ſeemed to the Queen and Council, which was not meet at that Time to be opened to the common People.

After this, turning his Tale to the Hearers, he bade all Men beware by this Man's Example, that among Men nothing is ſo high that can promiſe itſelf Safety on the Earth, and that God's Vengeance is equally ſtretched againſt all Men and ſpareth none: Therefore they ſhould beware and learn to fear their Prince. And ſeeing the Queen's Majeſty would not ſpare ſo notable a Man as this, much leſs in the like Cauſe would ſhe ſpare other Men, that no Man ſhould think thereby to make any Defence of his Error, either in Riches or any kind of Authority. They had now an Example to teach them all, by whoſe Calamity every Man might conſider his own Fortune; who from the Top of Dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole Realm, and next the King, was fallen into ſo great Miſery, as they might now ſee, being a Man of ſo high Degree, ſometime one of the chiefeſt Prelates in the Church, and an Archbiſhop, the Chief of the Council, the ſecond Perſon in the Realm of long Time, a Man thought in greateſt Aſſurance, having a King on his Side; notwithſtanding all his Authority and Defence, to be debaſed from high Eſtate to a low Degree, of a Counſellor to become a Caitiff, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a State, that the pooreſt Wretch would not change Condition with him; briefly ſo heaped with Miſery on all Sides, that neither was left in him any Hope of better Fortune, nor Place for worſe.

No State in this Earth ſo high nor ſo ſure, but it may fall.

The latter Part of his Sermon he converted to the Archbiſhop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his Death well, by many Places of Scripture, as with theſe and ſuch like; bidding him not to miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receive that the Thief did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *This Day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe:* And out of St. *Paul* he armed him againſt the Terror of the Fire by this, *The Lord is faithful which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your Strength:* By the Example of the three Children, to whom God made the Flame to ſeem like a pleaſant Dew, adding alſo the rejoicing of St. *Andrew* in his Croſs, the Patience of St. *Laurence* on the Fire, aſſuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to ſuch as die in his Faith, either would abate the Fury of the Flame, or give him Strength to abide it.

Dr. *Cole* rejoiceth in the Archbiſhop's Converſion, but that rejoicing laſted not long.

He glorified God much in his Converſion, becauſe it appeared to be only his Work, declaring what Travel and Conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleaſed God of his Mercy to reclaim him, and call him Home. In diſcourſing of which Place, he much commended *Cranmer*, and qualified his former Doings, thus tempering his Judgment and Talk of him, that all the Time (ſaid he) he flowed in Riches and Honour, he was unworthy of his Life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of Death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no Comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſaid) and alſo did promiſe in the Name of all the Prieſts that were preſent, that immediately after his Death there ſhould Dirges, Maſſes, and Funerals executed for him in all the Churches of *Oxford* for the Succour of his Soul. Anno 1556.

Cranmer in all this Time with what great Grief of Mind he ſtood hearing this Sermon, the outward Shews of his Body and Countenance did better expreſs, than any Man can declare; one while lifting up his Hands and Eyes unto Heaven, and then again for Shame letting them down to the Earth. A Man might have ſeen the very Image and Shape of perfect Sorrow lively in him expreſſed. More than twenty ſeveral Times the Tears guſhed out abundantly, dropping down marvellouſly from his fatherly Face. They that were preſent do teſtify, that they never ſaw in any Child more Tears, than came from him at that Time, all the Sermon while; but eſpecially when they recited his Prayer before the People. It is marvellous what Commiſeration and Pity moved all Mens Hearts, that beheld ſo heavy a Countenance, and ſuch Abundance of Tears in an old Man of ſo reverend Dignity.

After *Cole* had ended his Sermon, he called back the People to Prayers that were ready to depart. Brethren (ſaid he) leſt any Man ſhould doubt of this Man's earneſt Converſion and Repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you, and therefore I pray you Mr. *Cranmer*, to perform that now which you promiſed not long ago; namely, that you would openly expreſs the true and undoubted Profeſſion of your Faith, that you may take away all Suſpicion from Men, and that all Men may underſtand that you are a Catholick indeed. I will do it (ſaid the Archbiſhop) and that with a good Will; who by and by riſing up, and putting off his Cap, began to ſpeak thus unto the People.

I deſire you, well beloved Brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my Sins, which above all Men, both in Number and Greatneſs I have committed. But among all the reſt there is one Offence which moſt of all at this Time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in Proceſs of my Talk you ſhall hear more in its proper Place; and then putting his Hand into his Boſom he drew forth his Prayer, which he recited to the People, beginning in the following Manner.

Good chriſtian People, my dearly beloved Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt, I beſeech you moſt heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my Sins and Offences, which be many without Number, and great above Meaſure. But yet one Thing grieveth my Conſcience more than all the reſt, whereof, God willing, I intend to ſpeak more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoever my Sins be, I beſeech you to pray God of his Mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down he ſaid the following Prayer.

The Prayer of Dr. *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop.

O Father of Heaven, O Son of God Redeemer of the World, O Holy Ghoſt three Perſons and one God, have Mercy upon me moſt wretched Caitiff and miſerable Sinner. I have offended both againſt Heaven and Earth, more than my Tongue

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can expreſs. Whither then may I go, or whither ſhall I flee? To Heaven I may be aſhamed to lift up mine Eyes, and in Earth I find no Place of Refuge or Succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myſelf, ſaying, O Lord my God, my Sins be great, but yet have Mercy upon me for thy great Mercy. The great Myſtery that God became Man, was not wrought for little or few Offences. Thou didſt not give thy Son (O Heavenly Father) unto Death for ſmall Sins only, but for all the greateſt Sins of the World, ſo that the Sinner return to thee with his whole Heart, as I do here at this preſent. Wherefore have Mercy on me, O God, whoſe Property is always to have Mercy, have Mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great Mercy. I crave nothing for mine own Merits, but for thy Name's ſake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. And now therefore Our Father of Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, &c. And then he riſing, ſaid:

Every Man (good People) deſireth at the Time of his Death to give ſome good Exhortation, that others may remember the ſame before their Death and be the better thereby: So I beſeech God grant me Grace, that I may ſpeak ſomething at this my departing, whereby God may be glorify'd, and you edify'd.

Firſt, it is an heavy Cauſe to ſee that ſo many Folk ſo much doat upon the Love of this falſe World, and be ſo careful for it, that of the Love of God, or the World to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this ſhall be my firſt Exhortation: That you ſet not your Minds overmuch upon this deceitful World, but upon God, and upon the World to come, and to learn to know what this Leſſon meaneth which St. *John* teacheth, *That the Love of this World is Hatred againſt God.*

The ſecond Exhortation is, That next under God you obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for Fear of them only, but much more for the Fear of God; knowing that they be God's Miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you: And therefore whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.

The third Exhortation is, that you love altogether like Brethren and Siſters. For alas, Pity it is to ſee what Contention and Hatred one Chriſtian Man beareth to another, not taking each other as Brother and Siſter, but rather as Strangers and mortal Enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one Leſſon, To do good unto all Men, as much as in you liveth, and to hurt no Man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving Brother or Siſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever hateth any Perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt, God is not with that Man, although he think himſelf never ſo much in God's Favour.

The fourth Exhortation ſhall be to them that have great Subſtance and Riches of this World, That they will well conſider and weigh three Sayings of the Scripture: One is of our Saviour himſelf, who ſaith, *Luke* 18. *It is hard for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* A ſore Saying, and yet ſpoken by him who knoweth the Truth.

The ſecond is of St. *John*, 1 *John* 3. whoſe Saying is this, *He that hath the Subſtance of this World, and ſeeth his Brother in Neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his Mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loveth God?*

The third is of St. *James*, who ſpeaketh to the covetous rich Man after this Manner, *Weep you and howl for the Miſery that ſhall come upon you: Your Riches do rot, your Cloaths be moth-eaten, your Gold and Silver doth canker and ruſt, and their Ruſt ſhall bear witneſs againſt you, and conſume you like Fire; you gather a Hoard or Treaſure of God's Indignation againſt the laſt Day.* Let them that be rich ponder well theſe three Sentences: For if they ever had Occaſion to ſhew their Charity, they have it now at this preſent, the poor People being ſo many, and Victuals ſo dear.

And now foraſmuch as I am come to the laſt End of my Life, whereupon hangeth all my Life paſt, and all my Life to come, either to live with my Maſter Chriſt for ever in Joy, or elſe to be in Pain for ever with wicked Devils in Hell, and I ſee before mine Eyes preſently either Heaven ready to receive me, or elſe Hell ready to ſwallow me up: I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very Faith how I believe, without any Colour or Diſſimulation: For now is no Time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in Times paſt.

Firſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. And I believe every Article of the catholick Faith, every Word and Sentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the New and Old Teſtament.

The Archbiſhop declareth the true Confeſſion of his Faith without all colour or diſſembling.

And now I come to the great Thing which ſo much troubleth my Conſcience, more than any Thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole Life, and that is the ſetting Abroad of a Writing contrary to the Truth; which now here I renounce and refuſe, as Things written with my Hand contrary to the Truth which I thought in my Heart, and written for fear of Death, and to ſave my Life if it might be, and that is, all ſuch Bills and Papers which I have written or ſigned with my Hand ſince my Degradation; wherein I have written many Things untrue. And foraſmuch as my Hand offended, writing contrary to my Heart, therefore my Hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed: For may I come to the Fire, it ſhall be firſt burned.

The Archbiſhop revoketh his former Recantation, and repenteth of the ſame.

And as for the Pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſt's Enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe Doctrine.

And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my Book againſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which my Book teacheth ſo true a Doctrine of the Sacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt Day before the Judgment of God, where the papiſtical Doctrine contrary thereto ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her Face.

Here the Standers by were all aſtoniſhed, marvelled and amazed, and look'd one upon another, whoſe Expectation he had ſo notably deceived. Some began to admoniſh him of his Recantation, and to accuſe him of Falſhood.

Briefly, it was a World to ſee the Doctors beguiled of ſo great an Hope. I think there was never Cruelty more notably or better in Time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious Victory, and a perpetual Triumph by this Man's Retractation.

Who, as ſoon as they heard theſe Things, began to let down their Ears, to rage, fret and fume; and ſo much, the more, becauſe they could not revenge their Grief: For they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable Man in the World can die but once: And whereas of Neceſſity he muſt needs die that Day, though the Papiſts had been never ſo well pleaſed; now being never ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed by them. And ſo when they could do nothing elſe unto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothing, they ceaſed not to object unto him his Falſhood and Diſſimulation.

Unto which Accuſation he anſwered, Ah my Maſters (quoth he) do you not take it ſo. Always ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a Hater of Falſhood, and a Lover of Simplicity, and never before this Time have I diſſembled; and in ſaying this, all the Tears that remained in his Body appeared in his Eyes. And when he began to ſpeak more of the Sacrament and of the Papacy, ſome of them began to cry out, yelp, and baul, and eſpecially *Cole* cried out upon him, Stop the Heretick's Mouth, and take him away.

And then *Cranmer* being pulled down from the Stage was led to the Fire, accompany'd with thoſe Friars, vexing, trembling, and threatning him moſt cruelly. What Madneſs (ſay they) hath brought thee again into this Error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable Souls with thee into Hell? To whom he anſwered nothing, but directed all his Talk to the People, ſaying that to one troubling him in the Way, he ſpake, and exhorted him to get him Home to his Study, and apply his Book diligently, ſaying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he ſhould get Knowledge.

But the other *Spaniſh* Barker, raging and foaming, was almoſt out of his Wits, always having this in his Mouth, *Non feciſti?* Didſt thou it not?

But when he came to the Place where the holy Biſhops and Martyrs of God, Biſhop *Latimer* and Biſhop *Ridley* were burnt before him for the Confeſſion of the Truth, kneeling down he pray'd to God, and not long tarrying in his Prayers, putting off his Garments to his Shirt, he prepared himſelf for Death. His Shirt was made long down to his Feet. His Feet were bare. Likewiſe his Head, when both his Caps were off, was ſo bare that one Hair could not be ſeen upon it. His Beard was ſo long and thick, that it covered his Face with marvellous Gravity; and his reverend Countenance moved the Hearts both of his Friends and Enemies.

Then the *Spaniſh* Friars *John* and *Richard*, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their Parts with him afreſh, but with vain and loſt Labour. *Cranmer* with ſtedfaſt Purpoſe abiding in the Profeſſion of his Doctrine, gave his Hand to certain old Men and others that ſtood by, bidding them farewel.

And when he had thought to have done ſo likewiſe to Mr. *Ely*, the ſaid *Ely* drew back his Hand and refuſed, ſaying, it was not lawful to ſalute Hereticks, and eſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned unto the Opinions that he had forſworn. And if he had known before that he would have done ſo, he would never have uſed his Company ſo familiarly; and chid thoſe Sergeants and Citizens, who had not refuſed to give him their Hands. This Mr. *Ely* was a Student in Divinity, and lately made a Prieſt, being then one of the Fellows in *Brazen-noſe* College. Anno 1556. 552.

Then was an Iron Chain ty'd about *Cranmer*, and they commanded the Fire to be ſet unto him.

And when the Wood was kindled, and the Fire began to burn near him, he ſtretched forth his right Hand, which had ſigned his Recantation, into the Flames, and there held ſo ſtedfaſt that all the People might ſee it burnt to a Coal before his Body was touch'd. In ſhort, he was ſo patient and conſtant in the midſt of theſe extreme Tortures, that he ſeemed to move no more than the Stake to which he was bound; his Eyes were lifted up to Heaven, and often he repeated his Unworthy right Hand, ſo long as his Voice would ſuffer him; and as often uſing the Words of the bleſſed Martyr St. *Stephen*, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, till the Fury of the Flames putting him to Silence he gave up the Ghoſt. Dr. *Cranmer* putteth his right Hand which ſubſcribed, firſt into the Fire.

This Fortitude of Mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the *Spaniards*, when Friar *John* ſaw, thinking it came not of Fortitude, but of Deſperation, although ſuch manner of Examples which are of like Conſtancy, have been common here in *England*, he ran to the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, crying that the Archbiſhop was vexed in Mind, and died in great Deſparation. But he who was not ignorant of the Archbiſhop's Conſtancy, being unknown to the *Spaniards*, ſmiled only, and as it were by Silence rebuked the Friar's Folly. And this was the End of this learned Archbiſhop, whom, leſt, by evil ſubſcribing he ſhould have periſhed, by well recanting God preſerved; and leſt he ſhould have lived longer with Shame and Reproof, it pleaſed God rather to take him away, to the Glory of his Name and Profit of his Church. So good was the Lord both to his Church, in fortifying the ſame with the Teſtimony and Blood of ſuch a Martyr; and ſo good alſo to the Man with this Croſs of Tribulation, to purge his Offences in this World, not only of his Recantation, but alſo of his ſtanding againſt *John Lambert* and Mr. *Allen*, or if there were any other, with whoſe burning or Blood his Hand had been any thing before polluted. But eſpecially he had to rejoice, that dying in ſuch a Cauſe, he was numbered amongſt the Martyrs of Chriſt, and much more worthy of the Name of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, than he whom the Pope falſly before did canonize.

And thus have you the full Story concerning the Life and Death of this reverend Archbiſhop and Martyr of God, *Thomas Cranmer*, and alſo of divers others, of whom this Archbiſhop was the laſt that ſuffered in the Middle of the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and almoſt the middle Man that was burnt in her Time.

Now proceed we to exhibit ſome of the Letters which this worthy Martyr left behind him, beginning firſt with his famous Letter to Queen *Mary*, which he wrote immediately after he was cited up to *Rome*, by Biſhop *Brooks* and his Fellows, the Tenor whereof is as followeth.

The

plate 17

D.r Cranmer *plucked down from the Stage by Fryars and Papists, for the true Confession of his Faith in* S.t Mary's *Church in* Oxford.

BRITISH MUSEUM 8 OCT 75

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8 OCT 75

Anno 1556.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Letter to Queen* Mary.

MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty to pardon my Preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to write to your Highneſs. But very Neceſſity conſtraineth me, that your Majeſty may know my Mind, rather by my own Writing than by other Mens Reports. So it is that upon Wedneſday, *being the 12th Day of this Month, I was cited to appear at* Rome *the 80th Day after, there to make anſwer to ſuch Matters as ſhould be objected againſt me upon the Behalf of the King and your moſt excellent Majeſty, which Matters the* Thurſday *following were objected againſt me by Dr.* Martin *and Dr.* Story, *your Majeſty's Proctors, before the Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *ſitting in Judgment by Commiſſion from* Rome. *But (alas) it cannot but grieve the Heart of a natural Subject, to be accuſed of the King and Queen of his own Realm; and eſpecially before an outward Judge, or by Authority coming from any Perſon out of this Realm: Where the King and Queen, as if they were Subjects within their own Realm, ſhall complain and require Juſtice at a Stranger's Hands againſt their own Subject, being already condemned to Death by their own Laws. As though the King and Queen could not do or have Juſtice within their own Realms againſt their own Subjects; but they muſt ſeek it at Strangers Hands in a ſtrange Land; the like whereof (I think) was never ſeen. I would have wiſhed to have had ſome meaner Adverſaries: And, I think, that Death ſhall not grieve me much more, than to have my moſt dread and moſt gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, to whom, under God, I do own all Obedience, to be mine Accuſers in Judgment within their own Realm, before any Stranger and outward Power. But foraſmuch as in the Time of the Prince of moſt famous Memory,* King Henry *the Eighth your Grace's Father, I was ſworn never to conſent, that the Biſhop of* Rome *ſhould have or exerciſe any Authority or Juriſdiction in this Realm of* England, *therefore leſt I ſhould allow his Authority contrary to mine own Oath, I refuſed to make Anſwer to the Biſhop of* Glouceſter *ſitting here in Judgment by the Pope's Authority, leſt I ſhould run into Perjury.*

Another Cauſe why I refuſed the Pope's Authority, is this, that his Authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the Crown imperial of this Realm, and to the Laws of the ſame; which every true Subject is bound to defend. Firſt, for that the Pope ſaith, that all manner of Power, as well temporal as ſpiritual, is given firſt to him of God; and that the temporal Power he giveth unto Emperors and Kings, to uſe it under him, but ſo as to be always at his Commandment and Beck.

But contrary to this Claim, the imperial Crown and Juriſdiction temporal of this Realm is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under him only, and is ſubject to none but God alone.

Moreover, to the imperial Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm the King in his Coronation, and all Juſtices when they receive their Offices, be ſworn, and all the whole Realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the Pope by his Authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our Books, all Laws and Cuſtoms being repugnant to his Laws, and declareth accurſed all Rulers and Governours, all the Makers, Writers, and Executors of all ſuch Laws or Cuſtoms; as it appeareth by many of the Pope's Laws, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the Decrees, *Dict. 10. is written thus:* The Conſtitutions or Statutes enacted againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhops of *Rome*, or their good Cuſtoms, are of none Effect. *Alſo*, We excommunicate all Hereticks of both Sexes, what Name ſoever they be called by, and their Favourers, Receptors, and Defenders; and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerved the Statutes and Cuſtoms made againſt the Liberty of the Church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their Records and Chapters within two Months after the Publication thereof. Alſo we excommunicate the Statute-makers and Writers of thoſe Statutes, and all the Poteſtates, Conſuls, Governors and Counſellors of Places, where ſuch Statutes or Cuſtoms ſhall be made or kept; and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to give Judgment according to them, or ſhall notify in publick Form the Matter ſo adjudged.

Now by theſe Laws, if the Biſhop of Rome's *Authority, which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Grace's Laws and Cuſtoms of your Realm, being contrary to the Pope's Laws, be naught, and as well your Majeſty, as your Judges, Juſtices, and all other Executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongſt Hereticks, which God forbid. And yet this Curſe can never be avoided (if the Pope hath ſuch Power as he claimeth) until ſuch Times as the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm (being contrary to his Laws) be taken away and blotted out of the Law-Books. And although there be many Laws of this Realm contrary to the Laws of* Rome, *yet I named but a few; as to convict a Clerk before any temporal Judge of this Realm for Debt, Felony, Murder, or for any other Crime; which Clerks by the Pope's Laws are ſo exempt from the King's Laws, that they can be no where ſued, but before their Ordinary.*

Alſo the Pope by his Laws may give all Biſhopricks and Benefices ſpiritual; which by the Laws of this Realm can be given but only by the King and other Patrons of the ſame, except they fall into the Lapſe.

By the Pope's Laws, Jus patronatus *ſhall be ſued only before the eccleſiaſtical Judge; but by the Laws of the Realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporal Judge.*

And to be ſhort, the Laws of this Realm do agree with the Pope's Laws like Fire and Water. And yet the Kings of this Realm have provided for their Laws by the Premunire; ſo that if any Man have let the Execution of the Laws of this Realm by any Authority from the See of Rome, *he falleth into the Premunire.*

But to meet with this, the Popes have provided for their Laws by Curſing. For whoſoever hindereth the Pope's Laws to have full Courſe within this Realm, by the Pope's Power ſtandeth accurſed; ſo that the Pope's Power treadeth all the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm under his Feet, curſing all that execute them, until ſuch Time as they do give Place unto his Laws.

But it may be ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the Pope's Decrees, yet we do ſtill execute the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm. Nay, not all quietly without Interruption of the Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjuſtly, if the Pope's Power be of Force, and for the ſame we ſtand excommunicate, and ſhall do until we leave the Execution of our own Laws and Cuſtoms. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome *allowing ſuch Authority, whereby the Realm ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the Pope have any ſuch Authority.* Mark this well.

Theſe Things (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the Parliament Houſe, when the Pope's

Authority was received again within this Realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the King or Queen's Majesty, or the Nobles of this Realm, or the Commons of the same would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign Authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the Crown as to the Laws and Customs and State of this Realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. * *But none could open this Matter well but the Clergy, and such of them as had read the Pope's Laws, whereby the Pope had made himself as it were a God. These seek to maintain the Pope whom they desired to have their chief Head, to the Intent they might have as it were a Kingdom and Laws within themselves, distinct from the Laws of the Crown, and wherewith the Crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the Laws of the Realm, might live in this Realm like Lords and Kings, without Damage or Fear of any Man, so that they please their High and Supreme Head, at* Rome. *For this Consideration, (I think) some that knew the Truth, held their Peace in the Parliament, whereas if they had done their Duties to the Crown and whole Realm, they should have opened their Mouths, declared the Truth, and shewed the Perils and Dangers that might ensue to the Crown and Realm.*

* The Clergy's Duty in the Parliament.

And if I should agree to allow such Authority within this Realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious Highness, and also your Realm should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the Execution of your own Laws and Customs of your Realm; I could not think myself true either to your Highness, or to this my natural Country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other Men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the Power and Authority which he challengeth every where, is to the Crown-laws and Customs of this Realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due Allegiance, Fidelity, and Truth to the Crown and State of this Realm.

Another Cause I alledged, why I could not allow the Authority of the Pope, which is this; That by his Authority he subverteth not only the Laws of this Realm, but also the Laws of God: So that whosoever be under his Authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's Religion purely, as Christ did command.

And for one Example I brought forth, that whereas by God's Laws all christian People be bounden diligently to learn his Word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that Purpose he ordained Holy-days, when they ought, leaving apart all other Business to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's Will and Commandment is, that when the People be gathered together, Ministers should use such Language as the People may understand and take Profit thereby, or else hold their Peace. For as an Harp or Lute, if it be given no certain Sound that Men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? for all the Sound is in vain. So is it in vain, and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the Mouth of St. Paul, *if the Priest speak to the People in a Language which they know not;* For else he may profit himself, but profiteth not the People, *saith St.* Paul. *But herein I was answered thus; that St.* Paul *spake only of Preaching, that the Preacher should preach in a Tongue which the People did know, or else his Preaching availeth nothing: But if the Preaching availeth nothing, being spoke in a Language which the People understand not, how should any other Service avail them, being spoken in the same Language?*

Why *Latin* Service ought not to be restored in *England.*

And yet that St. Paul *meant not only of Preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own Words. For he speaketh by Name expresly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other Things which the Priests say in the Churches, whereunto the People say* Amen; *which they use not in Preaching, but in other Divine Service; that whether the Priests rehearse the wonderful Works of God, or the great Benefits of God unto Mankind above all other Creatures, or give Thanks unto God, or make open Profession of their Faith, or humble Confession of their Sins, with earnest Request of Mercy and Forgiveness, or make Suit or Request unto God for any Thing; then all the People understanding what the Priests say, might give their Minds and Voices with them, and say,* Amen, *that is to say, allow what the Priests say; that the Rehearsal of God's universal Works and Benefits, the Giving of Thanks, the Profession of Faith, the Confession of Sins, and the Requests and Petitions of the Priests and of the People, might ascend up into the Ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet Savour, Odour, and Incense in his Nose; and thus it was used many hundred Years after Christ's Ascension.* Anno 1556.

But the aforesaid Things cannot be done when the Priests speak to the People in a Language not known, and so they (or their Clerk in their Name) say Amen, *but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St.* Paul *saith,* How can the People say Amen to thy Well-saying, when they understand not what thou sayest? *And thus was St.* Paul *understood by all Interpreters, both the* Greeks *and* Latins, *old and new, School-Authors and others that I have read, until above thirty Years past. At which Time one* Eckius, *with others of his Sort, began to devise a new Exposition, understanding St.* Paul *of Preaching only.*

But when a good Number of the best learned Men reputed within this Realm, some favouring the old, some the new Learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old) but when a great Number of such learned Men of both Sorts, were gathered together at Windsor *for the Reformation of the Service of the Church, it was agreed by both, without Controversy (not one saying contrary) that the Service of the Church ought to be in the Mother Tongue; and that St.* Paul *in the fourteenth Chapter to the* Corinthians *was so to be understood. And so is St.* Paul *to be understood in the civil Law, more than a thousand Years past, where* Justinian, *a most godly Emperor, in a Synod writeth on this Manner:* We command that all Bishops and Priests celebrate the holy Oblation and Prayer used in holy Baptism, not after a still and close Manner, but with a clear loud Voice, that they may be plainly heard by the faithful People, so as the Hearers Minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater Devotion, in uttering the Praises of the Lord God. For so *Paul* teacheth also in the Epistle to the *Corinthians,* If the Spirit do only bless (or say well) how shall he that occupieth the Place of a private Person say *Amen,* to thy Thanksgiving? For he perceiveth not what thou sayest: Thou dost give Thanks well, but the other is not edified. *And not only the civil Law, and all other Writers a Thousand and five Hundred Years continually together have expounded St.* Paul *not of Preaching only, but of other Service said in the Church; but also Reason giveth the same, that if Men be commanded to hear any Thing, it must be spoken in a Language which the Hearer understand, or else (as St.* Paul *saith) what*

This Agreement was made *Anno* 1549.

Anno 1556.

what availeth it to hear? So that the Pope giving a contrary Commandment, that the People coming to the Church shall hear they know not what, and shall answer they know not whereto; taketh upon him to command, not only against Reason, but also directly against God.

The Sacrament ought to be received in both Kinds.

And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the Sacrament of his most precious Body and Blood to be received by all Christian People under the Forms of Bread and Wine, and said of the Cup, Drink ye all of this; *the Pope giveth a clean contrary Commandment, that no Layman shall drink of the Cup of their Salvation; as tho' the Cup of Salvation by the Blood of Christ pertained not to Laymen. And whereas* Theophilus Alexandrinus *(whose Works St.* Jerom *did translate about eleven hundred Years past) saith, That if Christ had been crucified for the Devils, his Cup should not be denied them; yet the Pope denieth the Cup of Christ to christian People, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the Pope in these Things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.*

The Excuse of the Papists why they take away the Cup.

But I was answered hereunto (as commonly the Papists do answer) that under the Form of Bread is whole Christ's Flesh and Blood: So that whosoever receiveth the Form of Bread, receiveth as well Christ's Blood as his Flesh. Let it be so, yet in the Form of Bread only, Christ's Blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the Cup in the Form of Wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the Flesh under the Form of Bread. And moreover, the Bread is not the Sacrament of his Blood, but of his Flesh only; nor is the Cup the Sacrament of his Flesh, but of his Blood only. And so the Pope keepeth from all Lay-persons, the Sacrament of their Redemption by Christ's Blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the Sacrament in two Kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a Representation of his Death, where his Blood was separated from his Flesh, which is not represented in one Kind alone: So that the Lay-people receive not the whole Sacrament whereby Christ's Death is represented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the Pope taketh upon him to give the temporal Sword, by royal and imperial Power, to Kings and Princes: So doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial States, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the Subjects to disobey their Princes, assoyling the Subjects as well of their Obedience, as of their lawful Oaths made unto their true Kings and Princes, directly contrary to God's Commandment, who commandeth all Subjects to obey their Kings, or their Rulers under them.

One John, *Patriarch of* Constantinople, *in the Time of St.* Gregory, *claimed Superiority above all other Bishops. To whom St.* Gregory *writeth, that therein he did Injury to his three Brethren, which were equal with him, that is to say, the Bishop of* Rome, *the Bishop of* Alexandria, *and of* Antioch: *Which three were patriarchal Sees, as well as* Constantinople, *and were Brethren one to another. But (saith St.* Gregory) *if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal Bishop, the same passeth in Pride. But now the Bishop of* Rome *exalteth himself not only above all Kings and Emperors, and above all the whole World, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down as he shall think good. And as the Devil having no such Authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall down and worship him: In like Manner the Pope taketh upon him to give Empires and Kingdoms being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his Feet.*

Note the Saying of Gregory.

The Devil and the Pope are alike.

And moreover, his Lawyers and Glossers so flatter him, that they feign he may command Emperors and Kings to hold his Stirrop when he alighteth from his Horse, and to be his Footmen: And that if any Emperor or King give him any Thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may dispense against God's Word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's *Epistles, and against the Gospel. And furthermore, whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable People by Heaps with himself into Hell, yet may not mortal Man reprove him, because he being Judge of all Men, may be judged of no Man. And thus he sitteth in the Temple of God as if he were a God, and nameth himself God's Vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrist's Part, I cannot tell what is Antichrist, which is no more to say, but Christ's Enemy and Adversary; who shall sit in the Temple of God advancing himself above all other, yet by Hypocrisy and feigned Religion, shall subvert the true Religion of Christ, and under Pretence and Colour of Christ's Religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the Name of Antichrist. Now if any Man lift himself higher than the Pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the World; or can be more Adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's Laws; and where Christ hath given any Commandment, to command directly the contrary, that Man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the Time that such a Person may be found, Men may easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.*

Emperors and Kings made the Pope's Footmen.

Wherefore seeing the Pope thus to overthrow both God's Laws and Mans Laws, taketh upon him to make Emperors and Kings to be Vassals and Subjects unto him, especially the Crown of this Realm, with the Laws and Customs of the same, I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped Power within this Realm, contrary to mine Oath, mine Obedience to God's Laws, mine Allegiance and Duty to your Majesty, and my Love and Affection to this Realm.

Note this Conclusion.

This that I have spoken against the Power and Authority of the Pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any Malice I owe to the Pope's Person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him Grace, that he may seek above all Things to promote God's Honour and Glory, and not to follow the Trade of his Predecessors in these latter Days.

Nor have I spoken it for fear of Punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an Occasion to aggravate than to diminish my Trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden Duty to the Crown, Liberties, Laws, and Customs of this Realm of England, *but most especially to discharge my Conscience in uttering the Truth to God's Glory, casting away all Fear by the Comfort which I have in Christ, who saith, Matth.* 10. Fear not them that kill the Body, and cannot kill the Soul, but fear them that can cast both Body and Soul into Hell-fire. *He that for fear to lose this Life will forsake the Truth, shall lose the Life everlasting: And he that for the Truth's sake will spend his Life, shall find everlasting Life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here. Which Comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his Eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly pass on this Life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the Presence of his Father in Heaven.*

And as touching the Sacrament, I said; Forasmuch as the whole Matter standeth in the Under-

standing

standing of these Words of Christ, This is my Body, This is my Blood; *I said, that Christ in these Words made Demonstration of the Bread and Wine, and spake figuratively, calling Bread his Body, and Wine his Blood, because he ordained them to be Sacraments of his Body and Blood. And where the Papists say in those two Points contrary unto me, that Christ called not Bread his Body, but a Substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively: Herein I said I would be judged by the old Church, and which Doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alledged in my Book many old Authors, both* Greeks *and* Latins, *which above a thousand Years after Christ continually taught as I do: If they could bring forth but one old Author, that saith in these two Points as they say, I offered six or seven Years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give Place unto them.*

But when I bring forth any Author that saith in most plain Terms as I do, yet saith the other Part, that the Authors meant not so; as who should say, that the Authors spake one Thing and meant clean contrary. And upon the other Part, when they cannot find any one Author, that saith in Words as they say; yet say they, that the Authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the Purpose herein, I refer me to the Judgment of all impartial Hearers; yea, the old Church of Rome, *above a thousand Years together, neither believed nor used the Sacrament, as the Church of* Rome *hath done of late Years.*

For in the Beginning, the Church of Rome *taught a pure and a sound Doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of* Rome *fell into a new Doctrine of Transubstantiation; with the Doctrine they changed the Use of the Sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old Church of* Rome *used above a thousand Years. And yet to deface the Old, they say that the New is the Old: Wherein for my Part I am content to stand to the Trial. But their Doctrine is so foolish and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any Man would allow it, if he knew what it was. But howsoever they bear the People in Hand, that which they write in their Books hath neither Truth nor Comfort.*

Mark the Errors of the Papists in their Doctrine of the Sacrament.

For by their Doctrine, of one Body of Christ is made two Bodies: One natural having distance of Members, with Form and Proportion of Man's perfect Body, and this Body is in Heaven: But the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, by their own Doctrine, must needs be a monstrous Body, having neither distance of Members nor Form, Fashion or Proportion of a Man's natural Body. And such a Body is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the Mouth with the Form of Bread, and entereth no farther than the Form of Bread goeth, and tarrieth no longer than the Form of Bread is by natural Heat in digesting. So that when the Form of Bread is digested, that Body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil Men be as long in digesting as good Men, the Body of Christ (by their Doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked Men as in godly Men. And what Comfort can be herein to any christian Man, to receive Christ's unshapen Body, and it to enter no further than the Stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the Bread is consumed?

It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable Doctrine, that Christ hath but one Body, and that hath Form and Fashion of a Man's true Body; which Body spiritually entereth into the whole Man, Body and Soul: And though the Sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the Receiver unto eternal Life, if he continue in Godliness, and never departeth until the Receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial *is. And this is my Faith, and (as me seemeth) a sound Doctrine, according to God's Word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that Matter. And if it can be shewed unto me, that the Pope's Authority is not prejudicial to the Things before mentioned, or that my Doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shewed) then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own Opinion, but I shall with all Humility submit myself unto the Pope, not only to kiss his Feet, but another Part also.* Anno 1556.

Another Cause why I refused to take the Bishop of Gloucester *for my Judge, was in Respect of his own Person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he being divers Times sworn never to consent that the Bishop of* Rome *should have any Jurisdiction within this Realm, but to take the King and his Successors for supreme Heads of this Realm, as by God's Laws they be; contrary to that lawful Oath the said Bishop sat then in Judgment by Authority from* Rome, *wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as Judge.*

The second Perjury was, that he took his Bishoprick both of the Queen's Majesty and of the Pope, making to each of them a solemn Oath, which Oath be so contrary that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the Pope to maintain his Laws, Decrees, Constitutions, Ordinances, Reservations, and Provisions, he declareth himself an Enemy to the imperial Crown, and to the Laws and State of this Realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a Judge within this Realm. And for these Considerations I refused to take him for my Judge.

Part of another Letter to the Queen.

I Learned by Dr. Martin, *that at the Day of your Majesty's Coronation, you took an Oath of Obedience to the Pope of* Rome, *and the same Time you took another Oath to this Realm, to maintain the Laws, Liberties, and Customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an Oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other Oaths which he useth to administer to Princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his Person, to maintain his Authority, Honour, Laws, Lands and Privileges. And if it be so (which I know not but by Report) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your Oath made to the Crown and Realm, and to expend and weigh the two Oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your Grace's Conscience shall give you: For I am surely persuaded, that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your Conscience for any Thing.*

But I fear that there be Contradictions in your Oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace thoroughly, did not their Duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two Oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the Matter as God shall put in your Heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from Company of learned Men, from Books, from Counsel, from Pen and Ink, except at this Time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a Man being in my Case. Wherefore I beseech your Majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your Majesty's Pleasure. And as for my Appearance at Rome, *if your Majesty will give me Leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my Mouth to defend*

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ſend his Truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly your Majeſty's Pleaſure.

Another Letter of the Archbiſhop's to Dr. *Martin* and Dr. *Story*.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promiſed, I have ſent my Letters unto the Queen's Majeſty unſigned, praying you to ſign them, and deliver them with all Speed. I might have ſent them by the Carrier ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing Mr. Bayliff ſay, that he will go to the Court on Friday, *I thought him a meet Meſſenger to ſend my Letters by. For better is later and ſurer, than ſooner and never to be delivered. Yet one Thing I have written to the Queen's Majeſty incloſed and ſealed; which I require you may be ſo delivered without Delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Grace's own Hands. I have written all that I remember I ſaid, except that which I ſpake againſt the Biſhop of* Glouceſter's *own Perſon, which I thought not meet to write. And in ſome Places I have written more than I ſaid, which I would have anſwered to the Biſhop, if you would have ſuffered me.*

You promiſed I ſhould ſee mine Anſwers to the ſixteen Articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your Promiſe you kept not. And mine Anſwer was not made upon mine Oath, nor repeated, nor made in Judicio, *but* extra Judicium, *as I proteſted; nor to the Biſhop of* Glouceſter *as Judge, but to you the King's and Queen's Proctors. I truſt you deal ſincerely with me without Fraud or Craft, and uſe me as you would wiſh to be in like Caſe yourſelves. Remember, that what meaſure you mete, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his Spirit to induce you into Truth.*

Ye have heard how Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in the Month of *February* was cited up to *Rome*, and in the Month of *March* next following was degraded by the Biſhop of *Ely* and Biſhop *Bonner*. In Time of which his Degradation he put up his Appellation.

In this his Appellation, becauſe he needed the Help of ſome good Lawyer, he writeth to a Friend of his about the ſame: The Copy of which Letter I thought good here to inſert as followeth.

A Letter of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* to a Lawyer, for the drawing out of his Appeal.

THE Law of Nature requireth of all Men, that ſo far forth as it may be done without Offence to God, every one ſhould ſeek to defend and preſerve his own Life. Which Thing when I about three Days ago bethought myſelf of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther *appealed in his Time from Pope* Leo *the Tenth to a general Council (leſt I ſhould ſeem raſhly and unadviſedly to caſt away myſelf) I determined to appeal in like Sort to ſome lawful and free general Council. But ſeeing the Order and Form of an Appeal pertaineth to the Lawyers, whereof I myſelf am ignorant, and ſeeing that* Luther's *Appeal cometh not to my Hand, I purpoſed to break my Mind in this Matter to ſome faithful Friend, and ſkilful in the Law, whoſe Help I might uſe in this Behalf, and you only among others came to my Remembrance, as a Man moſt meet in this Univerſity for my Purpoſe. But this is a Matter that requireth great ſilence, ſo that no Man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make mine Anſwer at* Rome, *the 16th Day of this Month, before which Day I think it good after Sentence pronounced, to make mine Appeal. But whether I ſhould firſt appeal from the Judge Delegate to the Pope, and ſo afterward to the general Council, or elſe leaving the Pope, I ſhould appeal immediately to the Council, herein I ſtand in need of your Counſel.*

Many Cauſes there be for which I think good to appeal. Firſt, *becauſe I am by an Oath bound never to conſent to the receiving of the Biſhop of* Rome's *Authority into this Realm. Beſides this, whereas I utterly refuſed to make anſwer to the Articles objected unto me by the Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *appointed by the Pope to be my Judge, yet I was content to anſwer* Martin *and* Story *with this Proteſtation, that mine Anſwer ſhould not be taken as made before a Judge, nor yet in place of Judgment, but as pertaining nothing to Judgment at all: Moreover, after I had made mine Anſwer, I required to have a Copy of the ſame, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good: Which, though both the Biſhop of* Glouceſter, *and alſo the King and the Queen's Proctors promiſed me, yet have they altogether broken Promiſe with me, and have not permitted me to correct my ſaid Anſwers according to my Requeſt; and yet notwithſtanding have (as I underſtand) regiſtred the ſame as Acts formally done in place of Judgment.*

Finally, foraſmuch as all this my Trouble cometh upon my departing from the Biſhop of Rome, *and from the popiſh Religion, ſo that now the Quarrel is betwixt the Pope himſelf and me, and no Man can be a lawful and indifferent Judge in his own Cauſe; it ſeemeth (methinks) good Reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appear to ſome general Council in this Matter; eſpecially ſeeing the Law of Nature (as they ſay) denieth no Man the Remedy of Appeal in ſuch Caſes.*

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this Matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect Skill herein you ſhall have need of further Advice; then I beſeech you even for the Fidelity and Love you bear to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no Creature alive whoſe the Caſe is. And foraſmuch as the Time is now at Hand, and the Matter requireth great Expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your Studies and Buſineſs for the Time, you will apply this my Matter only, till you have brought it to paſs. The chiefeſt Cauſe in very Deed (to tell you the Truth) of this mine Appeal is, that I might gain Time (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to live until I have finiſhed mine Anſwer againſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, *which I have now in Hand. But if the Adverſaries of the Truth will not admit mine Appeal, as I fear they will not, God's Will be done; I paſs not upon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my Life, or by my Death. For it is much better for me to die in Chriſt's Quarrel, and to reign with him, than here to be ſhut up and kept in the Priſon of this Body, unleſs it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this Warfare, for the Advantage and Profit of my Brethren, and to the further advancing of God's Glory. To whom be all Glory for evermore,* Amen.

This *Conſtantius* was *Stephen Gardiner*, as conſtant indeed as a Weather-cock, who thus named himſelf, writing againſt this good Archbiſhop.

There is alſo yet another Cauſe why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome *to anſwer there for myſelf, I am notwithſtanding*

kept here faſt in Priſon, that I cannot there appear at the Time appointed: And moreover, foraſmuch as the State I ſtand in is a Matter of Life and Death, ſo that I have great need of learned Counſel for my Defence in this Behalf; yet when I made my earneſt Requeſt for the ſame, all Manner of Counſel, and Help of Proctors, Advocates and Lawyers was utterly denied me.

Your loving Friend,

Thomas Cranmer.

Another Letter of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* to Mrs. *Wilkinſon*, exhorting her to fly in the Time of Perſecution.

THE true Comforter in all Diſtreſs is only God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and whoſoever hath him, hath Company enough if he were in a Wilderneſs all alone: And he that hath twenty thouſand in his Company, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable Wilderneſs and Deſolation. In him is all Comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beſeech you ſeek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly ſerve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be ſo heavy a Burden as an unquiet Conſcience, to be in ſuch a Place as a Man cannot be ſuffered to ſerve God in Chriſt's Religion? If you be loth to depart from your Kindred and Friends, remember that Chriſt calleth them his Mother, Siſters and Brothers, that do his Father's Will. Where we
Matth. 3. *find therefore God truly honoured according to his Will, there we can lack neither Friend nor Kindred.*

If you be loth to depart for the Slander of God's Word, remember that Chriſt, when his Hour was
John 4. *not yet come, departed out of his Country into* Samaria, *to avoid the Malice of the Scribes and*
Matth. 5. *Phariſees; and commanded his Apoſtles that if they were purſued in one Place they ſhould fly to another.*
2 Cor. 12. *And was not* Paul *let down by a Baſket out at a Window, to avoid the Perſecution of* Aretas? *And what Wiſdom and Policy he uſed from Time to Time to eſcape the Malice of his Enemies, the* Acts *of the Apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort did the other Apoſtles, albeit, when it came to ſuch a Point, that they could no longer eſcape Danger of the Perſecutors of God's true Religion, then they ſhewed themſelves, that they flying before came not of Fear, but of godly Wiſdom to do more good; and that they would not raſhly without urgent Neceſſity offer themſelves to Death, which had been but a Temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid then they ſtood boldly to the Profeſſion of Chriſt; then they ſhewed how little they paſſed of Death; how much they feared God more than Men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal Life to come above this ſhort and miſerable Life.*

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Chriſt's Commandment, as by the Example of him and his Apoſtles, to withdraw yourſelf from the Malice of yours and God's Enemies, into ſome Place where God is moſt purely ſerved; which is no ſlandering of the Truth, but a preſerving of yourſelf to God, and the Truth, and to the Society and Comfort of Chriſt's little Flock. And that you will do, do it with Speed, leſt by your own Folly you fall into the Perſecutors Hands. And the Lord ſend his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you whereſoever you go, and all that be godly will ſay, Amen.

Unto theſe former Letters of Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop, written by him unto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of Place to annex withal a certain Letter alſo of Dr. *Taylor*, written to him and his fellow Priſoners: The Tenor of which Letter here followeth.

To my dear Fathers and Brethren, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, Priſoners in *Oxford* for the faithful Teſtimony of God's holy Word.

RIght reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enjoy continually God's Grace and Peace through Jeſus Chriſt; and God be praiſed again for this your moſt excellent Promotion which ye are called unto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongſt the Number of Chriſt's Records and Witneſſes. England *hath had but a few learned Biſhops, that would ſtick to Chriſt* * ad ignem *incluſive. Once again I thank God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy Onſet, moſt valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch Infamies, Hiſſings, Clappings, Taunts, open Rebukes, Loſs of Living and Liberty, for the Defence of God's Cauſe, Truth and Glory, I cannot utter with Pen how I rejoice in my Heart for you three ſuch Captains in the foreward under Chriſt's Croſs, Banner or Standard, in ſuch a Cauſe and Skirmiſh, when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's ſtrong Holds are beſieged, but all his chief Caſtles ordained for our Safeguard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your Enterprize in the Sight of all that be in Heaven, and of all God's People in Earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is another Manner of Nobility than to be in the Fore-front in worldly Warfares. For God's ſake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his Name be praiſed, and we doubt not but ye be ſo in Chriſt's own ſweet School. Heaven is all and wholly of our Side; therefore, Rejoyce always in the Lord: And again, Rejoyce and be glad.*

* Many profeſs God *Ad ignem* excluſive, that is, in Words and outward Profeſſion: But few ſtick to him *Ad ignem* incluſive, that is, in Deed and Suffering for his Sake.

Your aſſured in Chriſt,

Rowland Taylor.

On the Recantation of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, while in Priſon.

HOW near, great Cranmer, *had thy Footſteps fail'd,*
But thou'rt recover'd with a ſteddier Pace:
Thy Fall to thy ſure Goings much avail'd,
And brought thee more into thy Saviour's Grace.
Denying makes thee bolder own thy Cauſe;
So Good from Evil oft th'Almighty draws.

Beſides 'tis lawful Fraud 'gainſt Fraud to uſe,
Since the falſe popiſh Tribe (we always find)
Endeavour ſtrongly others to abuſe. [*Kind.*
They're now but juſtly ſerv'd in their own
This pious Fraud then let us boldly own,
And give the Glory unto God alone.

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On his Death.

UNhappy's he wh' offends his God, howe'er
His outward Bleſſings to the World appear,
But he who ſerves him's happy, tho' forlorn,
Tho' doom'd to Death and univerſal Scorn.
This, Cranmer, *was thy Fate, unhappy made,*
By the too flatt'ring Love of Life betray'd.
But, to that Trifle, when you Death preferr'd,
Eternal Happineſs was your Reward.

Agnes Potten, *and* Joan Trunchfield, *Martyrs, perſecuted in* Suffolk.

IN the Story of *Robert Samuel*, mention was made before of two pious Women of the ſame Town of *Ipſwich*, who ſhortly after him ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the Crown of Martyrdom; the Names of whom was *Agnes*, Wife of *Robert Potten*; and another, Wife of *Michael Trunchfield*, a Shoemaker, both dwelling in one Town; who, about the ſame Time that the Archbiſhop aforeſaid was burnt at *Oxford*, ſuffered likewiſe in the aforeſaid Town of *Ipſwich*, either in the ſame Month of *March*, or (as ſome ſay) in the End of *February* before.

Their Opinion or Perſuaſion was this, that in the Sacrament was the Memorial only of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion: For (ſaid they) Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into Heaven, and is on the Right-Hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

For this they were burnt. In whoſe Suffering their Conſtancy worthily was to be wonder'd at, who being ſo ſimple Women, ſo manfully ſtood to the Confeſſion and Teſtimony of God's Word and Verity; inſomuch, that when they had prepared and undreſſed themſelves ready to the Fire, with comfortable Words of the Scripture they earneſtly required the People to credit and lay hold on the Word of God, and not upon Man's Devices and Inventions, deſpiſing the Ordinances and Inſtitutions of the *Romiſh* Antichriſt, with all his Superſtitions and rotten Religion; and ſo continuing in the Torment of Fire, they held up their Hands and called unto God conſtantly ſo long as Life did endure.

This *Potten*'s Wife, one Night a little before her Death, being aſleep in her Bed, ſaw a bright burning Fire, right up as a Pole, and on the ſide of the Fire ſhe thought there ſtood a Number of Queen *Mary*'s Friends looking on. Then being aſleep, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with herſelf whether her Fire ſhould burn ſo bright or no; and indeed her Suffering was not far unlike to her Dream.

This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two being always together in Priſon, the one which was *Michael*'s Wife, ſeemed to be nothing ſo ardent and zealous as *Potten*'s Wife was, although (God be thanked) they did both ſtoutly ſtand to the Confeſſion of the Truth; but when the ſaid *Michael*'s Wife came to the Stake, and ſaw nothing but preſent Death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in Joy and Comfort; albeit both of them did ſo joyfully ſuffer, as it was marvelled at of thoſe who knew them, and did behold their End. And thus theſe two Martyrs ended their Lives with great Triumph: The Lord grant we may do the like. *Amen.*

The Hiſtory of John Maundrel, William Coberley, *and* John Spicer, *Martyrs, perſecuted in the Dioceſe of* Saliſbury.

JOHN Maundrel, was the Son of *Robert Maundrel* of *Rowd* in the County of *Wilts*, Farmer: He was from his Childhood brought up in Husbandry, and when he came to Man's Eſtate, he dwelt in a Village call'd *Buchampten*, in the Pariſh of *Kevel*, in the County aforeſaid, where he lived in good Repute with his Wife and Children. After the Scripture was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *William Tindal*, this *John Maundrel* became a diligent Hearer thereof, and a fervent Embracer of God's true Religion, ſo that he delighted in nothing ſo much, as to hear and ſpeak of God's Word, never being without the New Teſtament about him altho' he could not read himſelf. But when he came into any Company that could read, his Book was always ready, having a very good Memory, ſo that he could recite by heart moſt Places of the New Teſtament; his Life and Converſation being very honeſt and charitable, as his Neighbours are able to teſtify.

So it was, that in the Days of King *Henry* the Eighth, at which time Dr. *Trigonion* and Dr. *Lee* did viſit Abbeys, the ſaid *John Maundrel* was brought before Dr. *Trigonion* at an Abbey called *Edyngton* in *Wiltſhire*; where he was accuſed that he had ſpoken againſt the holy Water and holy Bread, and ſuch like Ceremonies, and for the ſame did wear a white Sheet, bearing a Candle in his Hand about the Market, in the Town of the *Devizes*, which is in the ſaid County. Nevertheleſs his Fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful Aſſiſtance he took better hold, as the Sequel thereof did declare.

For in the Days of Queen *Mary*, when Popery was reſtored again, and God's true Religion put to Silence, the ſaid *John Maundrel* left his own Houſe and went into *Glouceſterſhire*, and into the north Part of *Wiltſhire*, wandering from one to another to ſuch Men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a Servant to keep their Cattle, he there did remain with one *John Bridges*, or ſome other at *Kingſwood*; but after a Time he returned to his Country, and there coming to the *Devizes* to a Friend of his named *Anthony Clee*, had Talk and Conference with him in a Garden, of returning home to his Houſe.

And when the other exhorted him by the Words of Scripture, to fly from one City to another, he replied again by the Words of the *Revelations* xxi. of them that be fearful, *&c.* ſaid, that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did. Where he with *Spicer* and *Coberley* uſed at Times to reſort and confer together.

At length upon the *Sunday* following they agreed together to go to the Pariſh-Church called *Kevel*, where the ſaid *Maundrel* and the other two ſeeing the Pariſhioners in the Proceſſion to follow and worſhip the Idol there carried,

carried, advertiſed them to leave the ſame, and to return to the living God, namely, ſpeaking to one *Robert Barkſdale* head Man of the Pariſh, but he took no Regard to their Words.

After this the Vicar came into the Pulpit, who there being about to read his Bead-roll, and to pray for the Souls in Purgatory; the ſaid *John Maundrel* ſpeaking with an audible Voice, ſaid, that was the Pope's Pinfold, the other two affirming the ſame. After which Words, by Command of the Prieſt, they were had to the Stocks, where they remained till their Service was done, and then were brought before a Juſtice of Peace, and the next Day were all three carried to *Salisbury*, and preſented before Biſhop *Capon*, and *W. Geffrey* being Chancellor of the Dioceſe. By whom they were impriſoned, and oftentimes examined of their Faith in their Houſes, but ſeldom openly. And at the laſt Examination theſe were the Articles which the Chancellor alledged againſt them, being accompanied with the Sheriff of the Shire, Mr. *St. Johns*, and other popiſh Prieſts in the Pariſh-church of *Fiſherton Anger*, demanding how they did believe.

They anſwered, as chriſtian Men ſhould and ought to believe: And firſt they ſaid, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, the twelve Articles of the Creed, the holy Scripture from the firſt of *Geneſis* to the laſt of the *Revelations*.

But that Faith the Chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he poſed them in particular Articles: Firſt, whether they did not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) after the Words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt at Maſs, there remained no Subſtance of Bread nor Wine, but Chriſt's Body, Fleſh and Blood, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*. Whereunto they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the popiſh Maſs was abominable Idolatry, and injurious to the Blood of Chriſt; but confeſſing, that in a faithful Congregation, receiving the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, being duly adminiſtred according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, Chriſt's Body and Blood is ſpiritually received of the faithful Believer.

Alſo, being asked whether the Pope was ſupreme Head of the Church, and Chriſt's Vicar on Earth; they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the Biſhop of *Rome* doth uſurp over Emperors and Kings, being Antichriſt, and God's Enemy.

The Chancellor ſaid, Will you have the Church without Head? They anſwered, Chriſt was Head of his Church, and under Chriſt the Queen's Majeſty.

What, ſaid the Chancellor, a Woman Head of the Church? Yea, ſaid they, within her Grace's Dominions.

Alſo, whether the Souls in Purgatory were delivered by the Pope's Pardon, and the Suffrages of the Church?

They ſaid, they believed faithfully that the Blood of Chriſt had purged their Sins, and the Sins of them that were ſaved, unto the End of the World, ſo that they feared nothing the Pope's Purgatory, or eſteemed his Pardons.

Alſo, whether Images were neceſſary to be in the Churches, as Lay-mens Books, and Saints to be prayed unto and worſhipped.

They anſwered negatively, *John Maundrel* adding, that wooden Images were good to roaſt a Shoulder of Mutton, but evil in the Church; whereby Idolatry was committed.

Anno 1556.

Thoſe Articles thus anſwered (for their Articles were one, and their Anſwers in Manner alike) the Chancellor read their Condemnation, and ſo delivered them to the Sheriff. Then ſpake *John Spicer*, ſaying, O Maſter Sheriff, now muſt you be their Butcher, that you may be guilty alſo with them of innocent Blood before the Lord. This was the 23d Day of *March* 1556, and the 24th Day of the ſame Month they were carried out of the common Gaol to a Place betwixt *Salisbury* and *Wilton*, where were two Poſts ſet for them to be burnt at. Which Men coming to the Place, kneeled down, and made their Prayers ſecretly together, and then being uncloathed to their Shirts, *John Maundrel* ſpake with a loud Voice, Not for all *Salisbury*. Which Words Men judged to be an Anſwer to the Sheriff, who offered him the Queen's Pardon if he would recant. And after that in like Manner ſpake *John Spicer*, ſaying, This is the joyfulleſt Day that ever I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two Stakes; Where moſt conſtantly they gave their Bodies to the Fire, and their Souls to the Lord, for Teſtimony of his Truth.

As touching *William Coberly*, this moreover is to be noted, that his Wife alſo, called *Alice*, being apprehended, was detained in the Keeper's Houſe at the ſame Time that her Husband was in Priſon. Where the Keeper's Wife, named *Agnes Penicote*, had ſecretly heated a Key Fire-hot, and laid it in the Graſs in the Backſide. So ſpeaking to *Alice Coberly* to fetch her the Key in all Haſte, the ſaid *Alice* went with Speed to bring the Key, and ſo taking up the Key in haſte did pitiouſly burn her Hand. Whereupon ſhe crying out at the ſudden burning of her Hand, Ah thou Drab, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abide the burning of the Key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole Body? and ſo ſhe afterward revoked.

But to return again to the Story of *Coberly*, who being at the Stake, was ſomewhat longer a burning as the Wind ſtood: After his Body was ſcorched with the Fire, and his left Arm drawn and taking from him by the Violence of the Fire, that the Fleſh being burnt to the white Bone, at length he ſtooped over the Chain, and with the right Hand, being ſomewhat ſtarkned, knock'd upon his Breaſt ſoftly, the Blood and Matter iſſuing out of his Mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, ſuddenly he roſe upright with his Body again. And thus much concerning theſe three *Salisbury* Martyrs.

A Diſcourſe of the Death of Six other Martyrs ſuffering at London, *whoſe Names follow.*

ABOUT the 23d Day of *April*, 1556, were burned in *Smithfield* at one Fire, theſe ſix conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, *viz.*

Robert Drakes, Miniſter.
William Tyms, Curate.
Richard Spurge, Sheerman.
Thomas Spurge, Fuller.

John

Anno 1556.

John Cavel, Weaver.
George Ambroſe, Fuller.

They were all of *Eſſex*, and ſo of the Dioceſe of *London*, and were ſent up, ſome by the Lord *Rich*, and ſome by others at ſundry Times, unto *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, about the 22d Day of *March*, 1555; who after ſmall Examination, ſent them, ſome unto the *King's-Bench*, and others unto the *Marſhalſea*, where they remained almoſt all the whole Year, until the Death of the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and had during that Time nothing ſaid unto them. Whereupon after that Dr. *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* was choſen to the Office of Lord Chancellor, four of theſe perſecuted Brethren, being now weary of this their long Impriſonment, made their Supplication unto the ſaid Dr. *Heath*, requiring his Favour and Aid for their Deliverance: The Copy whereof enſueth.

To the Moſt Reverend Father in God, *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*.

MAY it pleaſe your honourable good Lordſhip, for the Love of God to tender the humble Suit of your Lordſhip's poor Orators, whoſe Names are ſubſcribed, who have lain in great Miſery in the Marſhalſea, *for the ſpace of ten Months and more, at the Commandment of the late Lord Chancellor, to their utter Ruin, with their Wives and Children. In Conſideration whereof your Lordſhip's ſaid Orators do moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good Lordſhip to ſuffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any Man of good Conſcience can lay any Thing to our Charge, we truſt either to declare our Innocency againſt their Accuſations, or if otherwiſe their Accuſations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign Puniſhments to ſatisfy the Law according to your wiſe Judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly Mercy toward us and all Men, according to your godly Office, and in which we pray for your godly Succeſs to the good Pleaſure of God*, Amen.

This Supplication was ſent (as is ſaid) and ſubſcribed with the Names of theſe four under written:

Richard Spurge.
Thomas Spurge.
George Ambroſe.
John Cavel.

Richard Spurge.

UPON the Receipt hereof, it was not long after, but Sir *Richard Read*, Knt. then one of the Officers of the Court of Chancery, the 16th Day of *January*, was ſent unto the *Marſhalſea* to examine the ſaid four Priſoners; and therefore beginning firſt with *Richard Spurge* upon certain Demands, received his Anſwers thereunto: The Effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the Parſon of *Bocking* unto the Lord *Rich*, for not coming to their Pariſh-church of *Bocking*, where they had inhabited; thereupon was by the ſaid Lord *Rich* ſent unto the late Lord Chancellor, about the 22d of *March* laſt, *Anno* 1555.

And farther, he ſaid, that he came not to the Church ſince the firſt Alteration of the *Engliſh* Service into *Latin* (*Chriſtmas* Day then a Twelvemonth only excepted) and that becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the Maſs alſo, as not conſonant and agreeing with God's holy Word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the Matter, unleſs it pleaſed the Lord Chancellor, that then was, to know his Fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

THomas Spurge being then next examined, made the ſame Anſwer in Effect that the other had done; confeſſing, that he abſented himſelf from the Church, becauſe the Word of God was not there truly taught, nor the Sacraments of Chriſt duly adminiſtred in ſuch Sort as was preſcribed by the ſame Word. And being farther examined of his Belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſaid, That if any could accuſe him thereof, he would then make Anſwer as God had given him Knowledge therein.

George Ambroſe.

THE like Anſwer made *George Ambroſe*, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Book intituled, *De vera Obedientia*, with *Bonner*'s Preface thereunto annexed, inveighing both againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did ſet much leſs by their Doings than before.

John Cavel.

JOHN CAVEL agreeing in other Matters with them, anſwered, that the Cauſe why he did forbear coming to the Church, was, that the Parſon there had preached two contrary Doctrines. For firſt, in a Sermon that he made at the Queen's firſt entry to the Crown, he did exhort the People to believe the Goſpel; for it was the Truth, and if they did not believe it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond Sermon, he preached that the Teſtament was falſe * in forty Places, which Contrariety in him was a Cauſe, amongſt others, of his abſenting from the Church.

The Parſon of *Bocking* falſe and contrary to his own Doctrine.

Robert Drakes.

ABout the fourth Day of *March* next after, *Robert Drakes* was alſo examined, who was Parſon of *Thunderſley* in *Eſſex*, and had there remained for the Space of three Years. He was firſt made Deacon by Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, at the Commandment of Dr. *Cranmer*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And within one Year after (which was the third Year after King *Edward*) he was by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, admitted Miniſter of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, not after the Order then in force, but after ſuch Order as was after eſtabliſhed; and was preſented unto the ſaid Benefice of *Thunderſley* by the Lord *Rich*, at the Suit of Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Treheron*; and now notwithſtanding was ſent up by the ſaid Lord *Rich*, with the others before mentioned: And at his coming to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was by him demanded whether he could conform himſelf

ſelf like a Subject to the Laws of this Realm then in force. To whom he ſaid, he would abide all Laws that ſtood with the Laws of God; and thereupon was committed to Priſon, where he, and the reſt above named did remain ever ſince.

The Hiſtory of William Tyms, *Deacon, and Curate of* Hockley *in* Eſſex.

IN the Days of Queen *Mary* there were two Sermons preach'd in the Woods at *Hockley*, which Woods belonged to one Mr. *Tyrel*; one was called *Plumborough-wood* and the other *Beches-wood*, and there was at the ſame Sermons an honeſt Man and his Wife, whoſe Name was *John Gye*, and Servant to Mr. *Tyrel* at the Farm called *Plumborough*. Shortly after it was known to Mr. *Tyrel* that his Woods were polluted with Sermons, which he took very ill, and much Matter did ariſe about it as an unlawful Aſſembly, which was laid to *John Gye*'s Charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that unlawful Act to his Maſter, being then in the Commiſſion of the Peace, appointed at that Time to keep down the Goſpel, which he did to the utmoſt, as it may appear by many of his Acts. Good God give him Repentance if it be thy Will.

Soon after Mr. *Tyrel* came to *Hockley* to ſift out this Matter, and to know who was at theſe Preachings. Well, there were many faulty; for it is ſuppoſed there were an hundred Perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Mr. *Tyrel* to begin firſt with *John Gye*, and asked where that naughty Fellow was that ſerved their Pariſh, one *Tyms*; for it is told me, *ſaid he*, that he is the Cauſe to bring theſe naughty Fellows into the Country. Therefore I charge thee, *Gye*, to fetch me this naughty Fellow *Tyms*; for thou knoweſt where he is. No, ſaid *Gye*, I do not know. So in no wiſe could he make him fetch him.

Then ſtepped forth another of Mr. *Tyrel*'s Men, willing to pleaſe his Maſter, whoſe Name was *Richard Sheriff*, and ſaid to him; Sir, I know where he is. Well, ſaid his Maſter, Go to the Conſtables, and charge them to bring him to me.

So this *Richard Sheriff* being very diligent, made ſure work, and had him brought by the Conſtables (whoſe Names were *Edward Hedge* and *John James*) before his Maſter.

Then Mr. *Tyrel* commanded all the reſt to depart; and it was wiſely done, for he was not able to open his Mouth againſt *Tyms* without Reproach; and there he kept him about three Hours. But there were ſome that liſtened at the Walls, and heard Mr. *Tyrel* ſay thus to *Tyms*.

Methinketh, *ſaid he*, when I ſee the bleſſed Rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why Sir, ſaid *Tyms*, if an Idol that is made with Man's Hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the Creatures of God, as Man, being his Workmanſhip, or the Graſs, or the Trees that bring forth Fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. *Tyrel* ended his Talk with *Tyms*, as it were in a Heat, calling him a traitorly Knave.

Why Sir, ſaid *Tyms*, in King *Edward*'s Days you affirmed the Truth that I do now. Anno 1556.

Affirm! quoth *Tyrel*, nay, by God's Body I never thought it with my Heart.

Well, ſaid *Tyms*, I pray you Mr. *Tyrel* bear with me, for I have been a Traitor but a while, but you have been a Traitor ſix Years.

After this *Tyms* was ſent to *London* to the Biſhop, and from him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſo from him to the *King's-Bench*, and then was Mr. *Tyrel*'s Rage ceaſed with them that were in the Woods at the Sermons. So Mr. *Tyrel* took away *Gye*'s Coat, and gave it to *John Traiford*, and ſent him to St. *Toſies* to ſee good Rule kept there.

When *Tyms* came before the Biſhop of *London*, there was at that Time the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *William Tyms* was examined of his Faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted Man, that he had therewith to anſwer them both; for the Conſtables ſaid that brought him before the Biſhop, that they never heard the like. Then the Biſhop (as though he would have had *Tyms* to turn from the Truth) ſaid to the Conſtables, I pray you give him good Counſel, that he may turn from his Error. My Lord, ſaid the Conſtables, he is at a Point, for he will not turn. *W. Tyms* examined before Biſhop *Bonner* and the Biſhop of *Bath*.

Then both the Biſhops began to grow weary of him, for he had troubled them about ſix or ſeven Hours. Then the Biſhops began to pity *Tyms*'s Caſe, and to flatter him, ſaying, Ah good Fellow (ſaid they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh Spirit, we would thou hadſt Learning to thy Spirit. I thank you, my Lords, ſaid *Tyms*, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good Spirit to your Learning.

So thus they broke up, and ſent *Tyms* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and there were *Edward Hedge* and *John James* the Conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and *Tyms* was commanded to the *King's-Bench*, where he was mightily ſtrengthened with the good Men that he found there.

And thus hitherto ye have heard, firſt upon what Occaſion this *Williams Tyms* was apprehended, how he was treated by Mr. *Tyrel* the Juſtice, and by him ſent up to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs, which was Biſhop *Bonner*; who after ſome Talk and Debating with the ſaid *Tyms*, at length directed him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being then Lord Chancellor, and was commanded by him upon the ſame to the *King's-Bench*. *W. Tyms* ſent from Biſhop *Bonner* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Here by the Way is to be underſtood, that *Tyms* as he was but a Deacon, ſo he was but ſimply, or at leaſt not prieſtly apparelled, foraſmuch as he went not in a Gown, but in a Coat; and his Hoſe were of two Colours, the upper Part White, and the nether Stocks of Sheeps-ruſſet. Whereupon the Prelate ſending for him to come before him, and ſeeing his ſimple Attire, began to mock him, ſaying, Ah, Sirrah, are you a Deacon? Yes, my Lord, that I am, quoth *Tyms*. So methinketh, ſaid the Biſhop, ye are decked like a Deacon. My Lord, ſaid *Tyms*, my Veſture doth not ſo much vary from a Deacon; but methinketh your Apparel doth as much vary from an Apoſtle.

So then there ſpake one of the Biſhop's Gentlemen, My Lord (ſaid he in Mockery) give him a Chair, a Toaſt and Drink, and he will be luſty. But the Biſhop bade to have him away,

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way, and commanded him to come before him again the next Day at an Hour appointed.

But *Winchester*, for lack of Leiſure, or becauſe of Sickneſs growing upon him, or for what Cauſe elſe I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary Biſhop from whence he came. So *William Tyms* being put off again to Biſhop *Bonner*, was placed together and coupled with the other five Martyrs abovenamed, and with them brought together to publick Examination before the Biſhop the 21ſt Day of *March*, firſt in the Biſhop's Palace of *London*, where the ſaid Biſhop after his accuſtomed Manner proceeding againſt them, enquired of them their Faith upon the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom they anſwered, that the Body of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and corporally, after the Words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt: Of which Opinion they had been of long Time, ſome later, ſome ſooner, even as God of his Mercy did call upon them unto the Knowledge of his Goſpel.

R. Drakes, T. Spurge, R. Spurge. Cavel and Ambroſe, examined before the Biſhop of London.

Then the Biſhop's Chaplains began to reaſon with them, but with no great Authorities either of the Scriptures or of the ancient Fathers, as other their large Conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another Examination of Tyms *and* Drakes, *&c. before the Biſhop of* London.

THE 23d Day of the ſame Month of *March*, the Biſhop ſent again for *Tyms* and *Drakes*, and *Ex Officio*, did object unto them certain Articles, the Sum and Manner whereof were the ſame which before were objected to *Whittle*, *Green*, *Tudſon*, &c. And the 26th Day of the ſame Month he ſent for the other Four, adminiſtring to them alſo the ſame general Articles. Unto which they all in Effect anſwered in Matters touching their Faith, as did the ſaid *Bartlet Green* and the reſt. Other Appearings they had, as the Biſhop's common Manner of Proceeding was more (as I have often ſaid) for Order and Form of Law, than for any Zeal or Juſtice.

But in Concluſion, the 28th Day of the ſaid Month, *William Tyms* and *Robert Drakes*, with the other four abovenamed, were brought to the open Conſiſtory in *Paul*'s before the ſaid Biſhop of *London* to be condemned for Hereſy.

The Biſhop firſt began in this Manner: *Tyms*, ſaid he, I will begin with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt been the Ringleader of theſe thy Companions, thou haſt taught them Hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous Opinions, and haſt endeavoured as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyſelf. If thy Fault had not tended to the Hurt of others, I would then have uſed thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open Rebuke. I would according to the Rule of Chriſt in the 18th of *Matthew*, have told thee thy Fault between me and thee; if thou wouldſt not have heard me, I would not ſo have left thee, but I with two or three others would have exhorted thee; if that would not have ſerved, then would I have told the Church, *&c.* But for that thy Fault is open and manifeſt to the World, and thou thyſelf remaineſt ſtout in thine Error, this charitable Dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another Rule, whereof St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, *1 Tim. 5. Such as ſin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear.* For this Cauſe art thou brought before me in the Face of this People, to receive Judgment according to thy Deſerts. Let me hear what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not proceed againſt thee as thine Ordinary.

My Lord, quoth *Tyms*, will you now give me leave to ſpeak? Yea, quoth the Biſhop. Then ſaid *Tyms*, My Lord, I marvel that you will begin with a Lie. You call me the Ringleader and Teacher of this Company, but how untruly you have ſaid ſhall ſhortly appear: For there is none of all theſe my Brethren, which are brought hither as Priſoners, but when they were at Liberty and out of Priſon, they diſſented from you and your Doings, as much as they do at this preſent; and for that Cauſe they are now Priſoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their Religion in Priſon. And as for me, I never knew them, until ſuch Time as I by your Commandment was Priſoner with them; how could I then be their Ringleader and Teacher? ſo that all the World may ſee how untruly you have ſpoken. And as for my Fault which you make ſo grievous, whatſoever you judge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other Religion than Chriſt preached, the Apoſtles witneſſed, the primitive Church received, and now of late the apoſtolical and evangelical Preachers of this Realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burnt them, and now you ſeek our Blood alſo. Proceed on hardly by what Rule you will, I care not, I do not refuſe you for mine Ordinary.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their Ringleader. How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thyſelf to the catholick Church as an obedient Child? in ſo doing thou ſhalt be received and do well enough, otherwiſe thou ſhalt have Judgment as an Heretick.

Then one of the Priſoners (whoſe Name is not certainly known) ſaid, My Lord, you are no upright Judge, for you judge after your own Luſt. But if you will judge us according to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the Word of Truth, we will accord to your Judgment; for unto that Word we wholly ſubmit ourſelves. But as for your Judgment without the Truth, God ſhall condemn. This was very earneſtly expreſs'd, inſiſting that they might be judged by the Word of God.

At this the Biſhop was offended, calling him buſy Knave, and commanded him to hold his Tongue, or elſe he ſhould be had away to a Place of ſmaller Eaſe.

Then *Tyms* anſwered and ſaid, My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholick Church, whatſoever you judge of me. But as for your Church, you have before this Day, renounced it, and by corporal Oath, promiſed never to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to which you have received into this Realm the Pope's Authority, and therefore you are falſly perjured and forſworn all the Sort of you. Beſides this, you have both ſpoken and written very earneſtly againſt that uſurped Power, and now you burn Men that will not acknowledge the Pope to be ſupreme Head.

Have I, quoth the Biſhop? where have

I written any Thing againſt the Church of *Rome?*

My Lord, quoth *Tyms*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote a very learned Oration, intituled, *De vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy Matter againſt the *Romiſh* Authority: Unto which Book you made a Preface inveighing againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, reproving his Tyranny and Falſhood, calling his Power falſe and pretenſed. The Book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

Then was the Biſhop ſomewhat aſhamed, and looking upon thoſe that were preſent, ſpake very gently ſaying, Lo, here is a good Matter indeed. My Lord of *Wincheſter* being a great learned Man, did write a Book againſt the Supremacy of the Pope's Holineſs, and I alſo did write a Preface before the ſame Book, tending to the ſame Effect. And thus did we becauſe of the perillous World that then was. For then was it made Treaſon by the Laws of this Realm to maintain the Pope's Authority, and great Danger it was to be ſuſpected a Favourer of the See of *Rome*; and therefore Fear compelled us to comply with the Time, for otherwiſe there had been no Way but one. You know when any uttered his Conſcience in maintaining the Pope's Authority, he ſuffered Death for it.

Bonner took care of his Life in Time of Danger, though againſt his Conſcience, if he had any. If *Bonner* did not love his Religion ſo as to die for it, theſe pious Men loved Chriſt even unto Death, which at once declared the Goodneſs of their Cauſe and the Sincerity of their Hearts.

And then turning his Tale unto *Tyms*, he ſaid, But ſince that Time, even ſince the coming in of the Queen's Majeſty, when we might be bold to ſpeak our Conſcience we have acknowledged our Faults, and my Lord of *Wincheſter* ſhamed not to recant the ſame at *Paul's-Croſs*. And alſo thou thyſelf ſeeſt that I ſtand not in it, but willingly have ſubmitted myſelf. Do thou alſo as we have done.

My Lord, quoth *Tyms*, that which you have written againſt the Supremacy of the Pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is againſt the Word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I think it was Dr. *Cooke*, ſaid; *Tyms*, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the Scripture, and yet underſtandeſt it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayſt be compared: Thou art like to one which intending to go on Hunting, riſeth up early in the Morning, taketh his Hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the Hills, and down into the Valleys; he paſſeth over the Fields, over Hedge and Ditch, he ſearched the Woods and Thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole Day, without finding any Game. At Night Home he cometh, weary of his Travel, not having caught any Thing at all; and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in reading of the Scriptures, thou takeſt the Letter, but the Meaning thou knoweſt not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the Man I ſpake of even now.

An Hunter's Parable againſt *William Tyms*, wiſely apply'd.

Sir, quoth *Tyms*, you have not well apply'd your Similitude; for I praiſe God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably: But God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my Salvation.

Tyms's Anſwer to the Hunter's Similitude.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, You brag much of Knowledge, and yet you know nothing: You ſpeak much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tell me; How knoweſt thou that Thing to be the Word of God, which thou calleſt Scripture?

To this anſwered *Robert Drakes*, that he knew it to be the Word of God, becauſe it ſhewed unto Men their Salvation in Chriſt, and doth revoke and call back all Men from wicked Life, unto a pure and undefiled Converſation. Anno 1556.

The Biſhop reply'd, That the heathen Writers have taught Precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture, and yet their Writings are not eſteemed to be God's Word.

Then ſaid *Tyms*, The Old Teſtamant beareth Witneſs of thoſe Things which are written in the New; for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Teſtament but it was fore-ſhewed in the Law and the Prophets.

I will deny all, quoth the Biſhop, I will deny all; what ſay'ſt thou then? Then *Robert Drakes* alledged a Sentence in *Latin* out of the 59th Chapter of *Iſaiah*'s Propheſy; *Spiritus meus qui eſt in te*, &c. that is, *My Spirit which is in thee, and my Words which I have put in thy Mouth, ſhall not depart out of the Mouth of thy Seed, nor out of the Mouth of the Seed of thy Seed from henceforth even for ever*? meaning thereby to prove, that he who had the Spirit of God, could thereby diſcern and judge truly which was God's Word: But before he could explicate his Mind, he was interrupted by the Biſhop, who ſpake unto Dr. *Pendleton*, ſaying.

Mr. Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomewhat unto theſe Folks that may do them ſome good. Then Dr. *Pendleton* leaning near the Biſhop, covered his Face with both his Hands, to the End he might the more quietly deviſe what to ſay; but other Talk was preſently miniſtred, ſo that for that Time he ſaid nothing.

Bonner calleth for help, *Pendleton* doth ſtudy to help him.

And thus much *William Alsbury*, Witneſs hereof, being preſent thereat, ſo far as he heard hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſaid (for they made not yet an End a good while after) becauſe he departed then out of the Houſe, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the Biſhop, after this, and ſuch like Communication, proceeded at length in form of Law, cauſing both the Articles and his Anſwers to the ſame, to be then and there openly read: The Sum of which his Confeſſion recorded and left by his own Hand-writing, tendeth to this Effect as followeth.

The Articles for which William Tyms *of* Hockley *in* Eſſex, *was condemned in the Conſiſtory of St.* Paul's, *the* 28*th of* March, *with his Anſwers and Confeſſion upon the ſame.*

FIRST, I did truly confeſs and believe that I was baptized in the true catholick Church of Chriſt; for when I was baptized, there was the Element and the Word of God, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution. And my Godfathers and Godmothers did promiſe for me, that I ſhould forſake the Devil, and all his Works, and that I ſhould keep God's Commandments, and believe all the Articles of the chriſtian Faith; all which I do believe at this Day, and with God's Help I truſt to do while I live: for it was not the Wickedneſs of the Miniſter that made the Sacrament of none Effect, &c.

Item,

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Item, I confeſſed two Sacraments, and but two in Chriſt's true Church; that is, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his Sacraments, as it pleaſeth him.

Item, I confeſſed, that Chriſt hath a viſible Church, wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the Sacraments truly adminiſtred.

Item, I confeſſed the See of *Rome* to be as the late Biſhop of *Wincheſter* hath written in his Book, *De vera Obedientia*, to which I ſaid unto the Biſhop of *London*, that he had made a godly Preface; and alſo *John Bale* hath plainly declared in his Book, called The Image of both Churches, even ſo much as I believe thereof.

Item, I confeſſed the Maſs to be Blaſphemy to Chriſt's Death and Paſſion.

Item, I confeſſed that in the Sacrament of the Altar Chriſt is preſent, either ſpiritually or corporally; but as they uſe it, it is an abominable Idol.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the Biſhop of *London* to be mine Ordinary.

After this the Biſhop fell to Intreaty and Perſuaſions, and earneſtly exhorted him to revoke his Hereſies (as he termed them) and to reform himſelf unto the Church of *Rome*, and not to ſtick ſo much to the literal Senſe of the Scriptures, but to uſe the Interpretation of the old Fathers.

To which *Tyms* anſwered, I will not reform myſelf thereunto. And I thank God for this Day, for I truſt he will turn your Curſings into Bleſſings.

And furthermore, asking this Queſtion, he ſaid: And what have you to maintain the real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, but only the bare Letter?

We have (quoth the Biſhop) the Catholick Church.

No, ſaid *Tyms*, you have the popiſh Church of *Rome* for you, for which you be perjured and forſworn. And the See of *Rome* is the See of Antichriſt; and therefore to that Church I will not conform myſelf, nor once conſent unto it.

Then the Biſhop ſeeing his conſtant Boldneſs to be unmoveable, proceeding to his Condemnation, pronounced the Sentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the ſecular Power.

Afterwards calling for *Robert Drakes*, he uſed towards him the like Manner of Exhortation that he did before.

To whom *Drakes* ſaid, As for your Church of *Rome*, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the Works thereof, even as I deny the Devil and all his Works.

The Biſhop then uſing his accuſtomed Order of Law, with his like Exhortations, at laſt gave him the like Bleſſing that *Tyms* had, and ſo charged the Sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the Catholick Church, ſaid as followeth: As for your Church of *Rome* I do utterly deny it; but to the true Catholick Church I am content to return, and continue in the ſame, whereof I believe the Church of *Rome* to be no Part or Member.

Then in fine, calling the reſt in their Turns, and upon the like Demands receiving the like Anſwers, the ſaid Biſhop gave unto each of them their ſeveral Judgments; and ſo ridding his bloody Hands, committed them unto the Cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *London*, who ſent them unto *Newgate*, whither they all went moſt joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good Time, wherein they ſhould ſeal this their Faith with the ſhedding of their Blood; which they moſt ſtoutly and willingly performed in the Month of *April*.

A Letter of *William Tyms* to his faithful Siſter in the Lord, *Agnes Glaſcock*, Pariſhioner in the Town of *Hockley*.

THE Grace, Mercy, and Peace of God our Father through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, with the ſweet Comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the Performance of his Will, to your everlaſting Comfort, be with you my dear Siſter Glaſcock, *both now and evermore.* Amen.

My moſt dear and entirely beloved Siſter, yea Mother I might rightly well call you for the motherly Care which you have always had for me, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, giving God moſt hearty Thanks for you, that he hath given you ſo loving a Heart to Chriſt's poor Goſpel, and his poor afflicted Flock for the ſame: And as you have full godly begun, ſo I beſeech God to give you Power to go forward in the ſame, and never more to look back, fearing neither Fire nor Sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear Heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was preſent with you, and alſo written being abſent, and no doubt we ſhall ſhortly meet again with a moſt joyful Meeting. I go on Friday *next to the Biſhop of* London's *Coal-houſe, which is the 20th Day of* March, *where I think it will be hard for any of my Friends to ſpeak with me. Howbeit I truſt I ſhall not long tarry there, but ſhortly after be carried up after my dear Brethren and Siſters, which are gone before me into Heaven in a fiery Chariot: Therefore now I take my Leave of you till we meet in Heaven; and haſten you after.*

I have tarried a great while for you, and ſeeing you are ſo long making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You ſhall find me merrily ſinging, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my Journey's End. Therefore now (my dear Heart) make good Haſte, and loiter not by the Way, leſt Night take you, and ſo ye be ſhut out of the Gate with the fooliſh Virgins. And now (my Siſter) in Witneſs that I have taught you nothing but the Truth, here I write my Name with my Blood for a Teſtimonial unto you, that I will ſeal the ſimple Doctrine which I have taught you, with the reſt. And thus fare you well: And God defend you from Antichriſt, and all his Miniſters, the falſe Prieſts. Amen.

Theſe Words following were written with his own Blood:

Continue in Prayer.
Ask in Faith.
And obtain your Deſire.

By me W. Tyms *in the* King's-Bench *for the Goſpel of Chriſt.*

Another Letter of the ſaid *William Tyms*, wherein he comforteth his Siſter *Glaſcock*, being in great Sorrow and Repentance for going to the Maſs.

GOD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your Sins, and ſend you Faith to believe the ſame, that you may be Partaker of his heavenly Kingdom. Amen.

My dear Siſter, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being Partaker with that idolatrous Prieſt; ſo have I, ſince I heard of your earneſt Repentance, very much rejoyced, and alſo praiſed Almighty God for his Mercy ſhewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourſelf, but ſince your Denial he hath ſhewed his Mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, *and ſo cauſed you to repent as* Peter *did, and bitterly to weep for your Sins: Whereas if God had left you to yourſelf, you had run forward from one Evil to another, till at length your Heart ſhould either have been hardened, or elſe you ſhould have deſpaired of the Mercy of God. And ſeeing that God hath been ſo merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful to him for the ſame. For I certify you, that your ſorrowful Heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your Sins for the Bloodſhedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.*

Therefore as Peter, *after the Time that Chriſt had forgiven him his Sin, did boldly confeſs Chriſt before all his Enemies; even ſo my dear Heart in the Lord, ſeeing that God hath ſo mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your Sins, now cleave unto him, and be at Defiance with his Enemies the Papiſts: And as they do bear witneſs with their Father the Devil, by going to the Church, and ſhedding the innocent Blood of all thoſe that will not go with them; even ſo do you bear witneſs with Chriſt, by not coming there: For all thoſe that go thither ſhall be Partakers of their Brethrens Blood, that is ſhed for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, except they repent and amend; which Grace that they may ſo do, I beſeech the eternal God, for his Chriſt's Sake, if it be his good Will, to give them in his good Time. And the ſame good God that hath been ſo merciful unto you to call you to Repentance, him I beſeech to keep you in his Fear and Love, that you may have always Affiance in him, and evermore ſeek his Honour and Glory to your everlaſting Comfort in Chriſt.* Amen. *Thus fare you well. From the* King's-Bench *this 28th of* Auguſt. *By me,*

William Tyms.

Another Letter of *William Tyms*, giving Thanks to his Pariſhioners, for their Charity ſhewed to his Wife, being brought to Bed of a Child in his Captivity.

THE everlaſting Peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweet Comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the Increaſe of your Faith, to the Performance of his Will, and to your eternal Comfort in the everlaſting Kingdom of Heaven, be with you my dear Brethren and Siſters both now and ever. Amen.

Anno 1556.

My moſt dear Brethren and Siſters in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, with hearty Thanks for all the great Liberality that you have ſhewed unto me, and eſpecially now in the Time of my Neceſſity, when that God hath ſent my poor Wife a Child in my Captivity; which is no little Care to me, ſo to provide, that I might keep both the Child and my Wife from the Antichriſtian Church: Which Thing I thank my God, through his moſt gracious Providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great Charge, not to me, but to the Congregation of God; and it grieveth me that I have been ſo chargeable to them as I have been, and eſpecially you my dear Brethren, I being ſo unworthy a Member as I have been, and alſo of ſo ſmall Acquaintance; but ſuch is the merciful Goodneſs of God, ſo to move your Hearts with Charity towards me. And as he hath moved your Hearts ſo to do, even ſo I beſeech God to give you Power to forſake and refuſe all Things which be diſpleaſant in his Sight, and to do all Things which are requiſite to a Chriſtian; and ſend you Grace to go forwards in the ſame as you have godly begun, neither fearing Fire nor Sword. And, my moſt dear Hearts, remember well the ſimple plain Doctrine which I have taught you, and alſo written unto you, which was the Truth, and for a Teſtimony of the ſame I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly hear, or elſe ſee that I will ſeal the ſame with my Blood. And in the mean Time I deſire you all to remember me in your Prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's Help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Chriſt's Sake, will ſo finiſh the Days of our Pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob, *in the everlaſting Kingdom of Heaven, to which I beſeech the eternal God for his Chriſt's Sake to bring both you and all yours,* Amen.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of *William Tyms*, with an Exhortation to all God's faithful Servants, to eſchew the Society of Idolaters.

GRace be with you, and Peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

I thank my God with all Remembrance of you always in my Prayers for you, and pray with Gladneſs, becauſe of the Fellowſhip which ye have in the Goſpel, from the firſt Day that I knew you, until this Day; and I am ſurely certify'd of this, that he who hath begun a good Work in you, ſhall go forth with it, until the Day of Jeſus Chriſt, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my Heart, and as Companions of Grace with me, even in my Bonds. And thus I pray, that your Love may increaſe more and more in Knowledge. Good Brethren, I moſt heartily deſire God, that as you have a willing Mind to comfort my vile earthly Body in this Time of Perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my Impriſonment do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrengthen and comfort you, to ſee the Goodneſs of God ſhewed unto me, in that being a Man without Learning, and brought before three ſuch Biſhops concerning worldly Wiſdom, he gave me both Mouth and Wiſdom; inſomuch that the Biſhop of London *went away in a great Haſte from me, and after that he ſent his Man with a Bible, turning to the ninth Chapter to the* Hebrews, *and the Biſhop of* Bath *looking on it, ſaid, What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for*

Bonner went away from Tyms, belike not able to make his Part good.

Anno 1556.

for his Purpose. Then I looked on it, and said, My Lord seeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the Sacrifice of your Mass: For you say that you offer a daily Sacrifice in your Mass, both for the Quick and the Dead; and here St. Paul *saith,* Without Blood-shedding there is no Forgiveness of Sins; *therefore that is here condemned. He answered, Yea, saith he so? So say all such Hereticks, and so forth, with many like Arguments, which my Neighbours that heard them can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written that you should not be afraid, but call upon God as he hath commanded us to ask and you shall have; seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you. Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the Day of Trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not both Mouth and Wisdom at his Hand, the Fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our Wickedness, and amend our Lives, or else we be unfaithful, and believe not the Promises of God; and so we ourselves are the Cause that this Wisdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our Lives, and God is merciful. And in any Case, as I have always said unto you, since I first knew you, so say I now: Beware of Idolatry, and of your good Intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's Commandments, and done their own good Intents. Remember when the Children of* Israel *had made them a Golden Calf, did not God say they had marr'd all, and would have destroy'd them, had not* Moses *earnestly pray'd for them? I let many other Places alone that prove the Wrath of God to come upon the People for Idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the Wrath of God, let us keep us unstained from it. You have Example out of the Old Testament, how loth the godly Fathers were to be Partakers with the Wicked: And yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any christian Man's Heart to weep. God send us more Grace.*

Heb. 9. God giveth Mouth and Utterance to his Saints.

Warning to come away from the Wicked.

First, *look in the* 11*th and* 12*th of* Genesis; Abraham, *because he would not be Partaker of their Idolatry, fled from the People of* Chaldea, *being his native Country. And in the* 19*th of* Genesis, Lot *at the Commandment of the Angels departed from* Sodom, *lest he tarrying with the* Sodomites *should have been consumed with them. In the* 21*st of* Genesis, Sarah *would not suffer* Ishmael, *who was given to mocking, to keep company with her Son* Isaac, *lest he should also become a Mocker. Look in the* 16*th of* Numbers, Moses *at God's Appointment commanded the People to depart from the Dwelling-places of* Korah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *lest they also should be all wrapped in their Sins, and so perish among them. So do I, even as* Moses *commanded them that they should not keep company with those wicked People, lest the Vengeance of God should light on them; so do I (I say) give you warning, that you should not keep company with the Idolaters, in their idolatrous Temples, lest the Wrath of God come upon you to destroy you.*

Look what St. Paul *saith in the second Epistle, and the sixth Chapter to the* Corinthians: Set yourselves *(saith he)* therefore at large, and bear no strange Yoke with the Unbelievers: For what Fellowship hath Righteousness with Unrighteousness? what Company hath Light with Darkness? what Concord hath Christ with *Belial?* either what Part hath he that believeth, with an Infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with Images? And ye are the Temple of God, as saith God; I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves saith the Lord, and touch no unclean Thing.

Good Brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the Wicked. Syrach *saith,* He that toucheth Pitch, shall be defiled therewith; and he that keepeth company with the Proud, shall cloath himself with Pride. *Even so he that is familiar with Idolaters, cannot be unstained from Idolatry, except he do it to win them to Christ, as there be but a few that do: Yea, it may not be where Idolatry is openly committed, as for an Example:* Peter, *so long as he continued with Christ and Christ's Disciples, he continued in the Truth, preached the Truth, confessed openly Christ to be the Son of the Living God, and promised that he would not only go to Prison but also to very Death with him: But when he came once in-* What it is to be associate in ill Company. *to the Court, into the Bishop's House, he straightway was stricken with sure Fear that a poor Maiden, and simple Ruffian (such a one as my Lord of* London *hath, that said, By God's Blood, if I meet with any of these vile Hereticks, I will thrust an Arrow in him) when* Peter, *I say, was amongst them, he denied his Master, and swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all Men: And again, after that he had repented him of his wicked Deed, he boldly preached to the believing* Jews, *commanding them, among other his godly Exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward Generation. How many of our Priests before this Storm of Persecution, when the Gospel was truly preached, were bold, and could say, They would die rather than deny their Master: But when they come once into the Bishops Houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: Therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else send them more Grace and Strength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in Prayer.*

Syrach 13.

Acts 1.

Paul, *all the while he was among the Bishops, was a cruel Persecutor; but after he was called by God from the Bishops, he became a true Preacher: Therefore God keep all christian Men out of the Hands of our Bishops. St.* Paul *in the fifteenth to the* Romans, *saith, I dare not speak any of those Things that Christ hath not wrought by me. He saith also,* Rom. 16. I beseech you Brethren, mark them that make Division, and give Occasion of Evil, contrary to the Doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: For they that are such serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Bellies, and with sweet and flattering Words deceive the Hearts of the Simple. *Our Master Christ himself hath given us warning which they be; for he hath set the plain Mark on them, in the* 24*th of* Matthew, If they say here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not. *If they say, he is in the Desart, go not forth. If they say, he is in the secret Place, believe them not. And I pray you, where can he be more secret, than in so small a Peace of Bread? For my Lord of* London, *like a Liar, said to me, that after the Words be spoken, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine. Then I asked him what he said to* † David, *where he saith,* Thou shalt not suffer thy holy One to see Corruption. *How say you to that? Will not the Sacrament of the Altar putrify or corrupt: He answered, Yes. I asked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither Bread nor Wine. He answered, and said the Accidents. I said unto him, It was a mad Accident without Substance: For you say, there is neither Bread nor Wine, and then there is nothing to * corrupt: with many such like Arguments.*

† *Bonner* not able to answer to this Place of *David*: * How can Corruption be referred to Accidents, when by all Philosophy Generation and Corruption belong only to the Predicament of Substance.

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with such Arguments. Say not but ye be warned,

warned, and a great Deal the more worthy of your Damnation, if they deceive you, becauſe you have have had ſo much warning. Repent you betimes of your ſinful Lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their Hearts, or elſe take them away, or elſe he will give us that which he promiſed to his Diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame Reward that they had. And if we diſdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be his Father's Heir, muſt be contented to receive his Father's Correction. For St. Paul *ſaith in the 12th to the* Hebrews, If we be not under Correction, whereof all are Partakers, then are we Baſtards and not Sons.

And you know what belongeth to a Baſtard; he ſhall not be his Father's Heir. And if we remember ourſelves well, how negligent we have been to our Father's Commandment, we ſhall find ourſelves worthy to be corrected at his Hand. If we refuſe his Correction, he will refuſe us to be his Sons. I pray you look what he promiſed to his Diſciples, and I pray you alſo look how willingly they received it: And ſo muſt we do if we will be Partakers with them. Firſt let us ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his Diſciples. Look in the tenth Chapter of St. Matthew, *and there ſhall you ſee theſe Words,* Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheep among Wolves. Be wiſe therefore as Serpents and innocent as Doves. Beware of Men, for they ſhall deliver you up to the Councils, and ſhall ſcourge you in their Synagogues: Ye ſhall be brought before the Head-rulers and Kings for my Names ſake. But when they put you up, take ye no Thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak: For it ſhall be given you in the ſame Hour what you ſhall ſpeak. For it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father, *&c. Read the whole Chapter, for it is very comfortable to a chriſtian Man; and mark it well, and you ſhall find what we ought to do in the Time of Perſecution. Alſo look into the fourth Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle of St.* Paul *to the* Corinthians, *where it is ſaid,* For we which live are always delivered unto Death for Jeſus ſake, that the Life alſo of Jeſus might appear in our mortal Fleſh. *Thus have you heard that St.* Paul *doth boaſt of Perſecution; even ſo ſhould we, for it is the Way to bring us to reſt.*

Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in at the narrow Gate, and let us remember the Saying of St. Paul *in the 21ſt Chapter of the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *when he was going to* Jeruſalem. *When he was in the Houſe of* Philip *the* Evangeliſt, *there came in a Prophet, and took off his Girdle, and bound his Hands and his Feet, ſaying,* Thus ſhall they do with the Man that owneth this Girdle when he cometh to *Jeruſalem. When the Diſciples heard that, they would have perſuaded him that he ſhould not go thither. Here you ſhall ſee what Anſwer this Paſtor made them; he was a faithful Shepherd;* What do ye weeping and breaking of my Heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but alſo to die at *Jeruſalem,* for the Name of the Lord Jeſus.

Yet I think there be ſome that will ſay, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the Way. But I ſay unto them, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our Shepherds as be gone, maketh ſo many of the Flock to ſcatter; which will be required at their Hands, of the Maſter of the Sheep. What will he ſay to them at the Day of Account, when they ſhall come to receive their Wages? He ſhall ſay to them, Depart from me ye wicked Hirelings, for when ye ſaw the Wolf come, ye ran away, and left my Sheep in the Wilderneſs. If you had been good Shepherds you would rather have loſt your Lives than have loſt one Sheep committed to your Charge, through your Fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the Sheep in, when the Shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the Danger that followeth ſo well. Anno 1556.

A Note for them who ſhrunk away having Cure.

Therefore let us pray to God to ſend us faithful Shepherds, and alſo obedient Sheep, that will not hear a Stranger's Voice. I would all Men would mark well the Saying of St. Paul *in the eighth Chapter of his Epiſtle to the* Romans, *where he thus ſaith,* Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love of God? Shall Tribulation, or Anguiſh, or Perſecution, or Nakedneſs, or Peril, or Sword? As it is written, For thy Sake are we killed all the Day long, and are counted as Sheep appointed to be ſlain: Nevertheleſs we overcome ſtrongly through his Help that loved us. Yea, I am ſure, that neither Death nor Life, neither Angels nor Rule, neither Power; neither Things preſent nor Things to come, neither Height nor Depth, nor any other Creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the Love of God, *&c. Alſo he ſaith in another Place,* All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer Perſecution, 2 *Tim.* 3. *Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's Rod: Therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient Children, and then our Father will love us.*

Yet hear what St. Peter *ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle, and the fourth Chapter,* Dearly beloved *(ſaith he)* be not troubled in this Heat which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange Thing had happened unto you: But rejoyce inaſmuch as ye are Partakers of Chriſt's Paſſions, that when his Glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the Name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the Spirit of Glory and the Spirit of God reſteth upon you. On their Part he is evil ſpoken of, but on your Part he is glorified. *Here St.* Peter *ſaith, it is no ſtrange Thing; and that I have partly proved before, becauſe we have nothing elſe promiſed us in this World.*

Therefore let us call on God for Grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for Example, look in the firſt Book of Samuel, *chap.* 19. *you ſhall ſee how* Saul *perſecuted* David, *purpoſing to kill him: But his Labour was in vain.*

Alſo in the 19th Chapter of the firſt Book of Kings, Jezebel *threatned and ſware to ſlay* Elias, *but the Lord preſerved him. Alſo in the ſecond Chapter of* Job, *you ſee that* Satan *could do nothing to* Job *till God ſuffered him, neither exerciſe his Cruelty any farther than God had appointed him. The godly Woman* Suſannah, *through the falſe Accuſation of the wicked Judges, was even at a Point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. Theſe have I written to put you in Remembrance, that Man can do no more than is the Will of God: Therefore let us not reſiſt his Will, but refer all to him: And let us be doing that Thing that God hath commanded us in his holy Word.*

Dear Brethren, for the Blood of Chriſt refuſe not the Croſs of Chriſt, but remember the Saying of the godly Man David *in his 119th* Pſalm, *where he ſaith,* It is good for me that I have been in Trouble, that I may learn thy Statutes. *In the ſame Place he ſaith,* Before I was in Trouble I went wrong, but now I have kept thy Word. *Even ſo it is in Trouble with us, for the Word of God was never ſo ſweet and comfortable as it is now that we be in Trouble. Alſo St.* Paul *in the fifth Chapter to the* Romans, We rejoice in Tribulation: For we know that Tribulation bringeth

God's Word never ſo ſweet as in Trouble.

Anno 1556.

bringeth Patience, Patience bringeth Experience, Experience bringeth Hope, and Hope maketh not aſhamed.

Alſo I pray you remember the Saying of St. Paul *in the firſt Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to* Timothy, *where he ſaith,* Be not aſhamed to teſtify the Lord: Neither be aſhamed of me. *Even ſo I ſay unto you, dear Brethren, be not aſhamed of my Impriſonment, neither ſorry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleaſed God of his Goodneſs to call me to ſuch a Dignity as this ſhall be unto me, if I may have his Grace to loſe my Life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his Name's ſake: for then I ſhall be ſure to find it again with Advantage. Therefore I deſire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful Goodneſs will ſend me his Grace and Strength, that I may continue unto the End; as I will pray for you, that God will preſerve you from all the wicked Ways of Antichriſt, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, if it be his good Pleaſure, that you ſhall ſuffer any Thing for his Name's ſake, as he hath faithfully promiſed to do.*

Experience of God's Comfort in the Impriſonment of his Servants.

And I certify you, that if all Men knew the Comfort they ſhould receive at the Hand of God being in Priſon, I think there would come more to Priſon than there do. For ſurely we find ſuch Comfort at the Hand of God ſince we have been in Priſon, that we had rather die than be Abroad to ſee the Idolatry that is committed among them that be Abroad; beſide the ſeeking one of another's Blood, with other Wickedneſs too much; God ſend me more Grace. But I truſt, among you there be none ſuch: And if there be, repent and amend, leſt it be verified on you that is ſpoken by the Prophet Jeremy, *the ſecond Chapter, where he ſaith,* My People hath committed two great Evils: They have forſaken me the Fountain of the living Waters, and digged them Pits: Pits (I ſay) that are broken, and can hold no Water. *Alſo in the ſeventh Chapter he ſaith,* Hear not the Words of the Prophets that preach their own Dreams. *Good Brethren, beware of thoſe falſe Prophets that I have given you warning of.*

Dearly beloved, here I make an End for this Time deſiring the ſame Health of Body and Soul unto you all that I would have myſelf, and I end with the ſame that St. Peter *ſaith in the fifth Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle:* Submit yourſelves therefore under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you when the Time is come. Caſt all your Care on him, for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your Adverſary the Devil like a roaring Lion walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour, whom reſiſt ſtedfaſt in Faith: *Remembring that ye do but fulfil the ſame Afflictions, that are appointed to your Brethren that are in the World. The God of all Grace that called you unto his eternal Glory by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall his own ſelf, after you have ſuffered a little Affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh you. To him be Glory and Dominion for ever, and while the World endureth.* Amen.

Greet one another with an holy Kiſs of Love. Peace be with you all which are in Chriſt Jeſus. I pray you all ſay. Amen.

Theſe be in the ſame Priſon where I am; the Biſhop of St. David's, *Dr.* Taylor *of* Hadley, *Mr.* Philpot, *and my ſingular good Father Mr.* Bradford, *with five others, Laymen of* Suſſex.

I deſire ſome good Brother to write this anew, for I wrote it (as I do many Times) with Fear. For if the Keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my Pen and Ink alſo.

Good Brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me paſt all the Comfort of any Man: For I thank him, I was never merrier in Chriſt.

By me, William Tyms, *Priſoner in the* King's-bench.

ABout this Time certain Commiſſioners aſſigned by the Queen and Council, came to *Norfolk*, (as they did to other Countries) to enquire after Matters of Religion: Unto which Commiſſioners there was a Supplication then exhibited by ſome well-diſpoſed Men dwelling about thoſe Parts. Which Supplication, for the worthy Matter contained in it, I thought proper here to inſert.

The Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, *fruitful to be read and obſerved by all Men.*

IN moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſeech your Honours, Right Honourable Commiſſioners, to tender and pity the humble Suit of us poor Men, and true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, ſo intend we, with God's Grace, to continue in chriſtian Obedience unto the End, and (according to the Word of God) with all reverend Fear of God, to do our bounden Duty to all thoſe ſuperiour Powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 13. *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Superior Powers. For there is no Power but of God: But thoſe Powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whoſoever reſiſteth the Powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, and they that reſiſt get themſelves Judgment.* Theſe Leſſons (Right Honourable Commiſſioners) we have learned of the holy Word of God, in our Mother Tongue.

The Authority of Kings and Queens approved.

Firſt, That the Authority of a King, Queen, Lord, and other their Officers under them, is no tyrannical Uſurpation, but a juſt, holy, lawful, and neceſſary Eſtate for Man to be governed by, and that the ſame is of God, the Fountain and Author of Righteouſneſs.

Secondly, That to obey the ſame in all Things not againſt God, is to obey God, and to reſiſt them, is to reſiſt God. Therefore, as to obey God in his Miniſters and Magiſtrates bringeth Life; ſo to reſiſt God in them, bringeth Puniſhment and Death. The ſame Leſſon have we learned of St. *Peter*, 1 Pet. 2. ſaying, *Be ye ſubject to all human Ordinances for the Lord's Sake, whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the Puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the Praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is the Will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to Silence the Ignorance of fooliſh Men. As free, and not uſing your Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs, but as the Servants of God.*

Wherefore conſidering with ourſelves, both that the Magiſtrates Power is of God, and that for the Lord's Sake we be bound to chriſtian Obedience unto them, having now preſently a Commandment, as though it were from the Queen's Majeſty; with all humble

Obedience

Obedience due to the regal Power and Authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her Grace) and with due Reverence unto you her Grace's Commissioners, we humbly beseech you with Patience and Pity to receive this our Answer unto this Commandment, given unto us.

The Honour of God to be preferred before all regal Honour and Power.

First, Right Honourable Commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only *Englishmen*, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy Vow made to God in our Baptism, to prefer God's Honour in all Things, and that all Obedience (not only of us mortal Men, but even of the Angels and heavenly Spirits) is due unto God's Word; insomuch that no Obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or Man, that fully and wholly agreeth not with God's Word.

Then have we weighed the Commandment concerning the Restitution of the late abolished *Latin* Service, giving unto us to dissent and disagree from God's Word, and to command manifest Impiety, and the Overthrow of Godliness and true Religion, and to import a Subversion of the regal Power of this our native Country and Realm of *England*, with the bringing in of the *Romish* Bishop's Supremacy, with all Errors, Superstitions, and Idolatry, wasting of our Goods and Bodies, destroying of our Souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe Wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon ns. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded, that the same wicked Commandment should come from the Queen's Majesty, but rather from some other, abusing the Queen's Goodness and Favour, and studying to work some Feat against the Queen, her Crown, and the Realm, to please with it the *Roman* Bishop, at whose Hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

Esther 3. 1 *Esd.* 4.

As the *Agagite Haman* wrought maliciously against the noble King *Ahasuerus*, and as the Princes of *Babel* wrought against the good King *Darius*; so think we the Queen's most gentle Heart to be abused by some, who seeking themselves and their own vain Glory, procure such Commandments as are against the Glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an Opinion in her Majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy Religion (so accordingly to God's Word set forth by the most noble, virtuous and innocent King, our late most dear King *Edward*, her Grace's Brother) except she were wonderfully abused; who, as hating Reformation, will rather the Destruction of all others, than acknowledge their Errors, and to be according to God's Word, reformed. For truly, the Religion lately set forth by King *Edward*, is such in our Consciences, as every christian Man is bound to confess to be the Truth of God, and every Member of Christ's Church here in *England* must needs imbrace the same in Heart, and confess it with Mouth, and (if Need require) lose and forsake, not only House, Lands and Possessions, Riches, Wife, Children and Friends; but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all Manner of Persecution, and to lose their Lives in the Defence of God's Word and Truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour Christ requireth the same of us, saying, *Luke* 9. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my Word before this adulterous and sinful Generation, the Son of Man will also be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the Glory of his Father with the holy Angels.* And again saith he, *Matt.* 10. *Whosoever will confess me before Men, I will confess him before my Father which is in Heaven.* Mat. 11. *And whosoever will deny me before Men, I will also deny him before my Father that is in Heaven. And whosoever shall speak a Word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall rail against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.* Anno 1556.

An honest Petition to Q. *Mary.*

We humbly beseech the Queen's Majesty, and you her Honourable Commissioners, be not offended with us, for confessing this Truth of God, so straitly given us in Charge of Christ; neither bring upon us that great Sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ in the great Day of Judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his Angels, to deny us, and to take from us, the blessed Price and Ransom of his Bloodshed, wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that Day, neither the Queen's Highness, neither you, nor any Man shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a Pardon of Christ for this horrible Sin and Blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his Word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a Sin; but we beseech God for his Mercy to give us and all Men Grace, most earnestly to flee from it, and rather (if the Will of God be so) to suffer all Extremity and Punishment in this World, than to incur such Damnation before God.

Example of K. *Manasses.*

Manasses, who restored again the Wickedness of idolatrous Religion (before put down by *Ezechias* his Father) brought the Wrath of God upon the People: So that the Scripture saith, 2 *Kings* 23. *Notwithstanding the Reformation made by* Josias, *the Lord turned not from the Fierceness of his great Wrath wherewith he was angry against* Judah, *because of the Provocation with which* Manasses *provoked him. And the Lord said, Even* Judah *will I take away from my Presence, as I cast away* Israel: *And I will cast away this City of* Jerusalem, *and the House whereof I said, my Name shall be there.*

Example of *Jeroboam.*

Jeroboam, who at *Bethel* and *Dan* erected up a new-found Service of God, and not only sinned himself, but also made all *Israel* to sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the Wrath of God came upon all *Israel*, for obeying that his ungodly Commandment: Yet was it not so heinous an Offence to bring in an Idolatry never yet heard of, as after Reformation made by the godly Kings and Princes, by the virtuous and holy Bishops, by the Prophets and Servants of God, to reject and cast off the Word and true Religion of God, and to receive again a damned Impiety.

This most heinous Offence is now offered unto us, although the same be painted and coloured with the Name of Reformation, restoring of Religion, ancient Faith, with the Name of the catholick Church, of Unity, catholick Truth, and with the Cloak of feigned Holiness. These are Sheep-skins, under which (as Christ saith) ravening Wolves hide themselves. But Christ willeth us to look upon their Fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good Fruit to cast aside God's Word, and to banish the *English* Service out of the Churches, and in the Place of it to bring in a *Latin* Tongue unknown unto the People. Which as it edifieth no Man, so it hath been Occasion of all Blindness and

Error

Anno 1556. Error among the People. For before the bleſſed Reformation begun by the moſt noble Prince of godly Memory, the Queen's good Father; and by our late holy and innocent King, her good Brother finiſhed; it is not unknown what Blindneſs and Error we were all in, when not one Man in all this Realm unlearned in the *Latin*, could ſay in *Engliſh*, the Lord's Prayer, or knew any one Article of his Belief, or rehearſe any one of the Ten Commandments. And that Ignorance, Mother of Miſchief, was the very Root and Well-ſpring of all Idolatry, Sodomitical Monkery, and whoriſh Chaſtity of unmarry'd Prieſts, of all Whoredom, Drunkenneſs, Covetouſneſs, Swearing, and Blaſphemy, with all other wicked ſinful Living. Theſe brought in the ſevere Wrath and Vengeance of God plaguing Sin, with Famine and Peſtilence; and at laſt the Sword conſumed and avenged all their Impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the ſame or more grievous Plagues ſhall now again follow.

Ignorance wilfully maintained.

We cannot therefore conſent nor agree that the Word of God and Prayers in our *Engliſh* Tongue, which we underſtand, ſhould be taken away from us, and for it a *Latin* Service, we know not what, (for none of us underſtand it) to be again brought in amongſt us, eſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt hath ſaid, *My Sheep hear my Voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlaſting Life.* The Service in *Engliſh* teacheth us, that we are the Lord's People, and the Sheep of his Paſture, and commanded that we harden not our Hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's Wrath in the Wilderneſs, leſt he ſwear unto us, as he did ſwear unto them, that they ſhould not enter into his Reſt.

John 10.

The Service in *Latin* is a confuſed Noiſe; which if it be good (as they ſay it is) yet unto us that lack Underſtanding, what Goodneſs can it bring? St. *Paul* commandeth, that in the Churches all Things ſhould be done to edifying, which we are ſure is God's Commandment. But in the *Latin* Service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edify'd, and to drive us from God's Word and Truth, and from believing of the ſame, and ſo to bring us to believe Lies and Fables, that tempting and provoking God, we ſhould be brought into that Judgment that bleſſed *Paul* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Antichriſt ſhall come according to the working of* Satan, *with all manner of Power and Signs, and lying Wonders in all Deceivableneſs of Unrighteouſneſs in thoſe that periſh: Becauſe they have not received the Love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved. And therefore God will ſend them ſtrong Deluſion, that they ſhould believe Lies and be damned, as many as have not believed the Truth, but have approved Unrighteouſneſs.*

In the Pope's Service there is no edifying. What Fables be in it the Lord knoweth. 2 *Theſſ.* 2.

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we ſhall fall into his Wrath through Unbelief, till he ſwear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful *Jews*, that ſuch Infidels ſhould not enter into his Reſt.

In the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, which we confeſs to be the holy Communion, and partaking with Chriſt and his holy Congregation, we have learned God's holy Commandments, and at the Rehearſal of every one of them to ask God Mercy for our moſt grievous Tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to ask Grace of God, to keep them in Time to come, that the ſame may not only outwardly ſound in our Ears, but alſo inwardly by the Holy Ghoſt be written in our Hearts.

We have learned alſo the holy Prayer made for the Queen's Majeſty; wherein we learn that her Power and Authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that ſhe and all Magiſtrates under her, may rule according to God's Word, and we her Subjects obey according to the ſame.

Truly (moſt honourable Commiſſioners) we cannot think theſe Things evil, but think them moſt worthy to be retained in our Churches, and we ſhould think ourſelves not to have true Subjects Hearts, if we ſhould go about to put away ſuch godly Prayers, as put us perpetually in Memory of our bounden Obedience and Duty to God and our Rulers. For, as we think, at this preſent the unquiet Multitude had more need to have theſe Things more often and earneſtly beaten and driven into them (eſpecially given in many Places to ſtir and trouble) than to take from them that bleſſed Doctrine, whereby only they may to their Salvation be kept in quiet.

Furthermore, we cannot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Inſtitution, miniſtred with ſuch godly Prayers, Exhortations and Admonitions, teaching us the Knowledge of God, the exceeding Love and Charity of our loving Redeemer Chriſt, breaking his Body upon the Croſs for our Sins, and ſhedding his moſt precious Blood for our Redemption: Which we in eating of that bleſſed Bread, and drinking of the bleſſed Cup, aſſuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joined with Chriſt and his holy catholick Church into one Body, and into one Unity and brotherly Love, whereby every Member faithfully embraceth each other. We muſt needs confeſs this Inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we have the only Comfort in Conſcience againſt Sin and Damnation with the Aſſurance of Salvation, and whereof hath enſued Reformation of many heinous Sins, much Lawing, Strife and Contention is ended; Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, and other Vices in ſome reformed, Goodneſs and Virtue increaſed and nouriſhed.

In the *Latin* Maſs we never had any ſuch edifying, but only we ſaw a great many of Ceremonies and ſtrange Geſtures; as turning of the Prieſt, Croſſings, Bleſſings, Breathings, Waſhing of Hands, and Spreading abroad of his Arms, with like Ceremonies that we underſtand not. And concerning the *Latin* Tongue, wherein the Prieſt prayeth, we know not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth us. We are not Partakers of the Sacrament, as Chriſt's Inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be.

The Maſs hath nothing in it but an Heap of Ceremonies.

In the Miniſtring of the Sacrament the Prieſts after the Inſtitution of Chriſt, committing Theft and Sacrilege, robbing us of the Cup of Chriſt's Blood, contrary to Chriſt's Commandment, ſaying, Drink ye all of this.

They rob us alſo of God's Word, ſpeaking all Things in *Latin*, which nothing edifieth us either in Faith or Manners. Chriſt commandeth not that his Supper ſhould be adminiſtred in an unknown Tongue: But foraſmuch as Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by God's Word, how can we believe Chriſt's Word and Promiſe made unto us in this holy Sacrament, ſaying, *This is my Body broken for you, and this is my Blood of the* New Teſtament, *which is ſhed for you, for the Remiſſion of Sins*; if

the ſame Promiſes of Chriſt either be not at all recited, or elſe ſo recited in *Latin*, that the Congregation underſtandeth not, nor heareth not what is ſpoken? St. *Paul* ſaith thus, reciting the Saying of *Iſaiah*, *As truly as I live, ſaith the Lord, all Knees ſhall bow unto me, all Tongues ſhall give Praiſe unto God.* Alſo he ſaith, *All Tongues muſt confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the Glory of God the Father.* The Holy Ghoſt came upon the Apoſtles in fiery Tongues, ſo that they ſpake the Tongues of all Nations under Heaven. St. *Paul* miniſtred to the *Corinthians*, and preached to them in their own Mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of ſtrange Tongues into the Congregations. We cannot think that to be well which ſo holy an Apoſtle rebuked. And whatſoever Virtue the *Latin* Tongue hath to ſuch as underſtand it, to us *Engliſhmen* not underſtanding it, it is altogether without Virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our Churches.

Phil. 2.

All things done in the Church ought to be in a known Tongue.

The Prieſts complain that we Laymen love them not, nor have them in Honour, but it is their own Fault: For how ſhould we love them that only ſeek to keep us in Blindneſs and Ignorance, to damn our Souls, to deſtroy our Bodies, to rob and ſpoil our Goods and Subſtance under a Colour of pretended Holineſs? We know (Right Honourable Commiſſioners) what Honour is due to ſuch Wolves, and how by the Authority of God's Word ſuch are to be fled, as Peſtilences to the Lord's Lambs, who they miſerably daily murder.

But we have rather choſe by this our meek Supplication, humbly to deſire the Queen's Majeſty, and you her Honourable Commiſſioners, to render God's Word again into the Churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole Religion lately ſet out by the holy Saint of God, our late moſt dear King *Edward*, is Chriſt's true Religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught unto his Church. Wherefore we cannot allow with ſafe Conſciences this Refuſal of it, and caſting of it out of our Churches; foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt off, and to reject it, is to caſt off Chriſt himſelf, and to refuſe our Part in his bleſſed Body broken for our Sins, and his Blood ſhed for our Redemption. Which Thing whoſo doth, the ſame without Repentance can look for no Sacrifice for his Sins, but muſt fearfully wait for the Judgment, and for that vehement Fire that ſhall deſtroy Chriſt's Adverſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the Law of *Moſes*, is without Mercy put to Death under two or three Witneſſes, how much more grievous Torments ſhall he ſuffer that treadeth under Foot the Son of God, and eſteemeth the Blood of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a profane Thing, and contumelioufly uſeth the Spirit of Grace?

Wherefore we moſt humbly pray and beſeech the Queen's gracious Majeſty, to have Mercy and Pity upon us her poor and faithful Subjects, and not to compel us to do the Thing that is againſt our Conſciences, and ſhall ſo incurably wound us in Heart, by bringing into the Church the *Latin* Maſs and Service that nothing edifieth us, and caſting out of Chriſt's holy Communion and *Engliſh* Service, ſo cauſing us to ſin againſt our Redemption. For ſuch as wittingly and willingly againſt their Conſciences ſhall ſo do (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miſerable Eſtate, until the Mercy of God turn them, which if he doth not, we certainly believe that they ſhall eternally be damn'd: And as in this World they deny Chriſt's holy Word and Communion before Men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his heavenly Father and his Angels. Anno 1556.

And whereas it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go in Proceſſion (as they call it) at which Time the Prieſts ſay in *Latin* ſuch Things as we are ignorant of, the ſame edifieth nothing at all unto Godlineſs, and we have learned that to follow Chriſt's Croſs is another Matter, namely, to take up our Croſs, and to follow Chriſt in patient Suffering for his Love, Tribulations, Sickneſs, Poverty, Priſon, or any other Adverſity, whenſoever God's holy Will and Pleaſure is to lay the ſame upon us. The triumphant Paſſion and Death of Chriſt, whereby in his own Perſon he conquered Death, Sin, Hell, and Damnation, hath moſt lively been preached unto us, and the Glory of Chriſt's Croſs declared by our Preachers; whereby we have learned the Cauſes and Effects of the ſame more lively in one Sermon, than in all the Proceſſions that ever we went in, or ever ſhall go in.

When we worſhipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the *Litany* invocating the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, asking Mercy for our Sins, and deſiring ſuch Petitions as the need of our frail Eſtate and this mortal Life required, we were edified, both to know unto whom all chriſtian Prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of God's Hand we receive all Things, as well to the Salvation of our Souls, as to the Relief of our mortal Neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the Queen's Majeſty, that the ſame moſt holy Prayers may be continued amongſt us; that our Miniſters praying in our Mother-tongue, and we underſtanding their Prayers and Petitions, may anſwer, *Amen*, unto them. At Evening Service we underſtood our Miniſter's Prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the Scriptures then read; which in the *Latin* Even-ſong is all gone.

At the Miniſtration of holy Baptiſm, we learned what League and Covenant God had made with us, and what Vows and Promiſes we upon our Part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forſake *Satan* and his Works, and to walk in the way of God's holy Word and Commandments.

The chriſtian Catechiſm continually taught and called to Remembrance the ſame, whereas before no Man knew any Thing at all. And many good Men of forty Years, that had been Godfathers to thirty Children, knew no more of the Godfather's Office, but to waſh their Hands e're they departed the Church, or elſe to faſt five *Fridays* with Bread and Water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy Preſence? We may well lament our miſerable Eſtate, to receive ſuch a Commandment, to reject and caſt out of our Churches all theſe moſt godly Prayers, Inſtructions, Admonitions and Doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Chriſt our Saviour, his holy Word, and all his Doctrine of our Salvation, the Candle to our Feet, and the Light to our Steps, the Bread coming down from Heaven that giveth Life, which whoſo eateth, it ſhall be in him

Anno 1556. a Well-ſpring ſtreaming unto eternal Life; whereby we have learned all Righteouſneſs, all true Religion, all true Obedience towards our Governours, all Charity one towards another, all good Works that God would have us to walk in, what Puniſhment abideth the Wicked, and what heavenly Reward God will give to thoſe that reverently walk in his Ways and Commandments.

Wherefore Right Honourable Commiſſioners, we cannot without Impiety refuſe and caſt from us the holy Word of God which we have received, or condemn any Thing ſet forth by our moſt godly late King *Edward* and his virtuous Proceedings, ſo agreeable to God's Word. And our moſt humble Suit is, that the Commandment may be revoked, ſo that we not conſtrained thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we think if the holy Word of God had not taken ſome Root amongſt us, we could not in Times paſt have done that poor Duty of ours, which we did in aſſiſting the Queen, our moſt dear Sovereign, againſt her Grace's mortal Foe, that then ſought her Deſtruction. It was our bounden Duty, and we thank God for the Knowledge of his Word and Grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden Service.

Suffolk and *Norfolk* Men moved by God's Word, did ſet up the Queen.

And we meekly pray and beſeech the Queen's Majeſty for the dear Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that the ſame Word may not be taken away out of our Churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true Subjects; leſt if the like Neceſſity ſhould hereafter chance (which God for his Mercy ſake forbid, and ever ſave and defend her Grace, and us all) the Want of Knowledge and due Remembrance of God's Word may be Occaſion of great Ruin to an infinite Number of her Grace's true Subjects. And truly we judge this to be one ſubtil Part of the Devil (Enemy to all godly Peace and Quietneſs) that by taking God's Word from among us, and planting Ignorance, he may make a Way to all Miſchief and Wickedneſs; and by baniſhing the holy Goſpel of Peace he may bring upon us the heavy Wrath of God, with all manner of Plagues; as Death, ſtrange Sickneſs, Peſtilence, Murrain, moſt terrible Uproars, Commotions and Seditions. Theſe Things did the Lord threaten unto the *Jews* for refuſing his Word, ſaying, *Go, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this People: Ye ſhall hear indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand; ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Harden the Heart of this People, ſtop their Ears, and ſhut their Eyes, that they ſee not with their Eyes, hear not with their Ears, underſtand not with their Hearts, and convert and be healed. And I ſaid, How long Lord? And he anſwered, Until the Cities be deſtroy'd, utterly waſted without Inhabitants, and the Houſes without Men, till the Land alſo be deſolate, and lie unbuilded.* And the Prophet *Micah*, in the ſeventh Chapter, conſidering the Contempt of God's Word among the *Iſraelites*, threatned them thus: *When the Day that thy Preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no Man believe his Friend, or put Confidence in his Brother. Keep the Door of thy Mouth from her that lieth in thy Boſom: for the Son ſhall put his Father to Diſhonour, and the Daughter ſhall riſe againſt her Mother, the Daughter-in-law againſt the Mother-in-law; and a Man's Foes ſhall be even thoſe of his own Houſehold.* The ſame Plague Chriſt threatned unto the *Jews*, for refuſing his Peace proffer'd them in the Goſpel, and he wept on the City of *Jeruſalem* which murdered the Prophets, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent unto her.

Iſaiah 6.

Luke 19.

The ſame Plagues, we are afraid, will alſo fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Chriſt's Word and peaceable Goſpel, we had great Benedictions of God, eſpecially this chriſtian Concord and holy Peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect Stay in Religion, and no Man offended with another, but as the Sons of Peace, each of us with chriſtian Charity embraced other: Now, alas, for Pity, the Devil (riding upon the red Horſe, ſhewed unto St. *John* in the *Revelation*) is come forth, and Power is given unto him to take Peace from the Earth. For now a Man can go to no Place, but malicious Buſy-bodies curiouſly ſearch out his Deeds, mark his Words, and if he agree not with them in deſpiſing God's Word, then will they ſpitefully and hatefully rail againſt him and it, calling it Error and Hereſy, and the Profeſſors thereof Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, with other odious and ſpiteful Names, as Traitors and not the Queen's Friends, not Favourers of the Queen's Proceedings; as if to love God's Word were Hereſy, and as though to talk of Chriſt were to be Schiſmatick; as though none could be true to the Queen that were not falſe to God; as though none were the Queen's Friends, but ſuch as deſpitefully rail on her Grace's Father and Brother, and on God's Word that they ſet forth; as though none favoured the Queen's Majeſty, but ſuch as hate all godly Knowledge.

Rev. 6.

Loving God's Word made Hereſy.

And in very Deed theſe Things that all this Turmoil is made for, are mere Inventions of Popes, brought into the Church of their own Imaginations, without Commandment or Enſample either of Chriſt or of his Apoſtles; and there is not one Word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintaineth them, nor any Doctor of Antiquity before St. *Auguſtine's* Days, as it hath been divers Times ſufficiently proved before all the whole Parliament and Convocation of this Realm. Yet theſe being mere Traditions of Biſhops, are ſet out for God's Commandments; and the Queen's Authority (given to her of God to maintain his Word) muſt be abuſed to put down God's Word. And you, Right Honourable Juſtices, and Keepers of Laws and Righteouſneſs, are alſo abuſed and made the Biſhops Apparators, to ſet forth ſuch *Romiſh* Traſh as is to Chriſt's Diſhonour, and againſt the ſupreme Authority of the regal State of this Realm. And we poor Subjects, for ſpeaking of that which is Truth, and our bounden Allegiance, are daily puniſhed, railed upon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the Queen's Friends.

All that the Papiſts ſtrive for are but Man's mere Inventions beſides God's Word.

But God (who is bleſſed for ever (knoweth that they ſlander us, and pull the Thorn out of their own Foot, and put it in ours: For the Searcher of Hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true Heart unto her Grace, and unto all her Proceedings, that are not againſt God and his holy Word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her Grace's royal Heart with the glorious Light of the Goſpel, that ſhe may eſtabliſh and confirm that Religion, that her Grace's Brother, our moſt dear King did ſet out amongſt us; and ſo governing and ruling this her Realm in the fear and true way of God, ſhe may long live, and with Proſperity, Peace, and Honour reign over us.

True Subjects wrongfully ſlandered.

But we cannot think that thoſe Men do ſeek either

either God's Honour, or her Grace's Prosperity, or Wealth of the Realm, that take from her Grace's faithful Subjects God's Word, which only is the Root of all Love and faithful Obedience under her Grace, and of all Honesty, good Life, and virtuous Concord among her Commons. And this we fear, lest the Root being taken away, the Branches will soon wither and be fruitless. And when the *Philistines* have stopped up the Well-spring, the fair Streams that should flow will soon be dried up. All our Watchmen, our true Preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained God's Word, we shall have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refused and cast off the Lord's Yoke of his Doctrine, then shall we look for the Lord's Wrath and severe Visitation to plague us as he did the *Jews* for the like Offences. And *Paul* saith, Rom. 2. *God gave to them the Spirit of Unquietness and Uproar, Eyes wherewith they should not see, and Ears wherewith they should not hear, until this Day:* And as *David* said, *Psalm* 69. *Let their Table be made a Snare to take themselves withal, a Trap to catch them, and a Stumbling-block to fall at. Let their Eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their Backs always.*

What Unquietness followeth the Lack of God's Word.

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our Backs, that we shall be utterly destroy'd; the troublesome Spirit of Uproars and Unquietness daily troubleth Mens Hearts, and worketh such Unquietness in all Places, that no Man that loveth Quietness can tell where to place himself. Men have Eyes and see not how grievous an Offence it is to cast off the Yoke of God's Doctrine, and to bear the heavy Burden that unfaithful Hypocrites lay upon us. We have Ears, and hear not the Warning of God's Word, calling us to true Repentance, nor his Threats against our Impiety. Our most sweet Table of Christ's Word and most holy Communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous Snare, through the brawling Disputations of Men. And as the Idol of Abomination betokened final Subversion unto the *Jewish* Nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the Gospel and holy Communion of Christ, and the placing in of a *Romish* Religion, betokeneth Desolation of this noble Realm of *England* to be at Hand.

For the Plagues of Hunger, Pestilence and Sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our Backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible Plagues were never seen. And no marvel: For the like Offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his Word, and in plain *English* to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord how terrible is that which followeth in the Gospel? *Those mine Enemies that would not have me reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me, Luke* 19. God be merciful to us, and move the Heart of the Queen's Majesty, and the Hearts of her honourable Council, and your Hearts (right worshipful Commissioners) to weigh these Dangers in due Time; and to call God's Word into your Council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this unreasonable Commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the Contempt of the eternal God, and Dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in Matters of this World, lest if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his Arm which no Man can turn, and kindle his Wrath, which no Man can quench. Anno 1556.

We have humbly opened to you our Consciences, doubtless sore wounded and grieved by this Commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the Queen's Majesty, for the precious Death and Blood-shedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have Mercy and Pity upon us her Grace's poor Commons, faithful and true Subjects, Members of the same Body Politick, whereof her Grace is supreme Head. All our Bodies, Lands, Goods, and Lives are ready to do her Grace faithful Obedience, and true Service of all Commandments that are not against God and his Word: But in Things that import a Denial of Christ, and Refusal of his Word and holy Communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in Baptism to be Christ's Disciples, and to keep his holy Word and Ordinances. And if we deny him before Men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy Angels in the Day of Judgment: Which we trust her benign Grace will not require of us.

How far a Prince ought to require Obedience of his Subjects.

And we humbly beseech her Majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her Grace with Body and Goods, and due Obedience, according to God's Commandment; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our Souls, which he hath with his precious Blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to *Cæsar* that which is due to *Cæsar*, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true Obedience unto the Queen's Majesty, or to any other Magistrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the Things contrary to God's Word, altho' the same be never so streightly charged in her Grace's Name. The Bishop of *Winchester* hath truly taught in the Point, in his Book of true Obedience, that true Obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord: As the Apostle answered before the Council at *Jerusalem*, commanding them no more to preach in the Name of the Lord Jesus: *Judge you* (said they) *whether it be right in the Sight of God, to hear you rather than God.* And again they said, *We must obey God rather than Man.* Wherefore we learn, that true Obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, in him, and not against him and his Word, to obey the Princes and Magistrates of this World, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

How far true Obedience extendeth.

Acts 4.

Tobias disobeyed not his King, although contrary to his Commandment, and contrary to the Usage of all others, when they went to *Dan* and *Bethel*, he went unto *Jerusalem*, and worshipped in the Temple of the Lord. The three young Men in *Babylon*, refusing *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Commandment, pleased God more than the whole Multitude that obeyed. And *Daniel* that prayed to the God of Heaven, contrary to King *Darius*'s Commandment, bare a more true and faithful Heart to the King, than those wicked Counsellors that procured that wicked Law, or those that for Fear or Flattery obeyed it. Which two Pestilences (Fear and Flattery) have ever destroyed true Obedience to God and Man; when wicked Men (that care not if the Devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain

Fear and Flattery, Enemies to true Obedience to God and Man.

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tain Riches, Promotions, Dignity, and worldly Glory) turn to and fro as every Wind bloweth; and weak and frail Men fearing Loſs of Goods, Puniſhment, or Death, do outwardly in Body that Thing, that their Hearts and Conſciences inwardly abhorreth, and ſo outwardly diſobey God, and in Heart diſſemble with Man, which Diſſimulation we think worthy the Hate of all Men, and moſt uncomely for chriſtian Men.

Wherefore we humbly beſeech the Queen's Majeſty, with Pity and Mercy to tender the lamentable Suit of us her poor Subjects, which be by this Commandment ſore hurt, and wounded in our Conſciences, and driven to many Miſeries, and by the malicious Attempts of wicked Men ſuffer great Wrongs and Injuries, Slanders, Loſs of Goods, and bodily Vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful Stir or Commotion to ſeek Remedy; but intend, by God's Grace, to obey her Majeſty in all Things not againſt God, and his holy Word. But unto ſuch ungodly Commandments as are againſt God, we anſwer with the Apoſtles, *God muſt be obeyed rather than Man.* If Perſecution ſhall enſue, which ſome threaten us with, we deſire the heavenly Father, according to his Promiſe, to look from Heaven, to hear our Cry, to judge between us and our Adverſaries, and to give us Faith, Strength and Patience to continue faithful unto the End, and to ſhorten theſe evil Days for his Choſens ſake; and ſo we faithfully believe he will.

Notwithſtanding, we truſt the Queen's gracious and merciful Heart will not ſuffer ſuch Tyranny to be done againſt her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient Subjects, that daily pray unto God for her, which have no Remedy in this World but to ſue unto her Highneſs, our moſt gracious and benign Sovereign; whom we pray and beſeech, for the dear Blood of Chriſt, to pity our lamentable Caſe and Hurt of Conſcience, and to call back all ſuch Commandments as are againſt God's Honour, as the good King *Darius*, *Ahaſuerus*, *Trajan*, *Theodoſius*, and divers others have done, and permit the holy Word of God and true Religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy and innocent King *Edward*) to be reſtored again unto our Churches, to be frequented amongſt us. So ſhall we grow and increaſe in the Knowledge of God and of Chriſt, in true Repentance and Amendment of Life: So ſhall we exhibit true Obedience to our lawful Magiſtrates, and all Superiors ordained of God: So ſhall Love and Charity (of late thro' this Commandment ſo decayed) be again reſtored, the Honour of her regal Eſtate the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, and Godlineſs and virtuous Life among her loving Subjects increaſed and maintained.

And we moſt heartily pray you (Right Honourable Commiſſioners) to be Means unto the Queen's Highneſs, and to her Honourable Council, that this our humble Suit may be favourably tendered, and graciouſly heard and granted. And we ſhall not ceaſe Day and Night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preſerve her Grace and all other Magiſtrates in his Fear and Love, and in proſperous Peace and Wealth, with long Life and Honour. *Amen.*

Your poor Suppliants, the Lovers of Chriſt's true Religion in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk.*

The Hiſtory of John Harpole *of* Rocheſter, *and* Joan Beach, *Widow, of* Tunbridge, *Martyrs.*

TOuching the Examination of *Joan Beach*, Widow, and of *John Harpole*, within the Dioceſe of *Rocheſter*, by *Maurice* Biſhop of the ſaid Dioceſe, mention was made before in the Story of *Nicholas Hall*, wherein was declared the four Articles conſiſtorial of the Biſhop, objected and laid, as unto the ſaid *Nicholas Hall* and his Company, ſo alſo to this *Joan Beach*, Widow; whereof the firſt was this:

1. That ſhe was of the Pariſh of *Tunbridge*, in the Dioceſe of *Rocheſter.*

2. *Item*, That all Perſons which preach, teach, believe or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to that their Mother holy catholick Church of Chriſt are excommunicate Perſons and Hereticks.

3. *Item*, That the ſaid *Joan Beach* hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the ſaid Mother Church of Chriſt, namely, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under Form of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in Subſtance, but only a Token and Memorial thereof; that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

4. *Item*, That ſhe hath been, and yet is, amongſt the Pariſhioners of *Tunbridge*, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected to be a Sacramentary, and Heretick.

To which aforeſaid Articles her Anſwers were theſe:

1. That ſhe was and is of the ſaid Pariſh of *Tunbridge* in the Dioceſe of *Rocheſter.*

2. That all Perſons which do preach and hold otherwiſe and contrary to that which the holy catholick Church of Chriſt doth, are to be reputed for Excommunicate and Hereticks; adding withal, that nevertheleſs ſhe believeth not the holy catholick Church to be her Mother, but believeth only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

3. *Thirdly*, that ſhe hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold and affirm, in the Sacrament of the Altar under Forms of Bread and Wine, not to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in Subſtance, but only a Token and Remembrance of his Death to the faithful Receiver, and this his Body and Subſtance is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

Laſtly, As touching how ſhe hath been or is noted and reputed among the Pariſhioners of *Tunbridge*, ſhe ſaid ſhe could not tell; however ſhe believed ſhe was not ſo taken and reputed.

J. Harpole and Joan Beach, martyr'd at Rocheſter, April 1. 1556.

The like Matter, and the ſame four Articles were alſo the ſame preſent Time and Place miniſtred to *John Harpole* by the aforeſaid Biſhop *Maurice*; who after the like Anſwers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to Death, by one Form of Sentence, according to the Tenor and Courſe of their ſeveral Sentences, which may be read before in the Story of Mr. *Rogers.*

John Hullier, *Miniſter and Martyr.*

JOHN Hullier, Miniſter, was firſt brought up in *Eaton-School*, from whence he went to *King's-College* in *Cambridge*. He ſuffered under Dr. *Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and his Chancellor, for the ſincere Preaching of the Goſpel. In whoſe Behalf it is much to be lamented, that among ſo many freſh Wits and ſtirring Pens in that Univerſity, ſo little Matter is left unto us concerning the Proceſs of his Judgment, and Order of his Suffering, who ſo innocently gave his Life in ſuch a Cauſe among the midſt of them. By certain Letters which he himſelf left behind, it appeared that he was zealous and earneſt in that Doctrine of Truth, which every true Chriſtian-Man ought to embrace. His Martyrdom was about the ſecond Day of *April*.

John Hallier martyr'd at *Cambridge*, *April* 2, 1556.

A Letter of *John Hullier* to the Chriſtian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.

IT ſtandeth now moſt in Hand (O dear Chriſtians) all of them that look to be accounted of Chriſt's Flock at the great and terrible Day, when a Separation ſhall be made of the Sort that ſhall be received, from the other which ſhall be refuſed, faithfully in this Time of great Afflictions to hear our Maſter Chriſt's Voice, the only true Shepherd of our Souls, who ſaith, "*Whoſoever ſhall endure to* "*the End ſhall be ſafe.*" *For even now is that great Trouble in Hand (as here in* England *we may well ſee) that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of long before, which ſhould follow the true and ſincere Preaching of his Goſpel. Therefore in this Time we muſt needs either ſhew that we be his faithful Soldiers, and continue in his Battle unto the End, putting on the Armour of God, the Buckler of Faith, the Breaſt-Plate of Love, the Helmet of Hope and Salvation, and the Sword of his holy Word (which we have heard plentifully) with all Inſtance of Supplication and Prayer; or elſe if we do not work and labour with theſe, we are Apoſtates and falſe Soldiers, ſhrinking moſt unthankfully from our gracious and Sovereign Lord and Captain Chriſt, and leaning to* Belial. *For as he ſaith plainly,* Luke 14. Whoſoever beareth not my Croſs and followeth me, he cannot be my Diſciple. *And Matth.* 6. No Man can ſerve two Maſters: For either he muſt hate the one, or love the other, or elſe he ſhall lean to the one, and deſpiſe the other. *Which Thing the faithful Prophet* Elias *ſignified when he came to the People, and ſaid,* Why halt ye between two Opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if *Baal* be he, then follow him, 1 *Kings* 18.

Matth. 24.

1 Theſ. 6. Epheſ. 5.

Now let us not think, but that the ſame was recorded in Writing for our Inſtruction, whom the Ends of the World are come upon, as the Apoſtle St. Paul *ſaith,* Rom. 15. Whatſoever Things are written aforehand, they are written for our Learning. *If Chriſt be that only good and true Shepherd that gave his Life for us, then let us that bear his Mark, and have our Conſciences ſprinkled with his Blood, follow altogether, for our Salvation, his heavenly Voice and Calling, according to our Profeſſion and firſt Promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo do, certainly (ſay what we can) altho' we bear the Name of Chriſt, yet we be none of his Sheep indeed. For he ſaith very manifeſtly,* John 10. My Sheep hear my Voice, and follow me: A Stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the Voice of a Stranger.

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Therefore let every Man take heed in theſe perilous Days (whereof we have had ſo much Warning aforehand) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward Shew and Appearance, as Eve *was of our old ſubtle Enemy, whoſe Craft and Wilineſs is ſo manifold and divers, and ſo full of cloſe Windings, that if he cannot bring him directly, and the plain ſtrait Way to conſent to his Suggeſtions, then he will allure him and wind him in by ſome other falſe Ways (as it were by a Train) that he ſhall not perceive it, to deceive withal, and to ſteal from him that goodly Victory of the incorruptible and eternal Crown of Glory, which no Man elſe can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: As at this preſent Day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his deviliſh Religion, and of good Will and free Heart to help to uphold the ſame, yet he will inveigle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh School-Houſe, and at the leaſtwiſe to be converſant and keep Company with his Congregation there, and to hold his Peace and ſay nothing, whatſoever he think, ſo that he be not a diligent Soldier and a good Labourer on Chriſt's Side, to further his Kingdom; by that ſubtle Means flattering him that he ſhall both ſave his Life, and alſo his Goods, and live in Quiet. But if we look well on Chriſt's holy Will and Teſtament, we ſhall perceive that he came not to make any ſuch Peace upon Earth, nor yet that he gave any ſuch Peace to his Diſciples;* I leave Peace with you *(ſaith he)* my Peace I give you, not as the World giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your Heart be troubled, nor fearful. Theſe Things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me ye ſhould have Peace. In the World ye ſhall have Affliction, but be of good Chear, I have overcome the World. The Servant is not greater than his Lord and Maſter: If they have perſecuted me they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any Man come to me, and hateth not his own Father and Mother, Wife, Children, Siſters, yea, and moreover his own Life, it is not poſſible for him to be my Diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weep, for ye ſhall laugh: and wo be unto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourn and weep. He that will find his Life, ſhall loſe it.

The Wilineſs of the ſubtle Serpent.

2 Tim. 2.

Matth. 10.

John 14, 15, 16.

Luke 14.

Therefore the God of that true Peace and Comfort, preſerve and keep us, that we never obey ſuch a falſe Flattering, which at length will pay us Home once for all, bringing for temporal Peace and Quietneſs, everlaſting Trouble, Vexation, and Diſquietneſs; for theſe vain and tranſitory Goods, extreme Loſs and utter Damage of the eternal Treaſure and Inheritance; for this mortal Life, Deprivation of the moſt joyful Life immortal; Finally, the Entrance into endleſs Death moſt miſerable, unmeaſurable Pain and Torment both of Body and Soul.

Now conferring theſe two Schoolmaſters together, let us conſider the Thing well, and determine with ourſelves which Way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad Way which ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt Part of the People take. Surely I judge it to be better to go to School with our Maſter Chriſt, and to be under his Ferula and Rod (although it ſeemeth ſharp and grievous for a Time) that at the length we may be Inheritors with him of everlaſting Joy, rather than to keep Company with the Devil's Scholars, the adul-

The ſtrait Way of Chriſt better than the broad Way of this World

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terous Generation, in his School that is all full of Pleaſure for a while, and at the End to be paid with the Wages of continual Burning in the moſt horrible Lake which burneth evermore with Fire and Brimſtone without any End. What ſhall then theſe vain Goods and temporal Pleaſures avail? Who ſhall then help when we cry inceſſantly, Wo, wo, alas, and weal away, for unmeaſurable Pain, Grief and Sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take Pains in this World for a Time, that we may pleaſe God. Our Saviour Chriſt the true Teacher ſaith, Every Branch that bringeth not forth Fruit in me, my Father will take away, *John* 15.

Ungodly Company to be avoided.

It is alſo not written in vain, Eccluſ. 41. The Children of the ungodly are abominable Children, and ſo are they that keep Company with the Ungodly. *What doth he elſe, I pray you, that reſorteth to the Adminiſtration and Service that is moſt repugnant and contrary to Chriſt's Holy Teſtament, there keeping ſtill Silence, and nothing reproving the ſame, but in the Face of the World, by his very Deed itſelf, declare himſelf to be of a falſe, fearful, diſſembling, feigned, and unfaithful Heart, and to have laid away from him the Armour of Light, diſcouraging as much as lieth in him all the Reſidue of Chriſt's Hoſt, and giving a manifeſt Offence to the Weak, and alſo confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the Hearts of the Adverſaries in all their Evil-Doing. By which Example he doth ſhew himſelf neither to love God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian Miniſter, nor yet his Neighbour before whom he ſhould rebuke the Evil, as is expreſſly commanded in God's holy Law, where it is ſaid,* Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy Neighbour, that thou bear not Sin for his Sake, *Lev.* 18. *Wherefore let ſuch a one never fancy to deceive himſelf, that his Name is regiſtred in the Book of Life, to have the Stipend of Chriſt's Soldier, except he do the Duty, and perform the Part of a faithful and right true Soldier, as others have done before. For ſuch Fearfulneſs cometh not from God, as teſtifieth St.* Paul, 2 Tim. 1. *ſaying,* God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power and Love. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtify our Lord, but ſuffer Adverſity alſo with the Goſpel, through the Power of God, which ſaved us, and called us with an holy Calling.

Fearfulneſs in Chriſt's Cauſe reproved.

To be now fearful, when moſt need is that we ſhould be of ſtrong Hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the Fear of God, and plain Unfaithfulneſs and Diſobedience to the expreſs Commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, who ſaith in his holy Goſpel, Matth. 10. Fear not them that kill the Body, *&c. For what Faithfulneſs do we expreſs towards him, when he ſaith thus to us, and yet we declare in our Doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving* Iſraelites, *who unfaithfully feared God's Enemies the* Canaanites, *whereas he had oftentimes given them Commandment by his true Prophet* Moſes, *to do the contrary? For which Cauſe all the whole Number of that Sect were deſtroyed in Proceſs of Time in the Wilderneſs, and enjoyed not the pleaſant Land of Promiſe. Which was a bodily Figure ſhewed before, and now agreeing to the Promiſe of the heavenly Inheritance, which ſhall be given to none other, but only to ſuch as with Love unfeigned be wholly bent without any Fear of Man, to fulfil God's holy Will and Pleaſure. But all they that pertain to the lively Faith, to the Winning of the Soul, will faithfully ſtick to the Commandment, truſting moſt firmly and faithfully that he that gave the ſame, will alſo give Strength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakeſt Veſſels of all, even as we have heard and ſeen by divers Examples; he only therefore be praiſed.*

Numbers 13, 14. Example by the fearful Iſraelites.

St. Peter *ſaith,* 1 Pet. 3. Fear not though they ſeem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctify the Lord God in your Hearts. Only (ſaith St. *Paul, Phil.* 1.) let your Converſation be as it becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt. Continue in one Spirit, and in one Soul, labouring as we do, to maintain the Faith of the Goſpel, and in nothing fearing your Adverſaries, which is to them a Token of Damnation, and to you of Salvation, and that of God: For unto you it is given that not only ye ſhould believe in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his Sake. *Wherefore let us be right well aſſured, that we ſhall yield a moſt ſtrict Account, if we tranſgreſs the ſaid moſt wholeſome Precepts given us of our Maſter Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles, and now in this troubleſome Time wherein the Goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew ourſelves fearful Soldiers; as it is manifeſtly declared in the* Revelation of St. *John,* chap. 21. *where it is written,* That the fearful ſhall have their Part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond Death. *Again, it is written in the ſame Book for our Warning,* Chap. 3. Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my Mouth.

Now therefore (good Chriſtians) theſe true Teſtimonies of God's lively Word deeply conſidered and weighed, let us chiefly ſtand in Awe of his moſt terrible Judgments, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt him. Let him always be our Fear and Dread. He now chaſteneth, he now nurtureth us for our Profit, delighting in us even as a loving Father in his beloved Child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be Partakers of his Holineſs. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlaſting Love and Mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked World: But if we now refuſe his moſt loving Chaſtiſing, and follow the World, we muſt needs have our Portion with the World. Wide is the Gate, and broad is the Way that leadeth to Deſtruction, and many there be which go in thereat: But ſtrait is the Gate, and narrow is the Way that leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it, *Matt.* 7. *O how much better is it to go this narrow Way with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleaſures of Sin for a Time?* Iſa. 8. Prov. 3. Heb. 11. 1 Cor. 11. 2 Sam. 7.

In Conſideration whereof, let us without any more ſlacking and further Delays in this great Warning by God's loving Viſitation, ſubmit ourſelves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the Time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build farther, beſeeching you moſt heartily to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the Power of his Might, and ſtand perfect in all Things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the Mercy of our Lord unto eternal Reſt; and I will pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he will graciouſly hear us for his Promiſe Sake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Chriſt our alone Saviour, whoſe Grace be with your Spirit, moſt dear Chriſtians, for ever. So be it. 1 Pet. 5.

By your Chriſtian Brother, *John Hullier,*
a Priſoner of the Lord.

John

John Hullier's *Letter to the Congregation of Chriſt's faithful Followers.*

John Hullier being of long Time Priſoner, and now openly judged to die for the Teſtimony of the Lord *Jeſus*, wiſheth heartily to the whole Congregation of God, the Strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlaſting Health both of Body and Soul.

I *Now (moſt dear Chriſtians) having the ſweet Comfort of God's Saving-Health, and being confirmed with his free Spirit (he only therefore be praiſed) am conſtrained in my Conſcience, thinking it my very Duty to admoniſh you, as ye tender the Salvation of your Souls, by all Manner of Means to ſeparate yourſelves from the Company of the Pope's Hirelings, conſidering what is ſaid in the Revela-*
Rev. 14. *tion of St.* John, *by the Angel of God touching all Men. The Words be theſe*; If any Man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receive his Mark in his Forehead, or in his Hand, the ſame ſhall drink the Wine of the Wrath of God, which is poured into the Cup of his Wrath, and he ſhall be puniſhed with Fire and Brimſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb, and the Smoke of their Torment aſcendeth up evermore. *Mark well here (good Chriſtians) who is this Beaſt and Worſhippers that ſhall be Partakers of that unſpeakable Torment. The Beaſt is none other but the carnal and fleſhly Kingdom of Antichriſt, the Pope with his Rabble of falſe Prophets and Miniſters, as it is moſt manifeſt: which to maintain their high Titles, worldly Promotions and Dignities, do with much Cruelty, daily more and more ſet forth and eſtabliſh their own Traditions, Decrees, Decretals, contrary to God's holy Ordinances, Statutes, Laws, and Commandments, and wholly repugnant to his ſincere and pure Reli-*
2 Pet. 2. *gion and true worſhipping.*

Now what do they elſe but worſhip this Beaſt and his Image, who after they had onee already eſcaped from the Filthineſs of the World, through the Knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *are yet again intangled therein and overcome, uſing Diſſimulation unfaithfully for Fear of their Diſpleaſure, doing one Thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; ſo having them in Reverence under a Cloak and Colour, to whom they ought not ſo much as to ſay, God ſpeed; and adjoining themſelves to the malignant Congregation,*
John 10. *which they ought to abhor as a Den of Thieves and Murderers, and as the Brothel-houſe of moſt blaſphemous Fornicators: whoſe Voices being contrary to Chriſt's Voice, if they were of his Flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himſelf being the good Shepherd of our Souls doth full well in his holy Goſpel teſtify. Again, what do they elſe I pray you, but receive the Beaſt's Mark in their Foreheads and in their Hands, which do bear a fair Face and Countenance outwardly in ſupporting them as others do, being aſhamed openly to confeſs Chriſt and his holy Goſpel? But this Fainedneſs and Diſſimulation Chriſt and his Goſpel will in no wiſe allow. Of whom it is ſaid,* Luke 9. Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of my Words in this adulterous and ſinful Generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he ſhall come in the Glory of his Father with his holy Angels. *Therefore ſaith Almighty God by his Prophet* Malachi, Mal. 1. Curſed be the Diſſemblers. *Ye were once enlightened, and taſted of the heavenly Gift, and were become Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and taſted of the Word of God, and of the Power of the World to come. And our Saviour ſaith,* Luke 6. No Man that putteth his Hand to the Plough, and looketh back, is fit for the Kingdom of God. *Therefore St.* John *the Apoſtle uſeth this for a manifeſt Token, that the Backſliding of the true Preachers of God's Word declare evidently, that they be not of the Number of them. For, ſaith he,* 1 John 2. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, no Doubt they would have continued with us. *Surely ſo long as we uſe Diſſimulation, and to play on both Hands, we are not in the Light. For whatſoever is manifeſt, the ſame is Light, as the elect Veſſel of God, St.* Paul, *witneſſeth in the fourth Chapter to the* Epheſians. Anno 1556.

Wherefore (good Chriſtians) for God's moſt dear Love, deceive not yourſelves through your own Wiſdom, and through the Wiſdom of the World, which is Fooliſhneſs before God; but certify and ſtay your own Conſcience with the ſure Truth and faithful Word of God, and with the infallible Teſtimonies of holy Scripture. For although God's Mercy is over all his Works; yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold faſt the Confidence and Rejoicing of Hope unto the End, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every Day ſtronger and ſtronger in the inward Man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, *where it is entreated of the Beaſt and his Image, it is alſo ſaid,* Here is the Sufferance of the Saints, and here are they that keep the Commandments, and the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, *Rev.* 13. *Whereby Almighty God doth ſhew plainly, that he doth uſe thoſe wicked Men as Inſtruments for a Time, to try the Patience and Faith of his peculiar People, without the Performance whereof we can have no Part among the Living; but as it is ſaid in the ſame Revelation,* The fearful ſhall have their Part in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond Death.

But peradventure ye will object and ſay unto me; What ſhall we do? Shall we caſt ourſelves Headlong to Death? I ſay not ſo. But this I ſay, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive Salvation at God's Hand) in this Caſe wholly to be obedient to his determinate Counſel and Fore-knowledge, expreſſed by the Gift of the Spirit in holy Scripture; and then to caſt all our Care upon him, who worketh all in all for the beſt unto them that love him: And thus he giveth Commandment, ſaying, Come away from her my People, that ye be not Partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her Plagues, *Rev.* 18. *Now who hearing this terrible Voice of God, which muſt needs be fulfilled, will not with all Speed and Diligence apply himſelf to do thereafter, except ſuch as will preſumptuouſly tempt him? and as touching ſuch, the wiſe Man ſaith,* Eccleſ. 3. He that loveth Peril and Danger ſhall periſh therein. *But they that be of the Faith of* Abraham, *even as he did, ſo will they in all Aſſays and Trials be obedient to the heavenly Voice, howſoever it ſeemeth contrary to their own natural Will and carnal Reaſon, according to the ſure Word of Faith, which ſaith,* Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his Way: Hold thee ſtill in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. *Let not thy Jealouſy alſo move thee to do Evil. Come out from among them, and join not yourſelves to their unlawful Aſſemblies; yea, do not once ſhew yourſelves with the leaſt Part of your Body*

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to favour their wicked Doings, but glorify God (as moſt right is) as well in your whole Body outwardly, as inwardly in your Spirit, or elſe you can do neither of both well; for your Body doth belong to God as well as your Spirit. At the dreadful Day of Judgment we ſhall all receive the Works of our Bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatſoever we do, we may not bring the Spirit in Bondage to the Body, but contrariwiſe muſt ſubdue the Body and the Will of the Fleſh to the Spirit, that the Spirit may freely accompliſh the Will of God in all Things; for otherwiſe we ſhall never be Partakers of his Promiſe, with the true Children of Abraham. *For as St.* Paul *ſaith,* They which are the Children of the Fleſh, are not the Children of God. If we ſhall live according to the Fleſh, we ſhall die. For to be carnally-minded, is Death; but to be ſpiritually-minded, is Life and Peace; becauſe that the fleſhly Mind is Enmity to God: For it is not obedient to the Law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the Fleſh cannot pleaſe God. *Now chuſe you which Way you will take; either the narrow Way that leadeth unto Life, which Chriſt himſelf, and his faithful Followers have gone through before; or elſe the broad Path-way that leadeth to Deſtruction, which the wicked Worldlings take their Pleaſure in for a while. I for my Part have now written this ſhort Admonition unto you of good Will (as God is my Witneſs) to exhort you to that Way, which at length you yourſelves ſhall prove and find to be beſt, yea and rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will alſo (with the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace) ratify and confirm, and ſeal the ſame with the Effuſion of my Blood, when the full Time ſhall be expired that he hath appointed; which (ſo far forth as I may judge) muſt needs be within theſe few Days. Therefore I now bid you all moſt heartily farewel, in the Lord, whoſe Grace be with your Spirit,* Amen. *Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray.* So be it.

John Hullier.

The Martyrdom of ſix conſtant Profeſſors of Chriſt, burned at Colcheſter *for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel, the 28th Day of* April.

NOT long after the Death of *Robert Drakes*, *Williams Tyms*, and the other *Eſſex* Martyrs, who ſuffered in *Smithfield*, as is before ſpecified, followed in the ſame Order likewiſe of Martyrdom, at one Fire in the Town of *Colcheſter*, (where moſt of them inhabited) ſix other Martyrs, whoſe Names be theſe:

Chriſtopher Lyſter, of *Dagenham*, Husbandman. *John Mace*, of *Colcheſter*, Apothecary. *John Spencer*, of *Colcheſter*, Weaver. *Simon Joyne*, Sawyer. *Richard Nichols*, of *Colcheſter*, Weaver. *John Hammond*, of *Colcheſter*, Tanner.

With theſe ſix was alſo joined another, whoſe Name was *Roger Grasbroke*, but he afterwards ſubmitted himſelf. Of theſe abovenamed, the Biſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemed by the ſhort Proceſs recorded by his Regiſter) waxed now weary, made a very quick Diſpatch. For ſoon after that they were delivered unto one *John Kingſtone*, Batchelor of the civil Law, and then Commiſſary to the Biſhop, by the Earl of *Oxford* and other Commiſſioners (as appeareth by a Bill indented made between the Commiſſioners and the ſaid Commiſſary, for the Receipt of the ſaid Priſoners, dated *March* the 28th, in the ſecond and third Years of the Reign of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, which was in the Year of our Lord 1556.) and by him ſent up unto his Lord and Maſter, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought unto his Houſe of *Fulham*: Where in the open Church, judicially were miniſtred unto them the ſame Articles that were propounded unto *Bartlet Green* and others, mentioned before. To which they made their ſeveral Anſwers, agreeing altogether in one Truth, as by the Sum and Effect thereof here enſuing more plainly appeareth.

1. To the firſt Article they all conſented and agreed; *John Spencer* adding further thereto, that the Church malignant, which is the Church of *Rome*, is no Part of Chriſt's Catholick Church; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the Doctrine and Religion taught and ſet forth in the ſaid Romiſh and Malignant Church.

2. To the ſecond they anſwered, That they believed that in the true Catholick Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments; that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

3. To the third Article they all agreed, confeſſing that they were baptiſed in the Faith and Belief of the Catholick Church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had profeſſed and promiſed for them, as is contained in the ſame Article.

4. To the fourth they anſwered, That they always were, and yet then did continue in the Faith and Profeſſion wherein they were baptized; *Richard Nichols* adding alſo, that he had more plainly learned the Truth of his Profeſſion by the Doctrine ſet forth in King *Edward* the ſixth's Days, and thereupon he had built his Faith, and would continue in the ſame to his Life's End, God aſſiſting him.

5. To the fifth they anſwered, That they neither ſwerved nor went away from the Catholick Faith of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that within the Time articulate (and before) they had miſliked, and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be Partakers thereof, becauſe they had, and then did believe, that they were ſet forth and uſed contrary to God's Word and Glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had ſpoken againſt the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as an Oppreſſor of Chriſt's Church and Goſpel, and that he ought not to have any Authority in *England*. For all which Sayings they were no whit ſorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

6. To the ſixth they anſwered, that they never refuſed, nor yet then preſently did refuſe to be reconciled to the Unity of Chriſt's Catholick Church: But they ſaid they had, and then did, and ſo ever would hereafter utterly refuſe to come to the Church of *Rome*, or to acknowledge the Authority of the Seat thereof, but did utterly abhor the ſame, for

putting down the Book of God, the Bible, and ſetting up the Babylonical Maſs, with all other of Antichriſt's Merchandize.

7. To the ſeventh Article, the Effect thereof they all granted. And *Simon Joyne* declared further, that the Cauſe of his refuſing to be Partaker of their Trumpery was, for that the Commandments of God were there broken, and Chriſt's Ordinances changed and put out, and the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Ordinances inſtead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body, *Chriſtopher Lyſter* affirmed, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, as well after the Words of Conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially and truly, but only ſacramentally and ſpiritually by Faith in the faithful Receivers; and that the Maſs is not propitiatory for the Quick or for the Dead, but meer Idolatry and Abomination.

8. To the Eighth they ſaid that they were ſent to *Colcheſter* Priſon by the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to to their Pariſh Churches, and by them ſent unto the Biſhop of *London* to be thereof further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, That that which they had ſaid in the Premiſſes was true, and that they were of the Dioceſs of *London*.

Theſe Anſwers thus made, the Biſhop diſmiſs'd them for that preſent until the Afternoon. At which Time having firſt their Articles and Anſwers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their Chriſtian Profeſſion, they were by divers Ways and Means eſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed Faith, and return to the Unity of Antichriſt's Church.

Which when they refuſed, the Biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the ſecular Power. Who, upon the Receipt of the King and Queen's Writ, ſent them unto *Colcheſter*, where the 28th Day of *April*, moſt cheerfully they ended their Lives, to the Glory of God's holy Name, and the great Encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, *an old Man*, John Apprice, *a blind Man, Martyrs, burned at* Stratford le Bow.

IN the Diſcourſe of this Parcel or Part of Hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unſearchable Mercies of God (with whom there is no Reſpect in Degrees of Perſons, but he chooſeth as well the Poor, Lame and Blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to ſet forth his Glory) or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnatural Doing of theſe unmerciful Catholicks, I mean Biſhop *Bonner* and his Accomplices, in whom was ſo little Favour or Mercy to all Sorts and Kinds of Men, that they ſpared neither impotent Age, neither Lame nor Blind, as may well appear by theſe poor Creatures whoſe Names and Stories here under follow.

Hugh Laverock, of the Pariſh of *Barking*, Painter, of the Age of 68, a Cripple. *John Apprice*, a blind Man. Anno 1556.

Theſe two poor and ſimple Creatures being belike accuſed by ſome promoting Neighbour of theirs, unto the Biſhop and other of the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, were ſent for by their Officer; and ſo being brought and delivered into the Hands of the ſaid Biſhop, were the firſt Day of *May* examined before him in his Palace at *London*; where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine Articles, whereof mention is made before, miniſtred as well unto *Bartlet Greene*, as alſo unto many others. To which they anſwered in Effect, as *Chriſtopher Lyſter*, *John Mace*, and others before-mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again ſent to Priſon, and beſide other Times, the ninth Day of the ſame Month, in the Conſiſtory of St. *Paul*'s were again openly produced, and there (after the old Order) travelled withal to recant their Opinions againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. *The Words of* Hugh Laverock *to* Bonner.

Whereunto *Hugh Laverock* firſt ſaid, I will ſtand to mine Anſwers, and to that I have confeſſed; and I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the Prieſts ſhould lift up over their Head a Cake of Bread.

The Biſhop then turned unto *John Apprice*, and asked what he would ſay.

To whom he anſwered, Your Doctrine that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreeable with the World, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scripture of God. And ye are not of the Catholick Church; for ye make Laws to kill Men, and make the Queen your Hangman. *The Words of* John Apprice *to the Biſhop.*

At which Words the Biſhop belike ſomewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their Condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burning Charity) commanded that they ſhould be brought after him unto *Fulham*, whither he went before Dinner, and there in the Afternoon, after his ſolemn Manner, in the open Church, he pronounced the definitive Sentence of Condemnation againſt them, and ſo delivering them into the Hands of the temporal Officer, thought to diſpatch his Hands of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his Conſcience before the Judgment of God, from the Guiltineſs of innocent Blood. *Sentence of Condemnation given againſt* Hugh Laverock *and* John Apprice.

The poor Men being now in the temporal Officers Hands, might not be ſuffered long to remain there, and therefore the fifteenth Day of *May*, very early in the Morning, they were carried in a Cart from *Newgate* to *Stratford le Bow*, and moſt quietly in the Fire praiſing God, yielded up their Souls into his Hands, through a lively Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom unto the End they did moſt conſtantly confeſs.

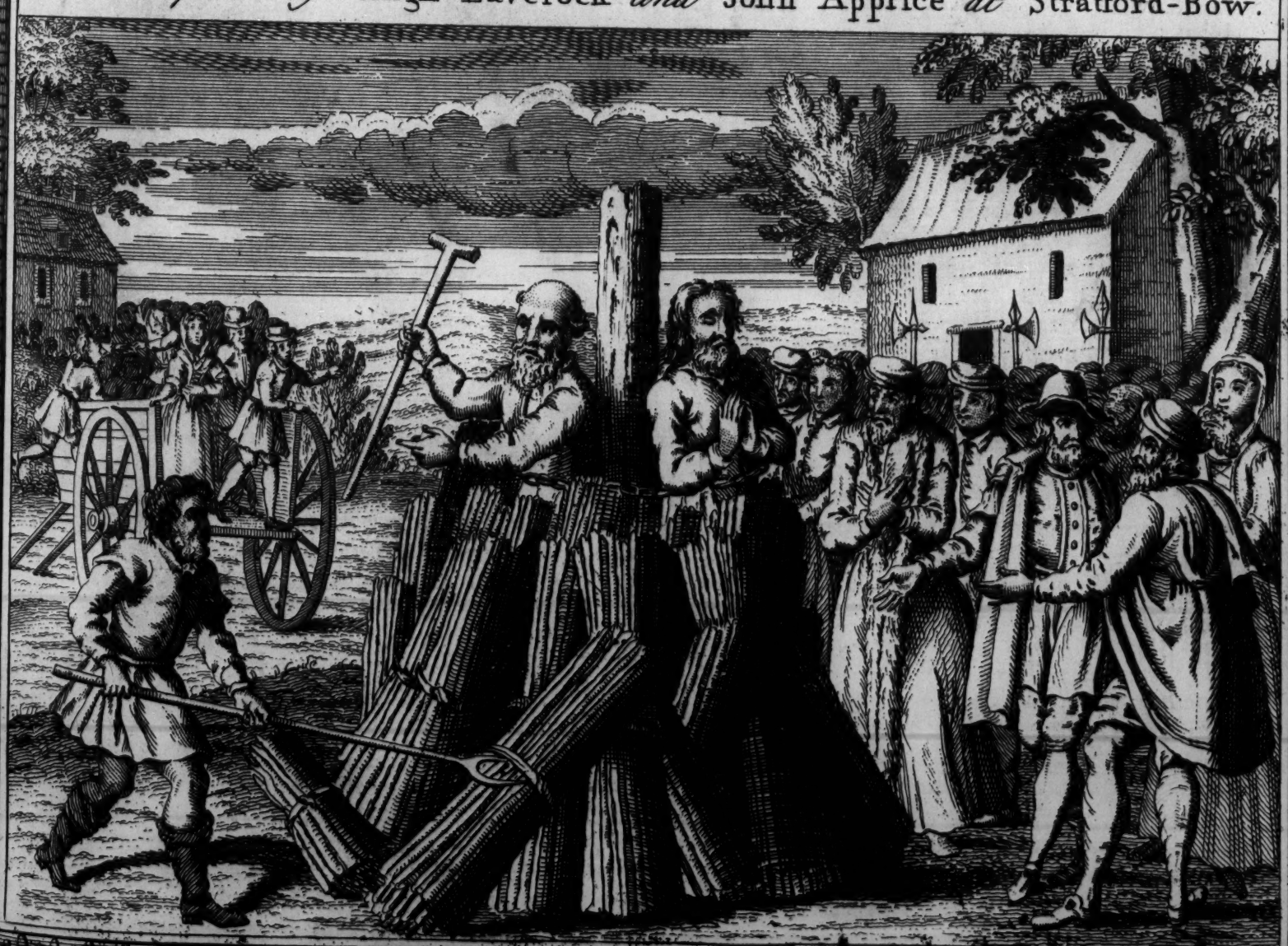
At their Death, *Hugh Laverock*, after he was chained, caſt away his Crutch, and comforting *John Apprice*, his Fellow-Martyr, ſaid unto him: Be of good Comfort, my Brother, for my Lord of *London* is our good Phyſician. He will heal us both ſhortly, thee of thy Blindneſs, and me of my Lameneſs. And ſo patiently they ſuffered together.

The

The burning of C. Lyſter, J. Mace, J. Spencer, S. Joyne, R. Nichols *&* J. Hammond *at* Colcheſter.

The burning of Agnes Potten *&* Joan Trunchfield *at* Ipſwich.

The Martyrdom of Hugh Laverock *and* John Apprice *at* Stratford-Bow.



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Anno 1556.

The Martyrdom of Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, *and* Joan Horns, *in* Smithfield.

THE next Day after the Martyrdom of this lame and blind Man above ſpecified, in the ſaid Month of *May*, were brought to the Fire three Women, with whom alſo was adjoined another, who being in the ſame Conſtancy with them, was likewiſe Partaker of the ſaid Condemnation. Their Names were:

Katherine Hut, of *Bocking*, Widow. *Joan Horns* of *Billerica*, Maid. *Elizabeth Thackvel*, of *Great-Burſted*, Maid. *Margaret Ellis* of *Billerica*, Maid.

How theſe with divers others were perſecuted and ſent up, eſpecially by Sir *John Mordant*, and *Edmund Tyrel*, Eſquire, Juſtices of Peace, the following Letter will declare.

A Letter ſent unto *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, from Sir *John Mordant*, Knight, and *Edmund Tyrel*, Eſq; Juſtices of Peace for the County of *Eſſex*.

OUR humble Commendations to your Lordſhip; theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that we have ſent unto your good Lordſhip Joan Potter, *the Wife of* Hugh Potter, James Harris, *Servant of* William Harris *of* Bromhill, *and* Margaret Ellis, *for that they be not conformable to the Orders of the Church, nor to the real Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, to uſe your Lordſhip's Pleaſure with them, as you think good; not doubting with the Puniſhment of theſe and others before ſent to your Lordſhip, but that the Pariſh of* Great-Burſted *and* Billerica *ſhall be brought to good Conformity. Thus, committing your good Lordſhip to the Tuition of the Almighty God, we take our Leave. From* Great-Burſted *this preſent ſecond Day of* March, 1556.

Your Lordſhip's to command,

John Mordant, Edmund Tyrel.

After the Receipt of theſe Letters, Biſhop *Bonner* entring to Examination of theſe four Women abovenamed, laid and objected the like Articles to them, as after his uſual Form he was uſed to adminiſter, and are before expreſſed: Whereunto the ſaid Women likewiſe agreeing in the ſame Unity of the Spirit and Doctrine, accorded in their Anſwers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

1. As firſt, to the Article in the firſt Place objected, they conſented and granted, believing the ſaid Article to be true in every Part thereof.

The ſimple Ignorance of theſe Women had more Need to be inſtructed, than to be burnt.

2. To the ſecond, partly they anſwered, they could not tell what a Sacrament is; *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Katharine Hut* adding moreover, that Matrimony, and Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper were Sacraments ordained in the Church: But whether the other ſpecify'd in this Article be Sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. *Margaret Ellis* being examined ſeverally, as the others were, upon the ſame, how many Sacraments there were, anſwered, (as a young Maid unskilled, in her ſimple Ignorance) that ſhe could not tell. However ſhe had heard, ſhe ſaid, that there was one Sacrament, but what it was ſhe could not tell, *&c.*

3. To the third likewiſe they granted, that they were baptized by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which Godfathers and Godmothers (ſaid *Margaret Ellis)* did not then know ſo much, as ſhe doth now know: *Katherine Hut* adding withal, and ſaying, that ſhe was baptized; but what her Godfather and Godmothers did then promiſe for her in her Name, ſhe could nor tell, *&c.*

4. To the fourth Article *Margaret Ellis* and *Elizabeth Thackvel* did grant thereunto: *Katherine Hut* ſaid moreover, that ſhe, being of the Age of fourteen Years, was of the Faith wherein ſhe was chriſtned; and yet nevertheleſs the ſaid Faith in that Age (ſhe ſaid) was but a dead Faith, becauſe ſhe did not then underſtand what ſhe did believe. *Joan Horns* added, that ſhe being eleven Years of Age, began to learn the Faith ſet forth in King *Edward*'s Days, in which Faith and Religion (ſhe ſaid) ſhe hath hitherto, and yet doth, and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

5. To the fifth Article they anſwered and confeſſed, according all in this Effect, that as touching the Maſs, they knew no Goodneſs in it; and as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, they believed that Chriſt's natural Body is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar: And as concerning the See of *Rome*, they acknowledged no ſuch Supremacy in that See, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

6. In anſwering the ſixth Article, they did all generally refuſe to be reconciled or united to the Church of *Rome*, or any other Church, contrary to that wherein they now ſtood and did profeſs.

7. To the ſeventh Article they anſwered likewiſe, that they had ſo done and ſaid in all Things, as it is in this Article contained: *Katherine Hut* adding moreover the Reaſon why; for that *(ſaid ſhe)* neither the Service in *Latin*, Maſs, Mattins, and Even-ſong, nor the Sacraments were uſed and miniſtred according to God's Word: And furthermore, that the Maſs is an Idol, neither is the true Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they make Men believe.

8. The Anſwer to the eighth Article, declared that they were all and every one ſent up to *Bonner* by Sir *John Mordant*, Knight, and Juſtice of Peace in *Eſſex* (the Lord of his Mercy ſend us better Juſtices I beſeech him) for that they could not affirm the Preſence of Chriſt's Body and Blood to be truly and really in the Sacrament, and for that they came not to their Popiſh Pariſh-church.

9. To the ninth Article, they anſwered and confeſſed the Premiſſes thereof to be true, and deny'd not the ſame; ſave that *Catherine Hut* ſaid, that ſhe was of *Bocking* in *Eſſex* of the peculiar Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*, and not of the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London*.

After theſe their Anſwers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of *April* to further Examination, and ſo at length to their final Judgment; where *Katherine Hut*, Widow, ſtanding before the Biſhop, boldly

boldly and constantly stood to that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair Promises, nor overthrown with his Terror. Who being required to declare her Mind concerning the Sacrament, and to revoke herself unto the Fellowship of the catholick Faith, openly protested, saying, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with Men's Hands. Wherein the good and faithful Martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her Sentence, being condemned to the Fire by Bishop *Bonner*; which she with great Constancy sustained by the Grace and Strength of the Lord, and did abide for the Cause and Love of Christ.

Joan Horns, Maid, produced likewise to her Judgment and Condemnation, with like Firmness and christian Fortitude declared herself a true Martyr and Follower of Christ's Testament, giving no Place to the Adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood to be Christ himself, of which Sacrament (contrary to the Nature of a Sacrament) the Adversaries are wont to make an idol Service; to this she protesting openly her Mind, said as followeth; If you can make your God to shed Blood, or to shew any Condition of a true lively Body, then will I believe you: But it is but Bread (as touching the Substance thereof) meaning the Matter whereof the Sacrament consisteth; and that which you call Heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God in, *&c.*

And as concerning the *Romish* See, she said, My Lord (speaking to *Bonner*) I forsake all his Abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her stable and constant Assertion, when the Bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knock'd her down with the butcherly Ax of his Sentence. And so the holy Virgin and Martyr committed to the Shambles of the secular Sword, was offered up with her other Fellows a burnt Sacrifice to the Lord, in the Savour of a sweet and pleasant Smell.

As touching *Margaret Ellis*, she likewise persevering in her foresaid Confession, and resisting the false catholick Errors of the Papists, was by the said *Bonner* adjudged and condemned; but before the Time of her burning came, prevented by Death in *Newgate*, departed and slept in the Lord.

No less Strength in the Grace of the Lord appeared in the other Maid *Elizabeth Thackvell*, whose Heart and Mind the Lord had so confirmed in his Truth, so armed with Patience, that as her Adversaries could by no sufficient Knowledge of Scripture convince her Affirmation, so by no forcible Attempts they could remove her Confession. Whereupon she standing to the Death, being in like Sort condemned, by the said unbishoplike Persecutor, gave her Life willingly and mildly for the Confirmation and sealing up of the sincere Truth of God's Word.

These three innocent and godly Women, thus falsly and wrongfully by Men condemned for the just Quarrel and Cause of God's Gospel, were had to *Smithfield*, and there cruelly bound to the Stake, gave their Bodies to the Tormentors, their Spirits they commended to God. For whose Glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel Hands of their Enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming Fire, than some of them that burned them did peradventure in their Beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his Saints. The Martyrdom of these Saints of God was the 16th Day of *May*. Anno 1556.

Thomas Drowry *a blind Boy, and* Thomas Croker, *Bricklayer, Martyrs.*

A Little before ye have heard of two Men, the one blind and the other lame, which suffered about the 15th of *May*. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a Couple, who suffer'd the like Passion and Martyrdom for the same Cause of Religion at *Glouceſter*: Of which two, the one was a blind Boy named *Thomas Drowry*, mentioned before in the History of Bishop *Hooper*, whom the said virtuous Bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the Doctrine of his Word.

How long this blind Boy was in Prison, and in what Year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this credible Intelligence I have received by the Testimony of the Register then of *Glouceſter*, named *John Taylor*, alias *Barker*, that the said blind Boy at his last Examination and final Condemnation, was brought (by the Officers, under whose Custody he had remained) before Dr. *Williams* then Chancellor of *Glouceſter*, sitting judicially with the said Register in the Consistory, near unto the South-door, in the nether End of the Church of *Glouceſter*. Where the said Chancellor then ministred unto the Boy such usual Articles as are accustomed in such Cases, and are sundry Times mentioned in this Book. Amongst which, he chiefly urged the Article of Transubstantiation, saying in Effect as followeth.

Chancellor. Dost thou not believe, that after the Words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there remaineth the very real Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar?

To whom *Thomas Drowry* answered, No, that I do not.

Chancellor. Then thou art an Heretick, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this Heresy?

Drowry. You master Chancellor.

Chancellor. Where I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder Place; pointing with his Hand, and turning towards the Pulpit, standing upon the North side of the Church.

Chancellor. When did I teach thee so?

Drowry. When you preached there (naming the Day) a Sermon to all Men as well as to me, upon the Sacrament. You said the Sacrament was to be received spiritually by Faith, and not carnally and really, as the Papists have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

Drowry. Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the World, and your own Conscience, yet will not I so do.

Chancellor. Then God have Mercy upon thee, for I will read the Condemnation Sentence against thee.

Drowry. God's Will be fulfilled.

The Register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up and said to the Chancellor,

Anno 1556.

Fie for Shame, Man, will you read the Sentence againſt him, and condemn yourſelf? Away, away, and ſubſtitute ſome other to give Sentence and Judgment.

Chancellor. No, Regiſter, I will obey the Law, and give Sentence myſelf according to mine Office.

And ſo he read the Sentence condemnatory againſt the Boy (with an unhappy Tongue, and a more unhappy Conſcience) delivering him over to the ſecular Power. Who the ſaid fifth Day of *May*, brought the ſaid blind Boy to the Place of Execution at *Glouceſter*; together with one *Thomas Croker* a Bricklayer, condemned alſo for the like Teſtimony of the Truth. Where both together in one Fire moſt conſtantly and joytully yielded their Souls into the Hands of the Lord Jeſus.

Perſecution in Suffolk.

AFter the Death of theſe above rehearſed, were three Men burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, in one Fire about the 21ſt Day of *May*, *Anno* 1556. Whoſe Names are here ſpecify'd.

Thomas Spicer of *Winſton*, Labourer; *John Denny* and *Edmund Poole*.

This *Thomas Spicer* was a ſingle Man, of the Age of nineteen Years, and by Vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Winſton* in the County of *Suffolk*, and there taken in his Maſter's Houſe in Summer, about, or ſoon after Sun-riſing (being in his Bed) by *James Ling* and *John Keretch* of the ſame Town, and *William Davies* of *Debnam* in the ſaid County.

He was apprehended for not coming to hear Maſs, and becauſe he would not receive their Idol at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knight, of *Gipping-hall* in *Suffolk*, and certain other Juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to the Dungeon in the Town of *Eye* in *Suffolk*, from whence they were all three together brought before *Dunning*, then Chancellor of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Mings* the Regiſter ſitting at the Town of *Beckles* to be examined.

And there the Chancellor endeavoured, but to no purpoſe, to perſuade them from the Truth. Wherefore minding in the End to give Sentence on them, he burſt out into Tears, intreating them to remember themſelves, and to turn again to the holy Mother-church, for that they were deceived and out of the Truth, and that they ought not wilfully to caſt themſelves away, with ſuch like Words.

As he was thus labouring with them, and ſeemed very loth to read the Sentence (for they were the firſt that he condemned in that Dioceſs) the Regiſter there ſitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or elſe perceiving the conſtant Martyrs to be at a Point, called upon the Chancellor in haſte to rid them out of the Way, and to make an End. At which Words the Chancellor read the Condemnation over them with Tears, and deliver'd them to the ſecular Power.

The Articles objected to theſe, and commonly to all others condemned in that Dioceſs by Dr. *Hopton* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and by *Dunning* his Chancellor, were theſe:

1. *Firſt*, It was articulate againſt them, that they believed not the Pope of *Rome* to be ſupreme Head immediately under Chriſt in Earth of the univerſal catholick Church.

2. *Item*, That they believed not holy Bread and holy Water, Aſhes, Palms, and all other like Ceremonies uſed in the Church, to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the People to Devotion.

3. *Item*, That they believed not, after the Words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the very natural Body of Chriſt, and no other Subſtance of Bread and Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.

4. *Item*, That they believed it to be Idolatry to worſhip Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. *Item*, That they took Bread and Wine in Remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion.

6. *Item*, That they would not follow the Croſs in Proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a Prieſt.

7. *Item*, That they affirmed no mortal Man to have in himſelf Free-will to do good or evil.

For this Doctrine and theſe Articles they were all three condemned by Dr. *Dunning*, and committed to the ſecular Power, Sir *John Silliard* being high Sheriff of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* at the ſame Time.

And the next Day following they were all burnt together in the Town of *Beckles*. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the Writ *De Comburendo*, was not yet come down, nor could be, the Lord Chancellor *Heath* being at *London* the ſame Time. Which, if it be true, then it is plain that both they went beyond their Commiſſions, that were the Executioners, and alſo the Clergy which were the Inſtigators thereof, cannot make good what they now pretend; ſaying, that they did nothing but by Law. But this let the Lord find out when he ſeeth his Time.

In the mean Time while theſe good Men were at the Stake, they pray'd, and ſaid their Belief; and when they mention'd the Catholick Church, Sir *John Silliard* ſpake to them; That is well ſaid, Sirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you ſay you do believe the Catholick Church. That is the beſt Word I have heard of you yet.

To which his Sayings *Edmund Poole* anſwered, That though they believed the Catholick Church, yet do they not believe in their Popiſh Church, which is no Part of Chriſt's Catholick Church, and therefore no part of their Belief.

When they aroſe from Prayer, they all went joyfully to the Stake, and being bound thereto and the Fire burning about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible Voice, that it was wonderful to all thoſe that ſtood by and heard them.

Then one *Robert Bacon*, dwelling in the ſaid *Beckles*, a very Enemy of God's Truth, and a Perſecutor of his People, being there preſent within Hearing thereof, willed the Tormentors to throw one Faggot to ſtop the Breath of the Knaves, as he termed them; ſo hot was his burning Charity. But theſe good Men not regarding their Malice, confeſſed the Truth, and yielded their Lives to Death for the Teſtimony of the ſame, very glorioufly and joyfully. Which Conſtancy the Lord grant we may imitate, whether it be by Death or by Life, to glorify the Name of Chriſt, *Amen*.

And foraſmuch as we have here enter'd into the Perſecution of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, it cometh therefore to mind, by Occaſion hereof, briefly to touch by the Way, ſome part (for

the whole Matter cannot be ſo expreſs'd as it was done) touching the Troubles of the Town of *Winſon* and *Mendleſam* in *Suffolk*, raiſed and ſtirred by the ſaid Sir *John Tyrrel* and other Juſtices there of the like Affinity. The Sum and Effect of which briefly is thus ſignify'd to me by Writing.

The Perſecution in the Towns of Winſon *and* Mendleſam *in* Suffolk.

BY the Procurement of Sir *John Tyrrel*, Knt. and others of his Colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the Town of *Winſon* in *Suffolk*, theſe Perſons hereafter following.

Mrs. *Alice Twaites*, Gentlewoman, of the Age of threeſcore Years and more, and two of her Servants.

Humphrey Smith and his Wife.
William Catchpoole and his Wife.
John Mauling and his Wife.
Nicholas Burlingham and his Wife.
And one *Rought* and his Wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driven out of the Town of *Meudleſam*, in the County of *Suffolk*.

Simon Harlſtone, and *Katherine* his Wife, with his five Children.
William Whitting, and *Katherine* his Wife.
Thomas Dobſon and his Wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his Wife.
John Doncon and his Wife and Maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the Elder.
———*Konnold*'s Wife.
A poor Widow.
One Mother *Semon*'s Maid.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrained to do againſt their Conſcience by the Help of the Pariſh Prieſt.

Theſe be the chiefeſt Cauſes why thoſe abovenamed were perſecuted.

Firſt, They held and believed the holy Word of God to be the ſufficient Doctrine unto their Salvation.

Secondly, They denied the Pope's uſurped Authority, and did hold all that Church of Antichriſt to be Chriſt's Adverſaries. And further, they refuſed the abuſed Sacraments, defied the Maſs and all Popiſh Service and Ceremonies, ſaying, they robbed God of his Honour, and Chriſt of his Death and Glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, They did hold that the Miniſters of the Church by God's Word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the Queen to be as chief Head, and wicked Rulers to be a great Plague ſent of God for Sin, *&c.*

Fifthly, They denied Man's Free-Will, and held that the Pope's Church did err, and many other in that Point with them, rebuking their falſe Confidence in Works, and their falſe Truſt in Man's Righteouſneſs. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely; their Anſwer was, They acknowledged, confeſſed, and believed, and therefore they muſt ſpeak: And that their Tribulation was God's good Will and Providence, and that his Judgments were right, to puniſh them with others for their Sins; and that of very Faithfulneſs and Mercy God had cauſed them to be troubled, ſo that one Hair of their Heads ſhould not periſh before the Time, but all Things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love God, and that *Chriſt Jeſus* was their Life and only Righteouſneſs, and that only by Faith in him, and for his Sake, all good Things were freely given them, alſo Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Life everlaſting. Anno 1556.

Many of theſe perſecuted were of great Subſtance, and had Poſſeſſions of their own.

Give God the Praiſe.

Foraſmuch as we are now in the Month of *May*, before we overpaſs the ſame, and becauſe the Story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it ſhall not grieve the ſtudious Reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muſe at the great Works of the Lord. *They that go down* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *into the Sea, labouring upon the Water, have ſeen the Works of the Lord, and his mighty Wonders upon the deep*, Pſal. 106. The Truth whereof may well appear in this following Story; which, as it was written to me by the very Perſon himſelf, one *Thomas Morſe*, who was the Doer thereof, ſo I thought proper to inſert the ſame in the following Manner.

A Story of one Gregory Crow, *who was miraculouſly preſerved with his New Teſtament upon the Seas*, May 26.

UPON *Tueſday* in *Whitſon-Week*, *May* 26, 1556, (or elſe, as he rather thinketh, in the Year immediately before) a certain poor Man, named *Gregory Crow*, dwelling in *Maulden*, went to Sea, intending to have gone into *Kent* for Fullers-Earth, but by the Way being bad Weather, was driven upon a Sand, where preſently the Boat ſunk, and was full of Water, ſo that the Men were forced to hold by the Maſt of the Boat, and all Things that would ſwim, did ſwim out of her. Amongſt which *Crow* ſaw his Teſtament in the Water, and caught it, and put it into his Boſom. Now it was ebbing Water, ſo that within one Hour the Boat was dry, but ſo broken that they could not ſave her; but they went themſelves upon the Sand, (being at leaſt ten Miles from the Land) and there made their Prayers together, that God would ſend ſome Ship to their Aſſiſtance (being in all two Men and one Boy) for they could ſtay there but half an Hour longer before it would be Flood. In which Time they found their Cheſt, wherein was five Pounds, ſix Shillings and eightpence, belonging to the ſaid *Crow*; which Money the other Man (whoſe Name I know not) took up, and gave it to the Owner, who caſt it into the Sea, ſaying, *If the Lord will ſave our Lives, he will provide us a Living*, and ſo they got upon the Maſt, and there hung by the Arms and Legs for the Space of ten Hours, in which Time the poor Boy was ſo weary, and beaten with the Sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the Water was gone again, and the Sand dry, *Crow* ſaid to the other Man, It were beſt for us to take down our Maſts, and when the Flood cometh we will ſit upon

Anno 1556. them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bring us to ſome Ship that may take us up. Which accordingly they did, and ſo at ten of the Clock in the Night of the ſame *Tueſday*, the Flood did bear up the Maſt whereon they ſat.

And upon the *Wedneſday* in the Night the Man died, being overcome with Hunger and Watching. So that there was none left but *Crow*, who driving up and down in the Sea, called upon God as he could, and might not ſleep for Fear that the Sea would have beaten him off.

So at length I myſelf (ſaid *Thomas Morſe*) being laden to *Antwerp* with my Crayer, going from *Lee* upon *Friday*, having within my Veſſel, of Mariners and Merchants, to the Number of 46 Perſons, and ſo coming to the Foreland, the Wind was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrained to go ſomewhat out of my Way, being in the Afternoon about ſix of the Clock, where at the laſt we ſaw a Thing afar off, appearing unto us like a ſmall Buoy, that Fiſhermen do uſe to lay with their Hooks.

God's Providence to be noted.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſaid, Let us have ſome Fiſh. And I ſaid to him that was at the Helm; Keep your Courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the Fiſherman, and have no Fiſh neither; and ſo at my Commandment he did. But at length he at the Helm ſtanding higher than all we did, ſaid, Methink Maſter, it is a Man. But yet they, being in Doubt that it was but a Fiſherman's Buoy, turned the Ship from him again to keep their Courſe.

Crow beholding the Ship to turn from him, being then in utter Deſpair, and ready now to periſh with Watching, Famine, and moreover miſerably beaten with the Seas, at laſt took his Mariner's Cap from his Head, and holding up the ſame with his Arm as high as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as he might, to give them ſome Token of better Sight.

Whereupon the Steerman more ſenſibly perceiving a Thing to move, advertiſed us again, declaring how he did plainly ſee a Man's Arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and ſo came to him and took him up. And as ſoon as we had him in our Ship, he began to put his Hand in his Boſom; and one asked him if he had Money there. No, ſaid he, I have a Book here, I think it be wet; and ſo drew out his Teſtament, which we then dried. But the Sea had ſo beaten him, that his Eyes, Noſe and Mouth were almoſt cloſed with Salt, that the Heat of his Face and the Weather had made. So we made a Fire and ſhifted him with dry Cloaths, and gave him *Aqua Compoſita* to drink, and ſuch Meat as was in the Ship, and then let him ſleep.

Crow with the Teſtament preſerved on the Sea.

The next Day we awaked him about eight of the Clock in the Morning, and his Blood began ſomewhat to appear in his Fleſh (for when we took him up, his Fleſh was even as though it had been ſodden, or as a drowned Man is) and then we talked with him of all the Matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſailing to *Antwerp*, the ſame Merchants which ſaw the Thing, publiſhed the ſame in *Antwerp*; and becauſe it was wonderful, many of the People there, both Men and Women, came to the Ship to ſee him. Some gave him a Petticoat, and ſome a Shirt, ſome Hoſe, and ſome Money (always noting how he caſt away his Money and kept his Book.)

And many of the Women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And Maſter Governour of the *Engliſh* Nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the Matter; and pitying his Caſe, commanded the Officer of the *Engliſh* Houſe to go with him to the free Oſte-Houſes amongſt the *Engliſh* Merchants, and I with them, and at three Houſes there was given him ſix Pounds ten Shillings. And ſo from thence he went with me to *Roan*, where the People alſo came to him to ſee him, marvelling at the great Works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor Man with his New Teſtament preſerved in the Sea (which Teſtament the Pope's Clergy condemneth on the Land) ye have heard (as I received by the Relation of the Party above-named) who was the Doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in *Lee*, well known to all Merchants of *London*. In which Story this by the Way underſtand, good Reader, (which rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poor Man thus found and preſerved in the Sea with a New Teſtament in his Boſom, had had inſtead of that a Pix with a conſecrated Hoſt about him, no doubt it had been rung e're this Time all Chriſtendom over for a Miracle, ſo far as the Pope hath any Land.

But to let the Pope with his falſe Miracles go, let us return again and adjoin another Hiſtory of much like Condition, teſtified likewiſe by the Information of the ſaid *Thomas Morſe* above-mentioned, to the Intent to make known the worthy Acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous Works. The Story is thus declared, which happened *Anno* 1556, about *Michaelmas*.

Another Story of God's Providence in the Preſervation of three Men at Sea.

THERE was a Ship (ſaith the ſaid *Thomas Morſe*) whereof I had a Part, going toward the Bay for Salt, with two Ships of *Brickleſey*, which were altogether going for Salt, as before is ſaid. At what Time we were within ten Miles of the *North-Foreland*, otherwiſe called *Tenet*, the Wind did come ſo contrary to our Ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the Way, and the other two Ships kept their Courſe ſtill, until our Ship was almoſt out of Sight of them. And then they ſaw a Thing driving upon the Sea, and hoiſted up their Boat and went unto it; and it was three Men ſitting upon a Piece of their Ship, who ſat ſo two Days and two Nights.

There had been in their Ship eight Men more which were drowned, being all *Frenchmen*, dwelling in a Place in *France* called *Oloronne*. They had been at *Dantzick*, and loſt their Ship about *Oxford Nas*, as might be learned by their Words. They were Men that feared God, the one of them was Owner of the Ship. Their Exerciſe, while they were in our Ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave Thanks for their Deliverance: Both Morning and Evening they exerciſed Prayer, and alſo before and after Meat, and when they came into *France*, our Ships went to the ſame Place where theſe Men dwelt, and one of them did ſell unto our Men their Ships Lading of Salt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that Time only, but always

always whenſoever that Ship cometh thither, (as ſhe hath been there twice ſince) he always doth for them, ſo that they can lack nothing. I ſhould have noted, that after our Ship had taken up thoſe three Men out of the Sea, they had the Wind fair preſently, and came and overtook the other two Ships again, and ſo they proceeded in their Voyage together.

For the more Credit of this Story above recited, to ſatisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the Quarreller, I have not only alledged the Name of the Party which was the Doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the Matter in his own Words, as I of him receiv'd it; the Party and Reporter himſelf being yet alive, and dwelling at *Lee*, a Man ſo well known amongſt the Merchants of *London*, that whoſoever heareth the Name of *Thomas Morſe* will never doubt thereof. And again, the Matter itſelf being ſo notoriouſly known to Merchants as well here as at *Antwerp*, that though his Name were not expreſſed, the Story can lack no Witneſſes.

The Death of *W. Slech* in the *King's-Bench.*

The laſt Day of the ſaid Month of *May*, in the Year aforeſaid, *William Slech* being in Priſon for the ſaid Doctrine of the Lord's Goſpel, and the Confeſſion of his Truth, died in the *King's-Bench*, and was buried on the Backſide of the ſaid Priſon, for that the *Romiſh* Catholick Spiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their Pope-holy Church-yards, neither in any other Chriſtian Burial, as they call it.

The Hiſtory of four Men condemned at Lewes, June 6.

IN *June* next following, about the ſixth Day of the ſame Month, four Martyrs ſuffered together at *Lewes*, whoſe Names were theſe:

Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*, Carpenter.
John Oſwald of *Woodmancote*, Husbandman.
Thomas Avington of *Ardingly*, Turner.
Thomas Read.

To *Thomas Harland* I find in the Biſhop of *London*'s Regiſters, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he anſwered, That after the Maſs was reſtored, he never had Will to hear the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was in *Latin*, which he did not underſtand, therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit, as never the better.

John Oſwald denied to anſwer any Thing, until his Accuſers ſhould be brought Face to Face before him; and nevertheleſs ſaid, That Fire and Faggots could not make him afraid: But as the good Preachers which were in King *Edward*'s Time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

Theſe four, after long Impriſonment in the *King's-Bench*, were burned together at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, in one Fire.

The Martyrdom of *T. Whood*, and others.

In the ſame Town of *Lewes*, and in the ſame Month likewiſe, were burned *Thomas Whood* Miniſter, and *Thomas Milles*, about the twentieth Day of the ſame Month, for reſiſting the erroneous and heretical Doctrine of the pretended Catholick Church of *Rome*. Anno 1556.

On the 24th Day of the ſame Month likewiſe *William Adherall*, Miniſter, died in the Priſon of the *King's-Bench*, and was buried in the Back-ſide: Alſo *John Clement*, Wheelwright, who dying in the ſaid Priſon, was buried in like Manner upon the Dunghil in the Back-ſide two Days after, *viz.* the 25th Day of *June*.

The next Day following of the ſaid Month, we read of a certain young Man, a Merchant's Servant, who for the like Godlineſs ſuffered cruel Perſecution of the Papiſts, and was burnt at *Leiceſter* the 26th Day of *June*.

Thirteen Martyrs burned at Stratford Le-Bow.

NOT long after the Death of the Merchant's Servant before-mentioned, there followed in this bleſſed Order of Martyrs, burned in one Fire at *Stratford Le-Bow*, by *London*, Eleven Men and two Women, whoſe Dwellings were in ſundry Places in *Eſſex*, and whoſe Names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington,
Laurence Parnam,
Henry Wye,
William Hallywel,
Thomas Bowyer,
George Searles,
Edmund Hurſt,
Lyon Cawch,
Ralp Jackſon,
John Deriſall,
John Routh,
Elizabeth Pepper,
Agnes George.

Unto whom the ſixth of *June*, 1556, Dr. *Darbyſhire*, Biſhop *Bonner*'s Chancellor, in Form of Law miniſtred the ſame Articles that were pronounced unto *Thomas Whittle* and his Company mentioned before, to which they made their ſeveral Anſwers, in Simplicity and in a good Conſcience. The Sum and Effect whereof enſueth.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively; but *Lyon Cawch* added further, that he believed that the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt is whereſoever the Word of God is truly preached.

To the ſecond Article they all anſwered in Effect, denying that there be ſeven Sacraments; ſome affirming, that in the Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: Others referring themſelves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: And others refuſed to make Anſwer becauſe of their Simplicity.

To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the fourth Article they all anſwered affirmatively, except *John Routh*, who ſaid he would make no Anſwer thereunto. But *Lyon Cawch* added, that he believe the Article to be true; but it was becauſe he had no better Knowledge. And *Agnes George* added, that in the Time of King *Edward* VI. ſhe went from her old Faith and Religion, and believed in the Faith and Religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

To the fifth, they all anſwered in Effect affirmatively, except *John Routh*, whoſe Anſwer was, That the Maſs is ſuch a Thing, which neither can nor will enter into his Conſcience.

And

Anno 1556. And *Henry Adlington* anſwered, That for nine or ten Years before, he miſliked the Maſs, and alſo the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the Authority of the See of *Rome*, he being but fourteen Years of Age, took an Oath againſt the ſame, which Oath, he ſaid, he intended to keep by the Grace of God.

To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively, except *John Routh* and *William Halliwel*, who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, That they refuſed to be reconciled to the Faith and Religion that was then uſed in the Realm of *England*. Aud *Laurence Pernam* added, That he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the Unity of the Catholick Church of Chriſt.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but *William Halliwel* denied that ever he called the Maſs Idolatry and Abomination. And *Henry Wye* affirming the Article to be true; yet he confeſſed his Infirmity, that he went to his Pariſh-Church and received, before he was put in Priſon.

To the eighth Article *Edmund Hurſt*, *Ralph Jackſon*, and *George Searles* anſwered affirmatively: *Henry Wye* ſaid, he was brought before certain Juſtices of Peace in *Eſſex*, concerning one *Higbed* his late Maſter, and thereupon he was committed to *Colcheſter-Caſtle*, and from thence ſent to *London* to the Biſhop to be further examined. *William Halliwel* affirmed the like Confeſſion as *Henry Wye* did, only *Higbed* excepted. *John Derifall* ſaid he was called before the Lord *Rich* and Mr. *Mildmay* of *Chelmsford*, and was by them ſent to *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, to be further examined by him. *Thomas Bowyer* ſaid he was brought before Mr. *Wiſeman* of *Felſed*, and by him was ſent to *Colcheſter-Caſtle*, and from thence was carried to *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Lyon Cawch* ſaid, that he was ſent to come before the King and Queen's Commiſſioners, and appearing before them three Times, was ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, to be by him further examined. *Henry Adlington* ſaid, That he coming to *Newgate* to ſpeak with one *Gratwike* there, being Priſoner for the Teſtimony of *Jeſus Chriſt*, was apprehended and brought before Dr. *Story*, and by him ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, to be by him further examined. *John Routh* ſaid, That he was convened before the Earl of *Oxford*, and by him ſent to the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, and from thence conveyed to Biſhop *Bonner*, to be by him further examined. *Laurence Pernam* ſaid, That he was committed to *Hertford* Priſon, becauſe he would not go to Church, and from thence ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, to be by him further examined. *Agnes George* ſaid, That ſhe was committed to Priſon in *Colcheſter*, at the Commandment of one Mr. *Maynard* an Alderman of the Town, becauſe ſhe would not go to Church, and from thence was ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, to be by him further examined. *Elizabeth Pepper* ſaid, ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables and an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to Church, and by them was ſent to *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined.

To the ninth Article, they all believed the Premiſſes to be true above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London*. But *Elizabeth Pepper* added, That ſhe was of the Town of *Colcheſter*.

And *Agnes George* added, That ſhe was of the Pariſh of *Bareſold*. And *Lyon Cawch* added, That he was then of the City of *London*, by Reaſon that he was at preſent a Merchant there.

Henry Wye, Brewer, was of the Pariſh of *Stantford le Hore*, and of 32 Years of Age.

William Halliwel was a Smith, of the Pariſh of *Waltham Holy-Croſs*, and of the Age of 24 Years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackſon was a Serving-Man of *Chipping-Ongar*, and of the Age of 24 Years.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of *Hodſdon*, within the Pariſh of *Amwell*, in the County of *Hertford*, and of the Age of 22 Years.

John Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of *Rettington* in *Eſſex*, and of the Age of 50 Years and above.

Edmund Hurſt, Labourer, of St. *James*'s, in *Colcheſter*, was 50 Years of Age.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weaver of *Much Dunmow*, and of the Age of 36 Years.

George Searles was a Taylor, between 20 or 21 Years of Age, of the Pariſh of *White Nottle*, where he was taken and carried to the Lord *Rich*, who ſent him to *Colcheſter-Caſtle*, with a Commandment that no Friend he had in the World ſhould ſpeak with him. There he lay ſix Weeks, and was ſent up to *London*, where he was ſome Time in the Biſhop's Coal-Houſe, ſome Time in *Lollard*'s-*Tower*, and laſt of all in *Newgate*. He was apprehended in *Lent*, about a Fortnight before *Eaſter*, in the Place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch was a Broker, born in *Flanders*, but when he was apprehended he reſided in the City of *London*, and of the Age of 28 Years.

Henry Adlington was a Sawyer, and of *Greenſted*, in the County of *Suſſex*, and of the Age of 30 Years.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the Pariſh of *Wiekes* in *Eſſex*, and of the Age of 26 Years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the Wife of *Thomas Pepper*, Weaver, of the Pariſh of St. *James*, in the Town of *Colcheſter*, and of the Age of 30 Years, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burnt at *Stratford*, was eleven Weeks gone with Child, as ſhe then teſtified to one *Boſom*'s Wife, who, then unlooſed her Handkerchief, ſaying, moreover, when ſhe was asked why ſhe did not tell them, Why, quoth ſhe, they knew it well enough. O! ſuch be the bloody Hearts of this cruel Generation, that no Occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murdering of the Saints of the Lord, who truly profeſs Chriſt crucify'd only and alone for the Satisfaction of their Sins.

Agnes George was the Wife of *Richard George*, Husbandman, of *Weſt-Bareſold*, in the County of *Eſſex*, and of the Age of 26 Years. This *Richard George* had another Wife before her, who was burnt in the Poſtern at *Colcheſter*, and himſelf lay in Priſon 'till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and then he was releaſed.

When theſe thirteen were condemned, and the Day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the 27th of *June* 1556, they were carried ſtom *Newgate* in *London* the ſame Day, to *Stratford-Bow*, (the Place appointed for their Martyrdom) and there divided into two Parts, in two ſeveral Chambers. Afterwards the Sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one Part, and told them that the other had recanted and their Lives therefore ſhould be ſaved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to caſt themſelves away.

A Practice of Policy in the Sheriff of *London*.

Unto whom they anſwered, that their Faith was not built upon Man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the Sheriff perceiving no Good to be done with them, went to the other Part, and ſaid (like a Liar) the like to them, that they with whom he had been before, had recanted, and ſhould therefore not ſuffer Death, counſelling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelves, but to play the wiſe Men, *&c.*

Unto whom they anſwered as their Brethren had done before, that their Faith was not built on Man, but on *Chriſt* and his Word, *&c.*

Now when he ſaw it needleſs to perſwade (for they were, God be praiſed, ſurely grounded on the Rock *Jeſus Chriſt*) he then led them to the Place, where they ſhould ſuffer, and being all there together, moſt earneſtly they pray'd unto God, and joyfully went to the Stake and kiſſed it, and embraced it very heartily.

Two Women ſtanding at the Stake unbound.

The eleven Men were tied to three Stakes, and the two Women looſe in the Midſt without any Stake, and ſo they were all burnt in one Fire, with ſuch Love to each other, and Conſtancy in our Saviour Chriſt, that it made all the Lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like Grace in the like Need, according to the good Pleaſure of his Will, *Amen.*

In the Company of theſe aforeſaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die, whoſe Names are hereunder ſpecify'd:

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Theſe three anſwered to the ſame Articles that were propounded to the aforeſaid thirteen in Effect as they did. And being thus in the Hands of the ſecular Power, Cardinal *Pool* ſent his Diſpenſation for their Lives, by what Occaſion I cannot ſafely ſay, but by means thereof they then eſcaped.

The *Sunday* after theſe aforeſaid ſixteen were condemned, *Fecknam*, Dean of *Pauls*, preached at *Paul's-Croſs*, where he declared, that they had as many ſundry Opinions as they were ſundry Perſons. At the Hearing whereof they drew out their Faith, and ſet to their Hands, as hereafter followeth, and directed the ſame to their Friends, and the faithful Congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved Friends, and the holy Congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, *even ſo many as love God, Grace be with you, and Peace from God our Father, and from our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt. *So be it.*

A Letter or Apology of the Martyrs clearing themſelves of the Slanders of Mr. *Fecknam.*

BE it manifeſt to all unto whom this our Certificate ſhall be ſeen, that whereupon *Saturday*, being the thirteenth Day of *June*, at *Fulham*, before the Biſhop of *London*, ſixteen of us (whoſe Names hereunder are ſubſcribed) were condemned to die for the moſt pure and ſincere Truth of Chriſt's Verity; which moſt godly Truth hath been from the Beginning with the wicked Adverſaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Devil and his Imps even at this preſent likewiſe daily ſlandered: Upon this Occaſion, dearly beloved Brethren, we are moved, yea conſtrained, in the Ears of all Men to manifeſt our Belief, and alſo briefly the Articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of falſe Reports and ſlanderous Tongues, which might happen by the moſt ungodly and uncharitable Sermon, lately preached at *Paul's-Croſs*, the fourteenth of the ſaid Month, being *Sunday*, by Mr. *Fecknam* now Dean of the ſame Church; where he in that moſt worthy Audience defamed us to be in ſixteen ſundry Opinions, which were a Thing prejudicial to all chriſtian Verity; and for a Teſtimonial thereof, this hereunder-written ſhall anſwer our Cauſe, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge. Anno 1556.

The firſt, We believe we were baptized in the Faith of Chriſt's Church, and incorporate unto him, and made Members of his Church, in which Faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain Time, yet the Root of Faith was preſerved in us by the Holy Ghoſt, which hath reduced us into a full Certainty of the ſame, and we do perſiſt, and will by God's Aſſiſtance to the End. Now mark, that although the Miniſter were of the Church malignant, yet his Wickedneſs did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

There was both the Word and the Element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for us the Devil and all his Works, and confeſſing the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith for us, and alſo Witneſſes that we are baptized, not in the Faith of the Church of *Rome*, but in the Faith of Chriſt's Church.

1. *Item*, There are but two Sacraments in Chriſt's Church, that is, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper. For in theſe are contained the Faith of Chriſt his Church; that is, the two Teſtaments, the Law and the Goſpel. The Effect of the Law is Repentance, and the Effect of the Goſpel Remiſſion of Sins.

2. *Item*, We believe that there is a viſible Church, wherein the Word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly adminiſtred, viſible to the wicked World, although it be not credited, and by the Death of Saints confirmed, as it was in the Time of *Elias* the Prophet as well as now.

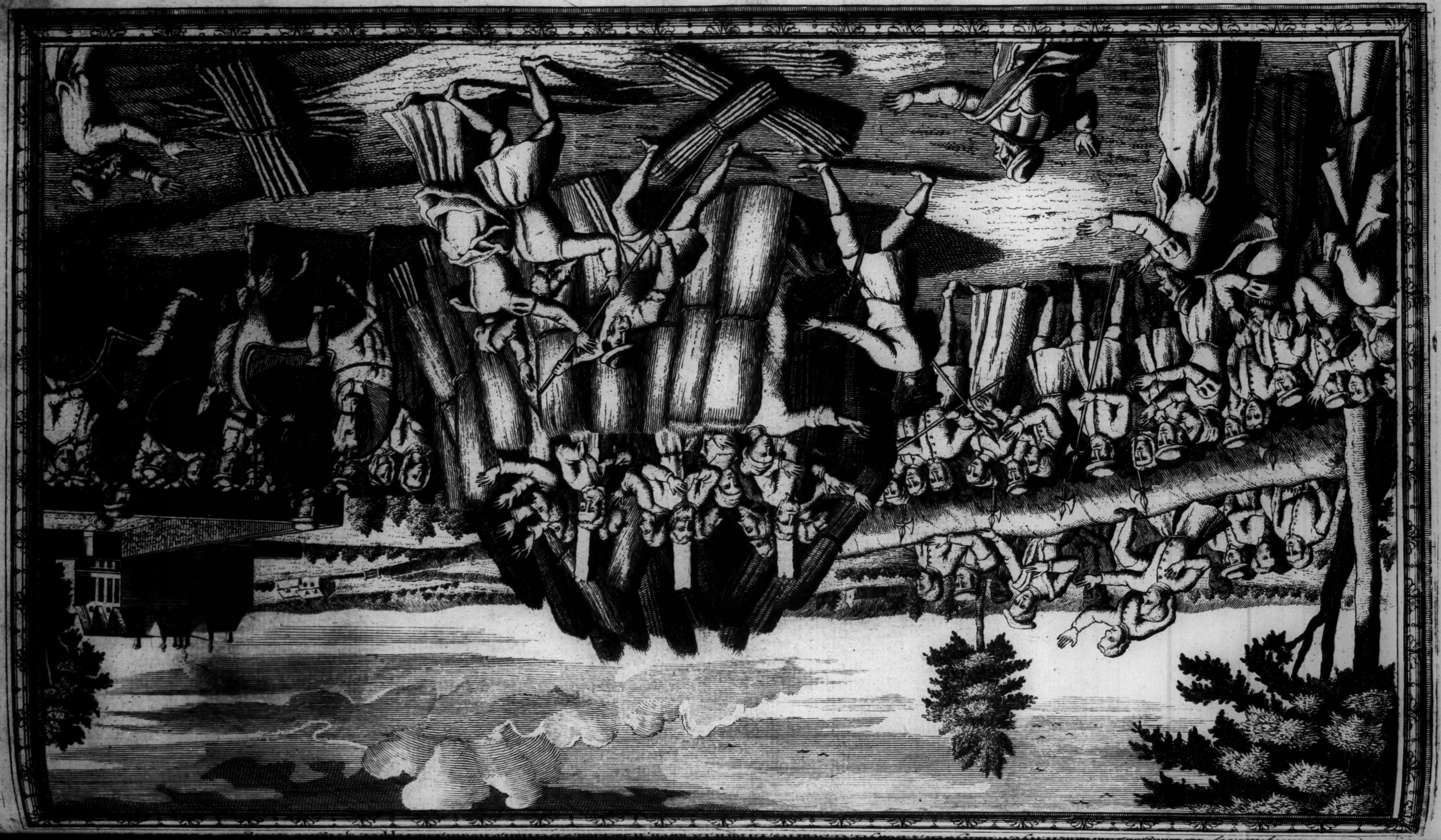
3. *Item*, The See of *Rome* is the See of Antichriſt, the Congregation of the wicked, *&c.* whereof the Pope is Head under the Devil.

4. *Item*, The Maſs is not only a Prophanation of the Lord's Supper, but alſo a blaſphemous Idol.

5. *Item*, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the Sacrament of the Altar, and there remaineth no Subſtance in the ſame, but only the Subſtance of Bread and Wine.

For theſe the Articles of our Belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible Bodies to be diſſolved in the Fire, all with one Voice aſſenting and conſenting thereunto, and in no Point diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former Articles.

Apparent alſo let it be and known, that being examined of the former Articles before the bloody Biſhop, the ſaid Day and Time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would prove by the Scriptures. But he ſaid



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Anno 1556. that he would not ſtand to prove it with Hereticks, but ſaid they themſelves were the holy Church, and that we ought to believe them, or elſe to be cut off like withered Branches.

Ralph Jackſon,
Henry Adlington,
Lyon Cawch,
William Hallywel,
George Searles,
John Routh,
John Deriſall,
Henry Wye,
Edmund Hurſt,
Laurence Pernam,
Thomas Bowyer,
Elizabeth Pepper,
Agnes George,
Thomas Freeman,
William Stannard,
William Adams.

About the fourteenth of *June*, in the ſame Year, *John Colſtock*, who was lately come from *London*, and now dwelling at *Welington*, tho' he did not ſuffer Martyrdom, yet ſuſtained ſome Trouble, being examined by the Biſhop, named *Ralph Bane*, for his Religion, eſpecially for two Points, in holding againſt the Reality of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and againſt auricular Confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt. For which Cauſe being compelled to recant, he was injoined in the Church of St. *Cedde* to bear a Faggot before the Croſs bareheaded, having in the one Hand a Taper, and in the other a Pair of Beads, *&c.*

Amongſt divers others which in the ſame Dioceſs, and the ſame Time were ſuſpected and troubled for the like, was *Thomas Flier* of *Uttoxater*, Shoemaker, *Nich. Ball* of *Uttoxater*, *Thomas Pyot* of *Chedull.*

Item, *Henry Crimes* for marrying his Wife on *Palm-Sunday* Eve, &c. Some others alſo there were which had the like Penance injoined them, as *Thomas Johnſon* about the 26th Day of this Month of *June*, becauſe he ſware by the Holy Maſs before the Biſhop ſitting in Judgment, who for the ſame was driven to go before the Croſs, with his Taper and Beads, *&c.*

In the ſame Month of *June* one *Thomas Parret* died in the Priſon of the *Kings-Bench* in *Southwark*, and was buried in the Backſide the 27th Day of the ſaid Month.

Alſo *Martin Hunt* (as is reported) was famiſhed in the ſame Priſon the 29th Day. At which Time died likewiſe in the ſame Priſon, as I find recorded, one *John Norice*, and after the ſame Sort as the other was buried on the Backſide of the ſaid Priſon.

The Martyrdom of Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, *and* Robert Lawſon.

WHEN *Roger Bernard* came before the Biſhop, firſt he was asked whether he had been with the Prieſt at *Eaſter* to be ſhriven, and whether he had received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or no? Unto whom *Roger Bernard* anſwered, No: I have not been with the Prieſt, nor confeſſed myſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my Sins to Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me; whereof I ſhall not need to go to the Prieſt for ſuch Matters, who cannot help himſelf.

Roger Bernard refuſeth auricular Confeſſion.

Biſhop. Surely *Bernard* thou muſt needs go, and confeſs thyſelf unto him.

Bernard. That will I not do (by God's Grace) while I live.

Biſhop. What a ſtout boyly Heretick is this? How malapertly he anſwereth?

Bernard. My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called Heretick at your Hands; for ſo your Forefathers called the Prophets and Confeſſors of Chriſt long before this Time.

At theſe Words the Biſhop roſe up in a great Heat, and bid *Bernard* follow him. Then the Biſhop went and kneeled before that they call the Sacrament of the Altar, and as he was in his Prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked *Bernard* why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom *Bernard* anſwered, I cannot tell why I ſhould do ſo. Why, quoth the Biſhop, thou lewd Fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder, pointing to the Pyx over the Altar?

Bernard. I ſee no Body there. Do you, my Lord?

Biſhop. Why, naughty Man, doſt thou not ſee thy Maker?

Bernard. My Maker? No, I ſee nothing but a few Clouts hanging together on a Heap.

With that the Biſhop roſe up ſore diſpleaſed, and commanded the Jailer to take him away, and to lay Irons enough on him. For, ſaid he, I will tame him e're he go from me, I think ſo: And ſo he was carried away.

Note, The Catholick Charity of this Prelate.

The next Day *Bernard* was brought again before the Biſhop, who asked him if he did not remember himſelf ſince the Day before that he was before him.

Bernard. Yes, my Lord, I have remembred myſelf very well, for the ſame Man I was Yeſterday, I am this Day, and I hope ſhall be all the Days of my Life, concerning the Matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the Guard ſtanding by, ſaid, My Lord, I pray you trouble not yourſelf any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I ſhall handle him after another Sort, I think, and make him a fair Child e'er he go, you ſhall ſee.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to an Inn, where were a great many Prieſts aſſembled together, and there they all fell to flatter him, and perſuaded him with gay enticing Words what they could; but when they could not prevail therein, then they began to threaten him with Whipping, Stocking, Burning, and ſuch like. Unto whom *Bernard* ſaid, *Friend, I am not better than my Maſter Chriſt and the Prophets, which your Fathers ſerved after ſuch Sort; and I for his Name's Sake am content to ſuffer the like at your Hands, if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his Promiſe, in Spite of the Devil and all his Miniſters.* So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they ſaid, behold a right Scholar of *John Fortune*, whom they had then in Priſon. Then they carried him to the Biſhop, who immediately condemned him as an Heretick, and delivered him to the ſecular Power.

Roger Bernard condemned by the Biſhop of *Norwich.*

This *Roger Bernard* was a ſingle Man, and by his Vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Framſden* in *Suffolk*, who was taken in the Night by Mr. *Tamage*'s Men, becauſe he would not go to Church, to hear their unſavoury Service, and ſo by them carried to Priſon.

Adam Foſter.

ADam Foſter, of the Age of twenty-ſix Years, Husbandman, being married, dwelling in *Mendleſam* in the County of *Suffolk*, was taken at Home in his Houſe a little before the Sun going down, by the Conſtables of the ſaid Town, *George Revet* and *Thomas Rouſe*, at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel*, of *Gipping-Hall*, in *Suffolk*, Knight, becauſe he would not go to Church and hear Maſs, and receive at *Eaſter*, except he might have it after Chriſt's holy Ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them unto the Juſtice. Unto whom *Adam Foſter* ſaid, for Chriſt's Cauſe, and to ſave his Conſcience, he was well contented; and ſo they led him to Sir *John Tyrrel*, and he ſent him to *Eye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*, from whence at length he was ſent to *Norwich*, and there condemned by Biſhop *Hopton*.

God's Stroke up on wilful Perſecutors.

Now after his Apprehenſion, the ſaid *Thomas Rouſe* and *George Revet* were ſtricken with a great Fear and Sickneſs, whereby *Rouſe* pined and conſumed away even unto Death, although he was a luſty young Man. But *George Revet*, who was the ſaid *Rouſe*'s Fellow, and a great Reader of the Scripture, or (as a Man may term it) a talkative Goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the Works of God, but ſet his Son to help the Prieſt at Maſs, and to be Clerk of the ſame Town of *Mendleſam* for Lucre Sake, yet was there a fair Warning given him of God, although he had not the Grace ſo to conſider it, which Thing was this:

A young Man of the ſame Pariſh newly married, called *Robert Edgore*, being of a ripe Wit and ſound, was Clerk in the ſaid Church before the ſaid *Revet* ſet his Son in that Room, and executed the Office a little, yea alas too long, againſt his own Conſcience; whereby at length the Lord ſo took away his Wits, that many Years after, his poor and woful Wife, good Woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, leſt he ſhould unawares do himſelf or ſome other ſome Miſchief, as many Times (the more Pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) would not admoniſh *Revet*, but needs he muſt perſiſt in his wicked Purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at the Length, as many Men were offended with him in the Pariſh, ſo honeſt Women eſpecially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly Doings) came to him and ſaid, Neighbour *Revet*, are ye not afraid to let your Son help the naughty Prieſt to ſay Maſs, and to ſerve that abominable Idol? And he ſaid, No.

Then ſaid they, we fear not to go to Church and hear Maſs, ſeeing you, being a Man that ſo much profeſs Chriſtianity, will let your Son help the Prieſt to ſay Maſs, *&c.*

Revet p ayeth for a ſtrange Token.

At which Words *Revet* waxed angry, and in his Rage immediately made his Prayer unto God after this Manner, or with ſuch-like Words, ſaying, *O Lord, if it be not thy Will that my Son ſhould ſo do, then I beſeech thee ſend ſome ſtrange Token, to let me underſtand what thy good Pleaſure is therein*, &c. So according to his Petition, within ſhort Space after, his Neighbour's Bull came into his Paſture, and there he having a very proper Gelding, which was his Felicity above any Thing he had, the Bull running upon him, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his Gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lord's Hand upon him for the Sufferance of his Son in that wicked Vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to uſe and frequent the ſame againſt his own Conſcience.

Anno 1556.

Revet confeſſed the Lord's Hand againſt him, and yet continued in his Sin.

At the laſt the Lord ſent upon him a great Swelling in his Legs, which did ſo grievouſly vex and trouble him, by Reaſon it ſwelled upward, that at length having thereby brought upon him a very ſtrange Sickneſs, he died moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient a Manner, that it terrify'd all good Hearts to hear thereof. *The Lord grant for Chriſt's Sake, that we may obſerve his Judgments better, to his Glory and our Comfort*, Amen.

Robert Lawſon.

RObert Lawſon was a ſingle Man, of the Age of thirty Years, and by Vocation a Linen-Weaver, who was apprehended in the Night by one *Robert Kereth*, at the Command of Sir *John Tyrrel*, of *Gipping-Hall*, in *Suffolk*, Knt. and ſo was immediately carried to *Eye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*, where he remained a certain Time, and after was led to *Bury*. The Cauſe of his being taken, was for that he would not go to Church to hear Maſs, and receive their Popiſh Idol.

The Martyrdom of *Roger Bernard*, *Adam Foſter*, and *Robert Lawſon*, at *Bury*, *June* 30, 1556.

When theſe three aforeſaid Martyrs were carried to their Death, namely, *Roger Bernard*, *Adam Foſter*, and *Robert Lawſon* at *Bury*, after they had made their Prayer, being at the Stake, and the Tormentors attending the Fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their Lives, in ſuch a happy and bleſſed Condition, as did notably ſet forth their Conſtancy and joyful End, to the great Praiſe of God, and their Commendation in him, and alſo to the Encouragement of others in the ſame Quarrel to do the like.

In the Examination of *Roger Bernard*, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the Prieſts there, to *John Fortune*, and called his Scholar. This *John Fortune*, otherwiſe called *Cutler*, of *Hintleſham* in *Suffolk*, was by his Occupation a Black-Smith, whom they had before them in Examination a little before, on the 20th Day of *April*. In Spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Chriſt's Cauſe ſtout and valiant, in his Anſwers marvellous, and no leſs patient in his wrongful ſuffering than conſtant in his Doctrine. Whether he was burnt or died in Priſon, I cannot certainly find; but rather I ſuppoſe that he was burnt. Certain it is, howſoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his Anſwers and Examinations were before Dr. *Parker* and the Biſhop, ye ſhall hear him, although not with his own Mouth ſpeaking, yet with his own Hand written what he did ſay, as followeth.

The Examination of John Fortune *before Dr.* Parker *and Mr.* Foſter.

FIRST, Dr. *Parker* asked me how I believed in the Catholick Faith.

And I asked him which Faith he meant; whether the Faith that *Stephen* had, or the Faith of them that put *Stephen* to Death.

Anno 1556. Dr. *Parker* being moved, ſaid, What a naughty Fellow is this? You ſhall ſee anon he will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid Mr. *Foſter*, I know you well enough. You are a buſy Merchant. How ſay'ſt thou by the bleſſed Maſs?

And I ſtood ſtill and made no Anſwer.

Then, ſaid *Foſter*, Why ſpeakeſt thou not, and makeſt the Gentleman an Anſwer?

And I ſaid, Silence is a good Anſwer to a fooliſh Queſtion.

Then ſaid Dr. *Parker*, I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar alſo.

And I ſaid, I know none ſuch, but only the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Then ſaid Dr. *Parker*, You deny the Order of the ſeven Sacraments. And why doſt not thou believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

And I ſaid, Becauſe it is not written in God's Book.

Then, ſaid he, you will not believe unwritten Verities.

And I ſaid, I will believe that thoſe unwritten Verities that agree with the written Verities be true: but thoſe unwritten Verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own Brain, I do not believe.

Mr. *Foſter* threatneth *John Fortune* to be whipped.

Well, ſaid Mr. *Foſter*, you ſhall be whipped and burnt for this Gear, I trow.

Then ſaid I, if you knew how theſe Words do rejoice my Heart, you would not have ſpoken them.

Then ſaid Mr. *Foſter*, Away thou Fool, Doſt thou rejoice in whipping?

Yea, ſaid I, for it is written in the Scriptures, and Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt be whipped for my Name's Sake: And ſince the Time that the Sword of Tyranny came into your Hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I had the Maidenhead of this Perſecution.

Away with him then, ſaid he, for he is ten Times worſe than *Samuel*; and ſo he was carried to Priſon again.

The ſecond Examination of John Fortune, *before the Biſhop of* Norwich.

WHEN I came before the Biſhop, he asked me if I did not believe in the Catholick Church.

I ſaid I believe that Church whereof Chriſt is the Head.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Doſt thou not believe that the Pope is ſupream Head of the Church?

And I ſaid, No, Chriſt is the Head of the true Church.

Biſhop. So do I believe alſo: But the Pope is God's Vicar upon Earth, and the Head of the Church, and I believe that he hath Power to forgive Sins alſo.

Fortune. The Pope is but a Man, and the Prophet *David* ſaith, *That no Man can deliver his Brother, nor make Agreement unto God for him; for it coſt more to redeem their Souls, ſo that he muſt let that alone for ever.* Pſal. 49.

The Pope likened to a Bell-weather.

And the Biſhop again fetching about a great Circumſtance, ſaid, Like as the Bellweather weareth the Bell, and is the Head of the Flock of Sheep: So is the Pope our Head. And as the Hives of Bees have a Maſter-Bee that bringeth the Bees to the Hive again: ſo doth our Head bring us Home again to our true Church.

Then I asked him, whether the Pope were a ſpiritual Man. And he ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid again, They are ſpiteful Men; for in 17 Months there were three Popes, and one poiſoned another for that preſumptuous Seat of Antichriſt.

Biſhop. It is malicioufly ſpoken, for thou muſt obey the Power, and not the Man. And thus was the Pope deny'd to be ſupream Head. Well, what ſay'ſt thou to the Ceremonies of the Church?

And I ſaid, *All Things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, ſhall be plucked up by the Roots*, ſaith our Saviour: For they are not from the Beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the End. Matth. 15.

Biſhop. They are good and godly, and neceſſary to be uſed.

Fortune. St. *Paul* called them weak and beggarly.

Biſhop. No, That is a Lie.

I hearing that, ſaid, That St. *Paul* writeth thus in the fourth Chapter to the *Galatians*, *You fooliſh* Galatians, (ſaith he) *who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeek to be in Bondage to theſe weak and beggarly Ceremonies?* Now which of you do lie, you or St. *Paul?* And alſo it is ſaid, That Works inſtituted, and injoined without the Commandment of God, pertain not to the Worſhip of God, according to the Text, *Matth.* 15. *In vain do Men worſhip me with Mens Traditions and Commandments.* And St. *Paul* ſaith, *Wherefore do you carry us away from the Grace of Chriſt to another Kind of Doctrine?* And Chriſt openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Phariſees, Doctors, Prieſts, Biſhops, and Hypocrites, for making God's Commandments of none Effect, to ſupport their own Tradition.

Biſhop. Thou lieſt, there is not ſuch a Word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty Heretick. Thou art worſe than all other Hereticks: For *Hooper* and *Bradford* allow them to be good and thou doſt not. Away with him.

It is Pity that Popiſh Prelates cannot lie.

Here you may perceive how that the Catholick Church cannot err, but whatſoever they ſay muſt needs be true. And ſo my Lord Biſhop cannot lie, as it may appear to all Men plainly in the Text.

The third Examination of John Fortune *before the Biſhop of* Norwich.

THE next Day I was brought before the ſaid Biſhop again, where he made a Sermon upon the ſixth Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel, of Chriſt's Words, *I am the Bread that came down from Heaven*, &c. And thereupon had a great Bibble Babble to no Purpoſe. So in the End I was called before him, and he ſaid to me:

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the Sacrament of the Altar? Doſt thou not believe, that after the Conſecration, there is the real Subſtance of the Body of Chriſt?

Fortune. That is the greateſt Plague that ever came into *England*.

Biſhop. Why ſo?

Fortune. If I were a Biſhop, and you a poor Man as I am, I would be aſhamed to ask ſuch a Queſtion: For a Biſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learn.

Biſhop. I am appointed by the Law to teach, ſo are not you.

Fortune. Your Law breaketh out very well: For you have burned up the true Biſhops and Preachers, and maintained Liars to be in their ſtead.

Catholick Prelates obſequious to higher Powers ſo long as they make for their Dignity, but when they do otherwiſe, then they excommunicate them.

Biſhop. Now you may underſtand that he is a Traitor: For he denieth the higher Powers.

Fortune. I am no Traitor: For St. *Paul* ſaith, *All Souls muſt obey the higher Powers*, and I reſiſt not the higher Powers concerning my Body, but I muſt reſiſt your evil Doctrine wherewith you would infect my Soul.

Then ſaid a Doctor, My Lord, you do not well; let him anſwer ſhortly to his Articles.

Biſhop. How ſayeſt thou? make an Anſwer quickly to theſe Articles.

Fortune. St. *Paul* ſaith, *Heb.* 10. *Chriſt did one Sacrifice once for all, and ſat him down on the right Hand of his Father*, triumphing over Hell and Death, making Interceſſion for Sins.

Biſhop. I ask thee no ſuch Queſtion, but make anſwer to this Article.

Fortune. If it be not God before the Conſecration, it is not God after: For God is without Beginning and without Ending.

Biſhop. Lo, what a ſtiff Heretick is this! He hath denied all together: How ſayeſt thou? Is it Idolatry to worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth.

Biſhop. I ask thee no ſuch Queſtion: Anſwer me directly.

Fortune. I anſwer that this is the God *Mauzzim*, that robbed God of his Honour.

Biſhop. It is pity that the Ground beareth thee, or that thou haſt a Tongue to ſpeak.

Then ſaid the Scribe, Here are a great many more Articles.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Away with him: For he hath ſpoken too much.

Another Examination of J. Fortune.

WHEN I came to my Examination again, the Biſhop asked me if I would ſtand unto mine Anſwer that I had made before: And I ſaid, Yea; for I had ſpoken nothing but the Truth. And after that he made a great Circumſtance upon the Sacrament.

Then I deſired him to ſtand to the Text, and he read the Goſpel on *Corpus Chriſti Day*, which ſaid, *I am the Bread which came down from Heaven*: Believeſt thou not this? And I ſaid, Yea truly.

John 6.

And he ſaid, Why doſt thou deny the Sacrament?

Becauſe your Doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

Then, ſaid he, how can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the Scripture? And I ſaid, Chriſt ſaid, *I am the Bread*; and you ſay the Bread is he. Therefore your Doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

And he ſaid, Doſt thou not believe that the Bread is he? And I ſaid, No.

Biſhop. I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures.

Fortune. Hold that faſt, my Lord: For that is the beſt Argument that you have yet.

Biſhop. Thou ſhalt be burned like an Heretick.

Fortune. Who ſhall give Judgment upon me?

Biſhop. I will judge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and never be ſhriven upon it.

Fortune. Is there not Law for the Spiritualty, as well as for the Temporalty?

And Sir *Clement Higham* ſaid, Yes, what meaneſt thou by that? Anno 1556.

Fortune. When a Man is perjured by the Law, he is caſt over the Bar, and ſitteth no more in Judgment. And the Biſhop is a perjured Man, and ought to ſit in Judgment of no Man. The Biſhop of *Norwich* charged with Perjury.

Biſhop. How proveſt thou that?

Fortune. Becauſe you took an Oath in King *Henry's* Days to reſiſt the Pope. So both ſpiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true Judgment.

Biſhop. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape Judgment by that? No: For my Chancellor ſhall judge thee. He took no Oath, for he was then out of the Realm.

C. Higham. It is Time to weed out ſuch Fellows as you be, indeed.

Biſhop. Good Fellow, why believeſt not thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Fortune. Becauſe I find it not in God's Book, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there I would believe it with all my Heart.

Biſhop. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fortune. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecond Commandment: And ſeeing it is not written in God's Book, why do you then rob me of my Life?

Then the Biſhop having no more to ſay, commanded the Bayliff to take him away.

And thus much touching the Examinations of this Man. Now whether he died in Fire, or was otherwiſe prevented with Death, as I ſaid before, I am uncertain.

In the Regiſter of *Norwich* this I do find, that his Sentence of Condemnation was drawn and regiſtred; but whether it was pronounced, it is not expreſſed in the ſaid Regiſter, according as the uſual manner of the Notary is ſo to declare, in the End of the Sentence. Nevertheleſs this is moſt certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howſoever it pleaſed the Lord by Death to call him out of the World.

The Death of John Careleſs *in the* King's-Bench.

ABOUT the firſt of *July*, *John Careleſs* of *Coventry*, Weaver, died in the Priſon of the *King's-Bench*: Who though he were by the ſecret Judgment of Almighty God prevented by Death, ſo that he came not to the full Martyrdom of his Body, yet is he no leſs worthy to be counted in Honour and Place of Chriſt's Martyrs, than others that ſuffered moſt cruel Torments; as well becauſe he was for the ſame Truth's ſake a long Time impriſoned, as alſo for his willing Mind and zealous Affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as may well appear by his Examination before Dr. *Martin*. Which Examination, becauſe it contained nothing almoſt but wrangling Interrogations, and Matters of Contention wherein Dr. *Martin* would enter into no Communication about the Articles of his Accuſation, but only urged him to detect his Fellows, it is not therefore greatly material to expreſs the whole, but only to inſert ſo much as pertaining to the Queſtion of Predeſtination, may bring ſome Fruit to the Reader.

Anno 1556.

The Effect of John Careleſs's *Examination before Dr.* Martin, *briefly declared.*

John Careleſs examined before Dr. Martin.

FIRST, Dr. *Martin* calling *John Careleſs* to him in his Chamber, demanded what was his Name? To whom when the other had anſwered that his Name was *John Careleſs*, then began Dr. *Martin* to deſcant at his Pleaſure upon that Name, ſaying, that it would appear by his Condition, by that Time he had done with him, that he would be a true careleſs Man indeed. And ſo after other By-talk there ſpent about much needleſs Matter, then he asked him where he was born.

Forſooth, ſaith *Careleſs*, at *Coventry*.

Martin. At *Coventry*? what ſo far, Man? How cameſt thou hither? Who ſent thee to the *King's-Bench* Priſon?

Careleſs. I was brought hither by a Writ, I think, what he was I cannot tell. I ſuppoſe Maſter Marſhal can tell you.

Marſhal. In good Faith I cannot tell what the Matter is; but indeed my Lord Chief Juſtice ſent him from the Bar.

Martin. Well *Careleſs*, I would thou ſhouldſt play the wiſe Man's Part. Thou art a handſome Man, and it is Pity but thou ſhould'ſt do well, and ſave that which God hath bought.

Careleſs. I thank your good Maſterſhip moſt heartily: And I put you out of Doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certain of my Salvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my Soul is ſafe already, whatſoever Pains my Body ſuffer here for a little Time.

J. Careleſs examined upon Predeſtination.

Martin. Yea marry, you ſay true. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to Life, that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever Opinion thou doſt die.

Careleſs. That God hath predeſtinated me to eternal Life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am moſt certain, and even ſo am I ſure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerve me from all Hereſies and evil Opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear thy Faith in Predeſtination. For that ſhall be written alſo.

Careleſs. Your Maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſaid yourſelf ere while, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my Conſcience. I will trouble myſelf with anſwering no more Matters than I needs muſt, until I come before them that ſhall have more Authority further to examine me.

Dr. Martin declareth his Commiſſion.

Martin. I tell thee then I have Commiſſion, yea, and Commandment from the Council to examine thee: For they deliver'd me thy Articles.

Careleſs. Yea, I think indeed that your Maſterſhip is appointed to examine me of my Articles, which you have there in Writing, and I have told you the Truth. I do confeſs them to be mine own Fact and Deed: But you do now examine me of Predeſtination, whereof my Articles ſpeak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch Things as be in Controverſy between thee and thy Fellows in the *King's-Bench*, whereof Predeſtination is a Part, as thy Fellow *N*----- hath confeſſed, and thyſelf doſt not deny it.

Careleſs. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that, might have found himſelf much better occupy'd.

Martin. Why, what if he had not told me, thinkeſt thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or elſe thou ſhould'ſt have withſtood my Commiſſion. For I tell thee the Truth, I may now examine thee of the bleſſed Sacrament, or any other Thing that I liſt, but that I would ſhew thee Favour, and not be too haſty with thee at the firſt.

Marſhal. Yea indeed, *Careleſs*, Mr. Doctor hath Commiſſion to examine you or any other of your Fellows.

Martin. Yea marry have I, I tell thee the Truth of it.

Careleſs. Then let your Scribe ſet his Pen to the Paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the Truth is. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great Mercy and infinite Goodneſs, did elect in Chriſt.

Martin. Tuſh, What need all that long Circumſtance? write, [I believe God elected] and make no more ado.

Careleſs. No, not ſo, Mr. Doctor: It is an high Myſtery, and ought reverently to be ſpoken of. And if my Words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more Buſineſs than needeth.

J. Careleſs his Opinion of God's Election.

Careleſs. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear and loving Father, of his great Mercy and infinite Goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt) did elect and appoint in him before the Foundation of the Earth was laid, a Church or Congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his Grace and holy Spirit, ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his Hand and read it, ſaying,

Why, who will deny this?

Careleſs. If your Maſterſhip do allow it, and other learned Men when they ſhall ſee it, I have my Heart's Deſire.

Martin. And do you hold none otherwiſe, than is there written?

Careleſs. No verily, nor never did.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It was told me alſo, that thou doſt affirm, That Chriſt did not die effectually for all Men.

Careleſs. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the Tellers of ſuch Tales come before my Face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed I do believe that Chriſt did effectually die for all thoſe that did effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written alſo.

Martin. Now, Sir, what is *Trew*'s Faith of Predeſtination? He believeth that all Men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned, Doth he not?

A wrong Faith of Predeſtination believing to be elected in reſpect of good Works.

Careleſs. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careleſs. Truly I think he doth believe as your Maſterſhip and the reſt of the Clergy do believe of Predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good Works, and ſo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, That his Fellow *Trew* believeth of Predeſtination as the Papiſts do believe.

Careleſs.

Careleſs. Ah Maſter Doctor, did I ſo term you? Seeing that this my Confeſſion ſhall come before the Council, I pray you place my Terms as reverently as I ſpeak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that *Trew* is of the ſame Faith as the Catholicks be.

Careleſs. I did not ſo call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You ſaid the Clergy, did you not, *Careleſs?*

Careleſs. Yes forſooth did I. So then it was ritten of the Clergy.

Martin. Now Sir, what ſay you more?

Careleſs. Forſooth I have no further to ſay in this Matter.

Martin. Well *Careleſs*, I pray thee prove thyſelf a wiſe Man, and do not caſt away thy Life wilfully.

Careleſs. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe Conſcience. And your Maſterſhip ſhall right well perceive that I will be no wilful Man, but in all Things that I ſtand upon I will have ſure Ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good *Careleſs*, that I would gladly make ſome Means to preſerve thy Life. But thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord *Fitzwalter* into *Ireland:* methinks thou art a goodly tall Fellow to do the Queen Service there. How ſay'ſt thou?

Careleſs. Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in *Ireland*, *France*, or *Spain*, or any Place elſe, I am ready to do her Grace the beſt Service that I can, with Body, Goods and Life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Martin. That is honeſtly ſaid, I promiſe thee, every Man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you, Mr. *Marſhal?* this Man is meet for all manner of Service. Indeed thou art worthy, *Careleſs*, to have the more Favour.

Careleſs. Indeed Sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all Things that pertain unto a true chriſtian Subject to do. And if her Grace or her Officers under her do require me to do any Thing contrary to Chriſt's Religion, I am ready alſo to do my Service in *Smithfield* for not obſerving it, as my Bed-fellow and other Brethren have done, praiſed be God for them.

Martin. By my Troth thou art a pleaſant Fellow as ever I talked with of all the Proteſtants, except it were *Tomſon.* I am ſorry that I muſt depart from thee ſo ſoon; but I have ſuch Buſineſs now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at jar among yourſelves in the King's-Bench, and it is ſo throughout all your Congregation: For you will not be a Church.

Careleſs. No, Maſter Doctor, that is not ſo. There is a thouſand Times more Variety in Opinions among your Doctors, which you call of the Catholick Church, yea and that in the Sacrament, for which there is ſo much Blood ſhed now-a-days, I mean of your latter Doctors and new Writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Martin. No, *Careleſs*, this is not ſo; there thou art deceived.

Careleſs. Verily it is ſo, Maſter Doctor, I am not deceived therein any Thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by ſuch as God hath indued with great Learning.

Then he turned to the Marſhal, and whiſpered with him awhile.

Turning to me again, he ſaid, Farewel *Careleſs:* For I can tarry no longer with thee now, my Buſineſs is ſuch. Anno 1556.

Careleſs. God be with you, good Maſter Doctor, the Lord give your Maſterſhip Health of Body and Soul. Dr. *Martin* taketh his Leave gently of *Careleſs.*

Martin. God have Mercy, good *Careleſs*, and God keep thee from all Errors, and give thee Grace to do as well as I would wiſh myſelf.

Careleſs. I thank your good Maſterſhip, I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his Sight. Whereunto they all ſaid, *Amen.* And ſo I departed with a glad Heart; God only have the whole Praiſe, *Amen.*

It appeareth by the Examination of the ſaid *John Careleſs*, that he ſuffered two whole Years Impriſonment, having a Wife and Children. When he was in *Coventry* Gaol, he was in ſuch Credit with the Keeper, that upon his Word he was let out to play in the Pageant about the City with his Companions, punctually returning to Priſon again at his Hour appointed.

After that, being brought to *London*, he was endued with ſuch Patience and conſtant Fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earneſtly, than the Promotion of dying in the Fire for the Profeſſion of his Faith: But it pleaſed God to prevent him with Death in the Priſon, and bury'd in the Fields in Dunghil.

While he was Priſoner in the *King's-Bench*, he happen'd to be very much troubled in Conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Mr. *Philpot*, then in Biſhop *Bonner's* Coalhouſe: Upon Occaſion whereof, Mr. *Philpot* ſent him an Epiſtle of Conſolation, which is inſerted before among Mr. *Philpot's* Letters. Unto which Epiſtle *John Careleſs* made the following Anſwer.

A Letter of Mr. John Careleſs, *in Anſwer to the loving Epiſtle ſent to him by Mr.* John Philpot.

A faithful Friend is a ſtrong Defence, whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a Treaſure.

A faithful Friend hath no Peer, the Weight of Gold and Silver is not to be compared to the Goodneſs of his Faith.

A faithful Friend is a Medicine of Life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him, *Eccleſ.* 6.

THE Father of Mercy and God of all Conſolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit (my moſt dear and faithful loving Friend, good Maſter Philpot*) as you have comforted me by the mighty Operation of the ſame; the everlaſting God therefore be praiſed for ever,* Amen.

Ah my dear Heart and moſt loving Brother, if I ſhould do nothing elſe Day and Night ſo long as the Days of Heaven do endure, but kneel on my Knees, and read Pſalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign Thanks, for his great Mercy, fatherly Kindneſs, and moſt loving Compaſſion extended unto me moſt vile, ſinful, wicked, and unworthy Wretch. O that the Lord would open my Mouth, and give me a thankful Heart, that from the Bottom of the ſame might flow his continual Praiſe. O that my ſinful Fleſh (which is the Cauſe of Sorrow) were clean ſeparated from me, that I might ſing

Anno 1556. *Pſalms of Thankſgiving unto the Lord's Name for ever; that with good* Samuel's *Mother I might continually record this noble Verſe following, which by the good Experience I have found moſt true, praiſed be my God therefore.*

The Lord (ſaith that good Woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to Hell, and fetcheth up again. Praiſed be the Lord for ever, yea and praiſed be his Name for that he hath given me true Experience and lively Feeling of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord God, whoſe Mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my Deſerts, nor deſtroy'd me in his Diſpleaſure when I had juſtly deſerved it. Oh what Reward ſhall I give again unto the Lord for all the great Benefits that he hath done for my Soul? I will gladly receive the Cup of Salvation at his Hand, and will worſhip his Name with Prayer and with Praiſe.

1 *Sam.* 2. *John Careleſs* raiſed up by the Lord out of great Heavineſs.

Ah my dear Heart, yea moſt dear to me in the Lord, think not this ſudden Change in me, to be ſome fickle Fantaſy of my fooliſh Head (as indeed ſome others would ſurely ſuſpect it to be) for doubtleſs it is the marvellous Doing of the Lord, moſt merciful unto me his unworthy Creature. God for his great Mercies Sake give me Grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his Favour again.

And now my dear Brother, and moſt bleſſed Meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautiful Feet have brought much glad Tidings to my Soul, what ſhall I do or ſay unto you, in the leaſt Part to recompenſe the fatherly Affection and godly Care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the Spirit of fervent Prayer, that I might yet that Way ſupply ſome little Part of my Duty toward you. Ah my true loving Friend, how ſoon did you lay aſide all other Buſineſs, to make a ſweet Plaiſter for my wounded Conſcience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of Stocks, which Place muſt needs be uneaſy to write in? but God hath brought you into a ſtreight Place, that you might ſet my Soul at Liberty. Out of your pinching and painful Seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious Nard, the ſweet Savour whereof hath greatly refreſhed my tired Soul. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you, both Body and Soul, by pouring the Oil of his gracious Spirit in your ſweet Heart.

Of this Comfort read in Mr *Philpot's* Letter.

Jer. 10. *Ah! good* Jeremy, *hath* Phaſſor *put thee into the Stocks? why, now thou haſt the right Reward*

Jer. 26. *of a Prophet. Thy Glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but ſhortly, inſtead of* Ahikam *the Son of* Shapham, Jeſus *the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the Hands of all thine Enemies, and will alſo make good, againſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagogue, all the Words that thou haſt ſpoken in his Name. The Lord hath made thee this Day a ſtrong defenced Tower, an iron Pillar, and a brazen Wall againſt*

Jer. 1. *the whole Rabble of Antichriſt, and though they fight againſt thee never ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not*

Jer. 15. *overcome thee, for the Lord himſelf is with thee to help and deliver thee: And he will rid thee out of the Hands of the Wicked, and will deliver thee out of the Hands of the Tyrants. And in that you are not buſy in caſting Pearls before Swine, nor in giv-*

Matth. 7. *ing the holy Things unto Dogs, you are much to be commended in my ſimple Judgment. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt Behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's Glory, and to the Shame and Confuſion of your Enemies, as any Mens Doings that are gone before you.*

Wherefore mine Advice and moſt earneſt Deſire is, with all other of your loving Friends, that you ſtill keep that Order with thoſe Blood-thirſty Biteſheeps, Biſhops I ſhould ſay, that you have begun. For though in Concluſion they will ſurely have your Blood, yet ſhall they come by it with Shame enough, and to their perpetual Infamy whilſt the World doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in Hugger-mugger, to darken God's Glory if it might be: But Satan's Thoughts are not unknown to you, and the Depth of his Subtilty is by you well foreſeen. Therefore let them do whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all Things ſhall turn to your beſt. Tho' you lie in the Dark, ſully'd with the Biſhop's black Coal-duſt; yet ſhall you be ſhortly reſtor'd to the heavenly Light, and be made as white as Snow in Salmon, *and as the Wings of a Dove that is covered with Silver Wings, and her Feathers like Gold. You know the Veſſel, before it be made bright, is ſoiled with Oil and other Things, that it may ſcour the better.*

Pſal. 68.

O happy be you that you be now in the ſcouring Houſe; for ſhortly you ſhall be ſet upon the celeſtial Shelf as bright as Angels. Therefore my dear Heart, I will now according to your loving Requeſt, caſt away all Care, and rejoyce with you, and praiſe God for you, and pray for you Day and Night; yea, I will now with God's Grace ſing Pſalms of Praiſe and Thankſgiving with you. For now my Soul is turned to her old Reſt again, and hath taken a ſweet Nap in Chriſt's Lap. I have caſt my Care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be Careleſs, *according to my Name, in that reſpect you would have me. I will leave out my unſeemly Addition as long as I live: For it can take no Place where true Faith and Hope is reſident. So ſoon as I read your moſt godly and comfortable Letter, my Sorrows vaniſhed away as Smoak in the Wind, my Spirit revived, and Comfort came again, whereby I am ſure the Spirit of God was Author of it.*

Careleſs's Care turned into Joy.

God's gracious Work thro' Mr. *Philpot's* Letter.

O my good Mr. Philpot, *which art a principal Pot indeed filled with moſt precious Liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame: O Pot moſt happy, of the high Potter ordained to Honour, which doſt contain ſuch heavenly Treaſure in the earthen Veſſel: O Pot thrice happy, in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great Miracle, altering thy Nature, and turning Water into Wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the Maſter of the Feaſt hath filled my Cup ſo full, that I am become drunken in the Joy of the Spirit through the ſame. When Martyrdom ſhall break thee (O Veſſel of Honour) I know the fragrant Savour of thy precious Nard will much rejoyce the heavy Hearts of Chriſt's true Members, although the* Judaſſes *will grudge and murmur at the ſame. Yea, and burſt out into Words of Slander, ſaying, It is but loſt and waſte.*

Be not offended, dear Heart, at my metaphorical Speech; for I am diſpoſed to be merry, and with Da-

2 *Sam.* 6. *vid to dance before the Ark of the Lord: And tho' you play upon a pair of Organs not very comely or eaſy to the Fleſh, yet the ſweet Sound that came from the ſame, cauſeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in Body, as at preſent I am in Spirit, that I might ſing all Care away in Chriſt: For now the Time of Comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all Things happen right. For my old Friends of* Coventry *have put the Council in Re-*

Careleſs accuſed to the Council by certain back Friends in *Coventry*.

membrance of me, not ſix Days ago, ſaying, I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's Bleſſing on their Hearts for their good Report. God make me worthy of that Dignity, and haſten the Time that I may ſet forth his Glory.

Pray for me, dear Heart, I beſeech you, and deſire all your Company to do the ſame, and I will pray God for you all, ſo long as I live. And now farewel in Chriſt, thou bleſſed of God's own Mouth. I will for a Time take my Leave, but not my laſt Farewel.

Note how comfortably the Lord worketh in his impriſoned Saints.

well. Bleſſed be the Time that ever I came into the King's-Bench, *to be joined in Love and Fellowſhip with ſuch dear Children of the Lord. My good Brother* Bradford *ſhall not be dead while you be alive: For verily the Spirit of him doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your Letters of Comfort unto me in each Point do agree, as though the one were a Copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the Lord give good Increaſe. My dear Brethren and Fellow-Priſoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your Company, mourning for your Miſery, but yet rejoycing for your plenteous Conſolation and Comfort in Chriſt. We are all cheerful and merry under our Croſs, and do lack no Neceſſaries, praiſed be God for his Providence and great Mercy towards us for evermore.* Amen.

To his Wife.

AS by the great Mercy of God, at the Time of his good Will and Providence appointed (my dearly beloved Wife) you and I were joined together in the Holy and Chriſtian State of godly Matrimony, as well to our great Joy and Comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the Increaſe of his bleſſed Church and faithful Congregation, by having lawful Children by and in the ſame, with which God of his Mercy hath bleſſed us, praiſed be his Name therefore: Even ſo now by his merciful Will and divine Ordinance, the Time is come (ſo far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his Glory and our eternal Comfort, diſſolve the ſame, and ſeparate us aſunder again for a Time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea and my bounden Duty, by this ſimple Letter to provoke, ſtir, and admoniſh you, to behave yourſelf in all your Doings, Sayings and Thoughts, moſt thankfully unto our good God for the ſame. And therefore (my dear Wife) as you have heartily rejoyced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God Thanks for his Goodneſs, in bringing us together in his holy Ordinance: Even ſo now I deſire you, when this Time of our Separation ſhall come, to rejoyce with me in the Lord, and to give him moſt hearty Thanks, that he hath (to his Glory and our endleſs Advantage) ſeparated us again for a little Time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himſelf, forth of this miſerable World into

Here is a true Mark of a faithful Chriſtian, forſaking Wife and Children for Chriſt's Sake.

his celeſtial Kingdom; believing and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his Goodneſs, for his Son Chriſt's Sake, will ſhortly bring you, and your dear Children thither to me, that we may moſt joyfully together ſing Praiſes unto his glorious Name for ever. And yet once again I deſire you for the Love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoyce with me, and to give God continual Thanks for doing his moſt merciful Will upon me.

True Obedience of a faithful Woman.

I hear ſay, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly Saying, The Lord's Will be fulfilled. *Doubtleſs it rejoyceth my poor Heart to hear that Report of you; and for the Lord's Sake uſe that godly Prayer continually, and teach your Children and Family to ſay the ſame Day and Night: And not only ſay it with your Tongues, but alſo with your Heart and Mind, and joyfully ſubmit your Will to God's Will in very Deed, knowing and believing aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours, otherwiſe then it ſhall be his Almighty and Fatherly Good-will and Pleaſure, and for your eternal Comfort and Advantage. Which Thing to be moſt true and certain, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy Goſpel, ſaying,* Are not two little Sparrows ſold for a Farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the Will of our heavenly Father? *And he concludeth ſaying,* Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better

Matth. 10.

than many Sparrows. *As though he ſhould have ſaid, If God have ſuch Reſpect and Care for a poor Sparrow, which is not worth one Farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the Lime-Twig, Net nor Pitfal, unleſs it be his good Will and Pleaſure, you may be well aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) ſhall periſh, or depart forth of this miſerable Life without his Almighty Good-will and Pleaſure.*

Anno 1556.

Therefore, dear Wife, put your Truſt and Confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his Will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his Will; which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. *And as for worldly Things, take you no Care, but be you well aſſured the Lord your dear God and Father will not ſee you nor yours lack, if you continue in his Love and childly Fear, and keep a clear Conſcience from all Kind of Idolatry, Superſtition and Wickedneſs, as my Truſt is that you will do, although it be with the Loſs and Danger of this temporal Life. And good* Margaret, *fear not them that can but kill the Body (and yet can they not do that until God give them Leave) but fear to diſpleaſe him that can kill both Body and Soul, and caſt them into Hell-fire. Let not the Remembrance of your Children keep you from God. The Lord himſelf will be a Father and a Mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himſelf will do all Things neceſſary for them. He hath given his Angels Charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear Conſcience (for elſe I would not have you to live) and ſee the bringing up of your Children yourſelf, look that you nurture them in the Fear of God, and keep them far from Idolatry, Superſtition, and other kind of Wickedneſs; and for God's Sake help them to ſome Learning if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in Virtue and godly Knowledge, which ſhall be a better Dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly Subſtance; and when they be come to Age, provide them ſuch Husbands as fear God, and love his holy Word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no Papiſts; and if you live and marry again your ſelf (which Thing I would wiſh you to do if Need require, or elſe not) good Wife take Heed how you beſtow yourſelf, that you and my poor Children be not compelled to Wickedneſs. But if you ſhall be well able to live God's true Widow, I would counſel you to live ſo ſtill, for the more Quietneſs of your ſelf and your poor Children. Take heed,* Margaret, *and play the wiſe Woman's Part. You have warning by others, if you will take an Example. And thus I commit you and my ſweet Children unto God's moſt merciful Defence. The Bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend us a merry Meeting together in Heaven. Farewel in Chriſt, farewel mine own dear Hearts all. Pray, pray.*

Good Counſel given to his Wife.

Care of Children to be caſt upon the Lord.

The Mother's Duty in bringing up her Children.

The Hiſtory of Julius Palmer, *ſome Time Fellow of* Magdalen-College, *in* Oxford; *with two other Martyrs, named* John Gwin, *and* Thomas Askin.

Of *Julius Palmer.*

HE was born in *Coventry*, where alſo his Parents dwelt. His Father had ſome Time been Mayor of the City, and occupied Merchan-

Anno 1556.

Merchandize, although he was an Upholster by his Mystery. How he was brought up in his tender Years, we know not, but as we have learned, he was some Time Scholar to Mr. *Harley* of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*; by whose Diligence, and the Goodness of his own Capacity, he became a toward young Scholar in Prose and Verse. He spake *Latin* with great Facility of Utterance, and wanted not competent Knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue; insomuch that divers Times he supplied the Room of the *Greek* Reader in his House. He was a subtle Disputer, both in the publick Schools, and also at Home.

And Scholar to Mr. Harley, Schoolmaster of Magdalen-College.

In private Study he was so indefatigable, that he arose ordinarily every Morning at four of the Clock, and went not to Bed before ten at Night. Insomuch that as he grew in Years and Understanding, so he came to be a Batchelor of Art, and at length, to the Preferment of a Fellowship in *Magdalen-College*, where also he was admitted to the Office of a Reader in Logick, *Anno* 1550. Now if he had at the first favoured sincere Religion, so much as he followed his Book, then had we the less Matter to note in him. But indeed he was so much addicted to the *Romish* Faith, that his Company and Conversation in the same House was altogether with such as were utter Enemies to the Gospel of Christ. If he came to common Prayer at any Time, it was by Violence and Compulsion, for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his Scholars to resort unto them by his good Will: For he was fully persuaded, that they might be better occupied at Home. The Preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were Setters forth of sound Doctrine beside. For which Contumacy and Stubbornness, he was so oft called before the Officers of the College, and punished sometimes by the Purse, sometimes by the Lack of his Commons, and otherwhile by certain Tasks, and Exercises of Learning injoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured, of set Purpose, continually to seek Occasion, whereby he might be accounted a Sufferer for the fantasied Religion of the *Romish* Church.

Palmer Fellow of *Magdalen-College.*

Palmer an utter Enemy to sound Religion.

In the End, not long before the Death of King *Edward*, certain slanderous Libels and railing Verses, were privily fixed to the Walls and Doors in sundry Places of the College against the President, which was then Dr. *Haddon*, whereby was administred further Matter of Trouble to *Palmer*. For whereas it was well known that he and some of his Companions had a very little Time before spoken contumelious Words against the President, it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement Surmise and Suspicion, that he conspiring with others, had contrived, made and scattered abroad the said slanderous Writings. Great Inquisition was made in the College, to search out the Author of so despiteful a Deed, but nothing could be found and proved against *Palmer*, or any of his Companions. Now *Palmer* being hereupon examined by the Officers, did not only with stout Courage deny the Fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful Words touching the said Officers, and sent the same to them in Writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy Member of that Society. And so for this and other Pranks (continuing obstinate still) he was expelled the House.

Julius Palmer expelled the College for Popery.

After he was thus expelled, he was obliged for his own Maintenance to apply himself to be a Teacher of Children in the House of Sir *Francis Knolles*, in which Trade he continued until the coming in of Queen *Mary*. And when her Visitors were sent to *Magdalen-College*, under a Title of Reformation, I mean to displace several of the Fellows that were learned, and to put right Catholicks in their Rooms; then came this *Julius Palmer*, waiting to be restored to his Living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good Right to be restored by them, whose Faith and Religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his Power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his House in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the End he became of an obstinate Papist, an earnest and zealous Protestant.

Palmer restored again to his College.

Concerning whose Conversion to the Truth, for the more Credit to be given to the same, we have here inserted a Letter written by one Mr. *Bullingham*, Fellow in some Part of King *Edward*'s Time with the said *Palmer*, then also of the same Religion with him, and toward the latter End of the said King's Reign a voluntary Exile in *France* for Popery. In Queen *Mary*'s Days likewise a Chaplain unto *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*. And after the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, such an one as for his Obstinacy was discharged from all his Livings by her Majesty's Commissioners. And yet now (God be praised for it) a most constant Professor and earnest Teacher of the Word of God. This Man at the Request of a certain Friend of his in *London*, being desirous to know the certain Truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this *Julius Palmer*. The Copy of which Letter we thought good here to insert.

Mr. *Bullingham*'s Letter to his Friend.

MAster Bullingham, *I wish you and all yours continual Health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any Thing unto you concerning* Julius Palmer, *that constant Witness of God's Truth, for that his Doings and Sayings known unto me, were worn out of my Remembrance; and to write an Untruth, it were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn and beautify him. After his Conversion to the most holy Gospel, I never saw his Face. Wherefore the less have I to certify you of. But so much as seemeth to me to serve most unto the Purpose, here I commend unto you; and in Witness that my Sayings are true, I subscribe my Name, willing, praying and beseeching you, to publish the same to the whole World,* &c. *At what Time I* Bullingham *intended to forsake* England, *and to fly into* France *for the wicked Pope's Sake, (which came to pass indeed, for in* Roan *I was for a Time) this* Julius Palmer *and* Richard Duck *brought me onwards in my Journey 'till we came to* London: *Where on a Day* Julius Palmer *and I walked to St.* James's, *the Queen's Palace; and as we leaned at the great Gate of that Place* Palmer *spake thus unto me.*

Bullingham, *You know in what Misery and Calamities we are fallen for the Pope and his Religion. We are young Men, abhorred of all Men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more.*

more. Let us consider what hangeth over our Heads. You are departing into a strange Country, both Friendless and Moneyless, where I fear me you shall taste of sowrer Sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my Wits End. The Face of Hell itself is as amiable unto me, as Magdalen College; *for there I am hated as a venemous Toad. Would God I were raked under the Earth. And as touching our Religion, even our Conscience bear Witness that we taste not such an inward Sweetness in the Profession thereof, as we understand the Gospellers to taste in their Religion:* Behold the Obstinacy of the Papists, which knowing the Truth will not yield. *Yea, to say the Truth, we maintain we know not what, rather of Will than of Knowledge. But what then? Rather than I will yield unto them I will beg my Bread. So* Palmer *bequeathed himself to the wide World, and I passed over into* Normandy. *At my Return into* England, *my Chance was to meet* Palmer *in* Paul's, *where a Rood was set up. (This our Meeting was in the Beginning of Queen* Mary's *Reign, and our miserable Departing not long before the End of King* Edward's *Days.) Then after our Greeting, thus said* Palmer: Bullingham, *is this our God, for whom we have smarted? No,* Palmer *(quoth he) it is an Image of him. An Image! (quoth he) I tell thee plainly,* Bullingham, John Calvin, *whose Institutions I have perused since our Departure, telleth me plainly by God's Word, that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and his Clergy the filthy Sink Hole of Hell, and now I believe it; for I feel it sensibly. O that God had revealed these Matters unto me in Times past. I would have bequeathed this* Romish *Religion, or rather Irreligion, to the Devil of Hell, from whence it came.* Behold his Earnestness now he is turned to the Truth. *Believe them not,* Bullingham. *I will rather have these Knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder Jackanapes (meaning the Rood). God help me, I am born to Trouble and Adversity in this World. Well,* Palmer *(said I) is the Wind in that Corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little Ease at the End. I will never have to do with you again. So I left* Palmer *walking in* Paul's, *who through the Element of Fire is exalted above the Elements, where eternal Rest is prepared for persecuted Martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I* Bullingham *affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these Words and Deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.*

From Bridgewater, April 26, 1562.

By me, John Bullingham.

When he was by his Visitors restored to his College, although he began something to savour and taste of God's Truth, by Conference and Company of certain godly and zealous Men abroad, in Time of his Expulsion, especially at the House of Sir *Francis Knolles*; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most Points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he chuse, but utter himself in private Reasoning from Time to Time, both in what Points he was fully resolved, and also of what Points he doubted. For such was always his Nature, utterly to detest all Dissimulation, insomuch that by the Means of his Plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much Trouble, both in King *Edward*'s, and also in Queen *Mary*'s Time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great Quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his Conscience, as many stirring Papists then did. And likewise he might have escaped the Flames in Queen *Mary*'s Time, if he would either have spoken, or kept Silence against his Conscience, as many weak Gospellers did. But *Palmer* could in no wise dissemble.

Now within a short Time, God so wrought in his Heart, that he became very inquisitive, to hear and understand how the Martyrs were apprehended, what Articles they died for, how they were used, and after what Manner they took their Death. Insomuch that he spared not at his own Charges to send over one of his Scholars, in the Company of a Batchelor of that House, to *Gloucester*, to see and understand the whole Order of Bishop *Hooper*'s Death, and to bring him true Report thereof. Which Thing some think he rather did, because he was wont in King *Edward*'s Time to say; that none of them all would stand to Death for their Religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible Cruelty the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all Kind of Torments to the End. Whereof he himself also did see more Experience afterwards, at the Examination and Death of those holy Confessors and Martyrs which were burnt at *Oxford* before his Eyes; insomuch that the first Hope which the Godly conceived of him, was at his Return from the Burning of Bishop *Ridley* and Bishop *Latimer*. At which Time, in the Hearing of divers of his Friends, he brake out into these or such like Words, *O raging Cruelty! O Tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!*

From that Day forward he studiously endeavoured to understand the Truth, and therefore with all Speed he borrow'd *Peter Martyr*'s Commentaries on the first to the *Corinthians*, and other good Books of other Men. And so through hearty Prayer and diligent Search of the Scripture, at length he believed and embraced the Truth with great Joy; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more, he declared it both in Word and Deed: Insomuch that ever afterwards he loved the Truth as much as he before hated it, when it pleased God to open his Eyes, and to reveal unto him the Light of his Word. And now again when he should come to Church, in those Days of Popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of Responds, reading of Legends, *&c.* he had as much Pleasure, he said, to be at them, as a Bear to be baited and worried with Dogs. When he came, it was more to avoid Displeasure and Danger, than for any good Will, and ready Affection.

At length, through God's Grace, he grew up to such Maturity in the Truth, that he spared not to declare certain Sparks thereof in his outward Behaviour. For when he should keep his bowing Measures at * *Confiteor* (as the Custom there was) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward, and afterwards knock his Breast at the Time of Elevation, against these idolatrous Adorations his Heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes being there, he would even at the sacring Time (as they termed it) get him out of the Church to avoid those ungodly Gestures, and idolatrous Adoration. To be short, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly suspected as well as disrespected

* By these Measures he meaneth a certain Ceremony of the College, which was this, That in the *Confiteor* Time at Even-Song the whole Company of the Choir (which was there to the Number of an hundred) standing up, and turning their Faces first to the high Altar, should then turn them to the President, and from the President to the high Altar again, and so after turning and returning three Times together, the President should say, *Misereatur*, which done, every Man to place himself again in his Stall.

Anno 1556.

respected by Mr. *Cole*, the President then being, and divers others who before had been his Friends, and finding great Torment of Conscience daily growing upon him, and also seeing that his new Life and old way of living could not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the House. For he thought it not best to abide the Danger of Expulsion, as he did at first; seeing the Heat of the Times increasing apace. And being demanded at that Time by a particular Friend whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this Answer, (*Domini est Terra, & Plenitudo ejus*) that is, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fullness thereof.* Let the Lord work, I will commit myself to God, and the wide World.

Palmer is placed by Patent to be Schoolmaster at *Reading*.

Within a short Time after he had yielded up his Fellowship in *Oxford*, he was through God's Providence placed Schoolmaster by Patent in the Grammar-school of *Reading*, where he was well accepted by all those that feared God, and favoured his Word. But *Satan*, envying his good Proceedings, would not suffer him long there to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double-faced Hypocrites, who by Dissimulation and crafty Insinuation had crept in, to understand his Secrets, under Pretence of a Zeal to the Gospel. Which Men he (suspecting no Deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his Doings.

Palmer is circumvented by false *Judasses*.

His Study searched for Books.

These trusty Brethren, so soon as they had found good Opportunity, spared not in his Absence to rifle his Study of certain Books and Writings; amongst which was his Replication to *Morewine*'s Verses, touching *Winchester*'s Epitaph, and other Arguments both in *Latin* and *English*, written by him against the Popish Proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish Tyranny, executed towards the Martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the Council, unless he would without Delay depart out of their Coasts, and give over the School to a Friend of theirs. The Truth of this Story appeareth in part by a Letter written with his own Hand, out of Prison, eight Days before he was burnt; which, because it is of certain Credit, and came to our Hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a Truth.

He is forced to depart the Town of *Reading*.

Thus then was this silly young Man, for the Safeguard of his Life, forced to depart on a sudden from *Reading*, leaving behind him in the Hands of his Enemies his Goods, and one Quarter's Stipend, and so he took his Journey towards *Ensham*, where his Mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her Hands certain Legacies due to him by his Father's last Will, which he should have received certain Years before; and taking his Journey by *Oxford* he requested certain of his Friends to accompany him thither. His Mother understanding his State and Errand by Mr. *Shipper* and his Brother (whom he had sent before to intreat for him) as soon as she beheld him on his Knees, asking her Blessing, as he had been accustomed to do: *Thou shalt*, said she, *have Christ's Curse and mine wheresoever thou goest.* He pauzing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a Greeting, at length said, *O Mother, your own Curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved, but God's Curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me. Nay*, said she, *thou didst go from God's Blessing into the warm Sun, when thou wert banished for an Heretick out of that worshipful House in* Oxford, *and now for the like Knavery, art driven out of* Reading *too. Alas, Mother*, said he, *you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine own Accord. And Heretick I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true Doctrine, but defend it to my Power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn Hereticks* (as they term them.) *Well*, quoth she, *I am sure thou dost not believe as thy Father and I, and all our Fore-fathers have done; but as we were taught by the new Law in King* Edward's *Time, which is damnable Heresy.*

The Cruelty of his Popish Mother.

Indeed I confess, said he, *that I believe that Doctrine which was taught in King* Edward's *Days, which is not Heresy but Truth, neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his Apostles. If thou art at that Point*, said she, *I require thee to depart from my House, and out of my Sight, and never take me more for thy Mother hereafter. As for Money and Goods I have none of thine, thy Father bequeathed nought for Hereticks. Faggots I have to burn thee, more thou getteſt not at my Hands. Mother*, said he, *whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your Life long*; and with like soft Talk, sweet Words, and Abundance of Tears trickling down his Cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he so molify'd her hard Heart, that she hurled an old Angel * after him, and said, *Take that to keep thee a true Man.*

The Father shall be divided against the Son, the Mother against the Daughter, &c. *Luke* 12.

* A gold Coin, worth about ten Shillings.

Thus poor *Palmer*, being destitute of worldly Friendship, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his surest Friend, knew not which Way to turn his Face. Soon after, when he had bethought himself, it came to his Mind to return secretly to *Magdalen* College, upon the assured Trust and Assiance, that he had a secret Friend or two in that House. At which Time, by the Suit of one *Alane Cope*, then Fellow of the House, he obtained Letters commendatory from Mr. *Cole* President there, for his Preferment to a School in *Gloucestershire*. So he getteth him away, committed by his Friends to God's divine Protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as *Ensam Ferry*, and some to *Burford*.

Mr. *Hampton* of *Reading*, a dissembling Hypocrite.

Afterward as he went alone musing, it came into his Head to leave his appointed Journey, and to return privately to *Reading*, trusting there by the Help of Friends to receive his Quarter's Stipend, and convey his Goods to the Custody of some trusty Body. To *Reading* he cometh, and taketh up his Lodging at the *Cardinal's Hat*, desiring his Hostess instantly to assign him a close Chamber, where he might be alone from all Resort of Company. He came not so closely, but that this viperous Generation had Knowledge thereof. Wherefore without Delay they laid their Heads together, and consulted what Way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered Malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Mr. *Hampton* (who then bare two Faces under one Hood, and under the Colour of a Brother played the Part of a dissembling Hypocrite) should resort to him under the Pretence of Friendship, to feel and fish out the Cause of his Repair to *Reading*.

Palmer, as he was an innocent Man, and without all Wrinkles of cloaked Deceit, opened to him his whole Intent. But *Hampton* earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what Danger might ensue if this were attempted.

tempted. Againſt his Counſel *Palmer* replied very much, and as they waxed hot in Talk, *Hampton* flung away in a Fury, and ſaid, As he had fiſhed, ſo ſhould he fowl for him. *Palmer* not yet ſuſpecting ſuch deviſed Miſchief, as by this crooked Generation was now in brewing againſt him, called for his Supper, and went quietly to Bed. But quietly he could not long reſt there. For within ſhort Space after, the Officers and their Retinue came ruſhing in with Lanthorns and Bills, requiring him in the King and Queen's Name to make himſelf ready, and quietly to depart with them: And led him away as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and committed him to ward, whom the Keeper as a ravening Wolf greedy of his Prey, brought down into a vile, ſtinking and blind Dungeon, prepared for Thieves and Murderers, and there he left him for a Time, hanging by the Hands and Feet in a pair of Stocks, ſo high, that well-near no part of his Body touched the Ground. In this Dungeon he remained about ten Days under the Tyranny of this unmerciful Keeper.

Palmer betrayed and apprehended.

After this he was brought before the Mayor of *Reading*, and there by the Procurement of certain falſe Brethren divers grievous Crimes were laid to his Charge, as Treaſon, Sedition, ſurmiſed Murder and Adultery.

To whom *Palmer* anſwered, that if ſuch heinous Crimes might be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit himſelf to all kind of Torments that could be deviſed.

All this while no Mention was made of Hereſy or heretical Writings.

Their greateſt Proofs againſt him were theſe:

Firſt, That *Palmer* ſaid, the Queen's Sword was not put in her Hand to execute Tyranny, and to kill and murder the true Servants of God.

Item, That her Sword was too blunt toward the Papiſts, but toward the true Chriſtians it was too ſharp.

Item, That certain Servants of Sir *Francis Knolles* and others, reſorting to his Lectures, had fallen out among themſelves, and were like to have committed Murder, and therefore he was a ſower of Sedition, and a procurer of unlawful Aſſemblies.

Note the worſhipful Proceſs of the quarrelling Papiſts.

Item, That his Hoſteſs had written a Letter unto him (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to return to *Reading*, and ſent him her Commendations, by the Token that the Knife lay hid under the Beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him to murder her Husband.

Item, That they found him alone with his Hoſteſs by the Fire-ſide in the Hall, the Door being ſhut to them forſooth.

When the Evidence was given up, the Mayor diſmiſſed them and went to Dinner, commanding *Palmer* to the Cage, to make him an open Spectacle of Ignominy to the Eyes of the World.

In the Afternoon *Palmer* came to his Anſwer, and did ſo clearly deface their Evidence, and defend his own Innocency, proving alſo that the ſaid Letters were forged by themſelves, that the Mayor himſelf was much aſhamed that he had given ſuch Credit to them, and ſo much born with them, ſo that he ſought Means how they might convey him out of the Country privily.

After this, when they ſaw the Matter frame ſo ill-favouredly, fearing that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, their Doing would tend no leſs to their Shame and Danger, than to the Mayor's Diſhoneſty; they deviſed a new Policy to bring to paſs their long hidden Malice againſt him, which was by this extreme Refuge. For whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of Hereſy, ſeeing they had been counted earneſt Brethren themſelves; and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken up his Study, and committed Theft: Yet now, leſt their Iniquity ſhould have been revealed to the World, they put both Fear and Shame aſide, and began to rip up the old Sore, the Scar whereof had been but ſuperficially cured, as you have heard; and ſo to colour their former Practices with the Pretence of his Reformation in Religion, they charged him with the Writings that they had ſtolen out of his Study. Anno 1556.

Thus *Palmer* was once again called out of the Priſon to appear before the Mayor, and *Bird* the Official, and two other Juſtices, to render an Account of his Faith before them: To anſwer to ſuch Articles and Informations as were laid againſt him. And when they had gathered of his own Mouth ſufficient Matter to intrap him, they deviſed a Bill of Inſtructions againſt him, to be directed to Dr. *Jeffrey*, who had been determin'd to hold his Viſitation the next *Tueſday* at *Newbury*, which was the 16th of *July*. And thus were the falſe Witneſſes and bloody Accuſers winked at, and the Innocent delivered to the Lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that *Palmer* ſhould be ſent over to *Newbury*, the ſaid Letters teſtimonial were convey'd over together with him.

On *Monday* Night *Palmer*, and *Thomas Askin*, his Fellow Priſoner for Chriſt's Cauſe, came to *Newbury*, and were committed to the comfortable Hoſtry of the blind Houſe, where they found *John Guin*, their faithful Brother in the Lord. Now when they came before the Conſiſtory of Dr. *Jeffrey*, and how *Palmer* was examined, it doth in Part appear by this Examination hereunto annexed, which although it be not perfectly and orderly penn'd, as the Report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchance altogether in ſuch Form of Words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and diſpoſe it, being gather'd out of ſeveral Notes of *Richard Shipper*, *John Hunt*, *John Kirry* of *Newbury*, *Richard White* of *Marlborough*, who were Eye-witneſſes, and preſent at the Hearing thereof.

The ſecond Examination of Julius Palmer, *at* Newbury.

ON the 16th of *July*, in the Year 1556, four or five Seats were prepared in the Choir of the Pariſh-church of *Newbury* for the Viſitors, whoſe Names here follow. Dr. *Jeffrey* for the Biſhop of *Sarum*, Sir *Richard Abridges* Knight, and then High Sheriff of the County, Sir *William Ramsford*, Knight, *John Winchcomb*, Eſquire, and the Parſon of *Ingleſield*. After the Priſoners were preſented, the Commiſſion read, and other Things done in Order accordingly, Dr. *Jeffrey* called to *Palmer*, and ſaid, Art thou that jolly Writer of Three-half-penny Books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeffrey. Have you taught *Latin* ſo long, that now you underſtand not *Engliſh?*

To

Anno 1556.

To this he anſwered nothing *.

Then Dr. *Jeffrey* ſtanding up, ſaid, We have received certain Writings and Articles againſt you, from the Right worſhipful the Mayor of *Reading*, and other Juſtices, whereby we underſtand, that being convened before them, you were convicted of certain Hereſies.

* He was too modeſt to anſwer, That the Teaching of *Latin* did not qualify him to underſtand *Engliſh* Nonſenſe.

Firſt, That you deny the Supremacy of the Pope's Holineſs.

Secondly, That there are but two Sacraments.

Thirdly, That the Prieſt ſheweth up an Idol at Maſs; and therefore you went to no Maſs, ſince your firſt coming to *Reading*.

Fourthly, That there is no Purgatory.

Laſt of all, That you be a Sower of Sedition, and have ſought to divide the Unity of the Queen's Subjects.

Sheriff. You were beſt ſee firſt what he will ſay to his own handy-work.

Jeffrey. Ye ſay Truth. Tell me, *Palmer*, art thou he that wrote this fair Volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Jeffrey. Is this doggiſh Rhime yours alſo? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny not.

Jeffrey. And what ſay you to theſe *Latin* Verſes, entituled, *Epicedion*, &c. Are they yours too?

Palmer. Yea Sir.

Jeffrey. Art thou not aſhamed to affirm it? it came of no good Spirit, that thou didſt both rail at the Dead, and ſlander a learned and catholick Man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a Slander, he hath ſlandered himſelf: For I do but report his own Writing, and open the Folly therein declared. And I reckon it no Railing to inveigh againſt *Annas* and *Caiaphas* being dead.

Jeffrey. Say'ſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant it, and wring *Peccavi* out of thy lying Lips, 'ere I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of myſelf I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine Enemies, both Bodily and Ghoſtly, ſhould do your worſt, you ſhall not be able to bring that to paſs, neither ſhall ye prevail againſt God's mighty Spirit, by whom we underſtand the Truth, and ſpeak it ſo boldly.

Jeffrey. Ah, are you full of the Spirit? Are you inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt?

Palmer. Sir, no Man can believe, but by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore, if I were not a ſpiritual Man, and inſpired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true Chriſtian, [*Qui Spiritum Chriſtum non habet, hic non eſt ejus*] that is, He that hath not the Spirit of Chriſt is none of his.

Jeffrey. I perceive you lack no Words.

Palmer Chriſt hath promiſed not only to give us Store of Words neceſſary, but with them, ſuch Force of Matter, as the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to confound or prevail againſt it.

The Holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you in that Hour what you ſhall anſwer. Luke 12.

Jeffrey. Chriſt made ſuch a Promiſe to his Apoſtles, I hope you will not compare yourſelf with them.

Palmer. With the holy Apoſtles I may not compare, neither have I any Affiance in mine own Wit or Learning, which I know is but ſmall: Yet this Promiſe I am certain pertaineth to all ſuch as are appointed to defend God's Truth againſt his Enemies, in time of their Perſecution for the ſame.

Jeffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well aſſured, that through his Grace it appertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to diſpute with you before this Audience, in Defence of all that I have there written.

Jeffrey. Thou art but a beardleſs Boy, yeſterday an Upſtart out of the Schools, and dareſt thou preſume to offer Diſputation, or to encounter with a Doctor!

A Marvel to the Papiſts, that young Men ſhould have the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Palmer. Remember Mr. Doctor, *The Spirit breatheth where it pleaſeth him*, &c. And again, *Out of the Mouth of Babes haſt thou ordained Strength*. And in another Place, *Thou haſt hid theſe Things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto Babes*. God is not tied to Time, Wit, Learning, Place nor Perſon. And although your Wit and Learning is greater than mine; yet your Belief in the Truth, and Zeal to defend the ſame, is no greater than mine.

God's Spirit not bound to Place or Perſon.

Regiſter. Sir, if you ſuffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffery. Well, ye ſhall underſtand, that I have it not in Commiſſion as this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it meet that we ſhould call again into Queſtion ſuch Articles as are already diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined by our Mother the Holy Church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the Creed telleth us. But the Cauſe why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon ſuch Articles as are adminiſtred againſt you, and ſuch Matter as is here contained in your Hand-Writing, that it may be ſeen whether you will ſtand to it, or nay. How ſay you to this?

Jeffrey, notwithſtanding his Doctorſhip, is afraid to diſpute with this beardleſs Boy, as he called him.

Palmer. By your holy Church you mean the Synagogue of *Rome*, which is not univerſal, but a particular Church of Shavelings. The Catholick Church I believe, yet not for her own Sake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that is to ſay, a Church that grounded her Belief upon the Word of her Spouſe Chriſt.

Jeffrey. Leave railing, and anſwer me directly to my Queſtion. Will you ſtand to your Writing, or will you not?

Palmer. If you prove any Sentence therein comprized not to ſtand with God's Word, I will preſently recant it.

Jeffrey. Thou impudent Fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to diſpute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the Parſon of *Ingleſield* pointing to the Pyx, ſaid, What ſeeſt you yonder?

Palmer. A Canopy of Silk broidered with Gold.

Parſon. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A Piece of Bread in a Clout, I ſuppoſe.

Parſon. Thou art as froward an Heretick as ever I talked withal.

Here was much ſpoken of *Confiteor*, and other Parts of the Maſs.

Parſon. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy Sacrament of the Altar do truly eat Chriſt's natural Body?

Palmer. If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be adminiſtred as Chriſt did ordain it, the faithful Receivers do indeed ſpiritually and truly

truly eat and drink in it Chriſt's very natural Body and Blood.

Parſon. The faithful Receivers? Ye cannot blear our Eyes with ſuch Sophiſtry. Do not all manner of Receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural Body in Form of Bread?

Palmer. No Sir.

Parſon. How prove you that?

Palmer. By this Place, He that eateth me, ſhall live for me.

Parſon. See that fond Fellow, whilſt he taketh himſelf to be a Doctor of the Law, you ſhall ſee me prove him a ſtark fooliſh Daw. Do you not read likewiſe, Whoſoever invocateth the Name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved? *Ergo*, Do none but the Godly call upon him? Therefore you muſt mark how St. *Paul* anſwereth you. He ſaith, that the wicked do eat the true Body to their Condemnation.

As *Palmer* was bent to anſwer him at the full, the Parſon interrupted him, crying ſtill, what ſay'ſt thou to St. *Paul*?

Palmer. I ſay that St. *Paul* hath no ſuch Words.

Parſon. See, the impudent Fellow denieth the plain Text: *He that eateth and drinketh the Body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of Judgment.*

Palmer. I beſeech you lend me your Book.

Parſon. Not ſo.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your Book.

So the Book was given over to him.

Palmer. Your own Book hath, [*Qui manducat hunc Panem*, &c.] He that eateth this Bread.

Parſon. But St. *Jerome*'s Tranſlation hath [*Corpus*] Body.

The Parſon confounded with his own Book, and his Mouth is ſtopped.

Palmer. Not ſo, Mr. Parſon, and God be praiſed that I have in the mean Seaſon ſhut up your Lips with your own Book.

Jeffrey. It is no Matter whether ye write Bread or Body, for we be able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you ſay, they eat it ſpiritually, that is but a blind Shift of Deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſay elſe?

Jeffrey. As holy Church ſaith, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good Scripture, I may ſay groſly or monſtrouſly.

Jeffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me, Is Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Jeffrey. How is he preſent?

Palmer. The Doctors ſay, [*Modo Ineffabili*] in a Manner not to be expreſſed. Therefore why do ye ask me? Would God ye had a Mind ready to believe it, or I a Tongue able to expreſs it unto you.

Jeffrey. What ſay you to the Baptiſm of Infants?

Palmer. I ſay that it ſtandeth with God's Word, and therefore ought of Neceſſity to be retained in the Church.

* Children dying before they come to Baptiſm are ſaved: Of this it followeth not, *Ergo*, Children that are brought, ought not to be baptized.

Jeffrey. Ye have forgotten yourſelf I believe, for ye write that Children may be ſaved without it.

Palmer. So I write, and ſo I ſay.

* *Jeffrey.* Then it is not neceſſary to be frequented and continued in the Church.

Palmer. Your Argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

Jeffrey. Will you ſtand to it?

Palmer. Yea, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

Jeffrey. Note it, Regiſter.

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More of his Examination is not come to our Hands; whenſoever God ſendeth it, I will communicate the ſame to the Reader. In the mean Seaſon we are credibly informed of this, that Sir *Richard Abridges*, the ſame Day after Dinner, ſent for him to his Lodging, and there, in the Preſence of divers Perſons yet alive in *Newbury* and elſewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his Opinion, to ſpare his young Years, Wit and Learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thyſelf corrigible and repentant, in good Faith, ſaid he, I promiſe thee before this Company, I will give thee Meat and Drink, and Books, and ten Pounds yearly, ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy Mind to Marriage, I will procure thee a Wife and a Farm, and help to furniſh and fit thy Farm for thee. How ſay'ſt thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further anſwer concerning his Religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reverently; concluding in the End, that as he had already in two Places renounced his Living for Chriſt's Sake, ſo he would with God's Grace be ready to ſurrender and yield up his Life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſend Time.

When Sir *Richard* perceived that he would by no means relent: Well *Palmer*, ſaith he, then I perceive one of us twain ſhall be damned. For we be of two Faiths, and certain I am there is but one Faith that leadeth to Life and Salvation.

Palmer. O Sir, I hope that we both ſhall be ſaved.

Sir *Richard.* How may that be?

Palmer. Right well, Sir. For as it hath pleaſed our merciful Saviour, according to the Goſpel's Parable, to call me at the third Hour of the Day, even in my Flowers, at the Age of four and twenty Years, even ſo I truſt he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh Hour of this your old Age, and give you everlaſting Life for your Portion.

Sir *Richard.* Say'ſt thou ſo? Well *Palmer* well, I would I might have thee but one Month in my Houſe, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou ſhouldſt convert me.

Then ſaid Mr. *Winchcomb*, Take Pity on thy golden Years, and pleaſant Flowers of luſty Youth, before it is too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpringing Flowers, that ſhall never fade away.

Winchcomb. If thou be at that Point, I have done with thee.

Then was *Palmer* commanded again to the Blind-houſe, but the other two Men were led again the ſame Afternoon to the Conſiſtory, and there were condemned, and delivered to the ſecular Power of the Sheriff there preſent, Sir *Richard Abridges*.

The next Morning the 16th of *July*, *Palmer* was required to ſubſcribe to certain Articles, which they had drawn out, concerning the Cauſe of his Condemnation: In the Front whereof, were heaped together many heinous Terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, deviliſh, and execrable Doctrine. To theſe Words *Palmer* refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the Doctrine which he profeſſed, was not ſuch, but good and ſound Doctrine.

Jeffrey. Ye may ſee, good People, what Shifts theſe Hereticks ſeek, to eſcape Burn-

Anno 1556. ing, when they ſee Juſtice adminiſtred unto them. But I tell thee, this Stile is agreeable to the Law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot ſubſcribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave Mercy, if thou likeſt not Juſtice, and revoke thy Hereſy?

Palmer. I forſake the Pope and his Popelings, with all popiſh Hereſy.

Jeffrey. Then ſubſcribe to the Articles.

Palmer. Alter the *Epithethons*, and I will ſubſcribe.

Jeffrey. Subſcribe, and qualify the Matter with thine own Pen. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Dr. *Jeffrey* proceeded to read the popiſh Sentence of his cruel Condemnation, and ſo was he delivered to the Charge of the ſecular Power, and was burnt the ſame Day in the Afternoon, about Five of the Clock.

Within one Hour before they went to the Place of Execution, *Palmer*, in the Preſence of many People, comforted his Companions with theſe Words. *Brethren*, ſaid he, *be of good Chear in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the Words of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith*, Happy are you when Men revile you and perſecute you for Righteouſneſs ſake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the Body, and be not able to touch the Soul. God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted further than we ſhall be able to bear it. *We ſhall not end our Lives in the Fire, but make a Change for a better Life. Yea, for Coals, we ſhall receive Pearls. For God's Holy Spirit certifieth our Spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweet Supper in Heaven for his Sake who ſuffered firſt for us.*

With theſe and ſuch like Words, he did not only comfort the Hearts of his weak Brethren that were with him appointed as Sheep to be ſlain, but alſo wreſted out plentiful Tears from the Eyes of many that heard him. And as they were ſinging a Pſalm, came Sir *Richard Abridges* the Sheriff, and the Bailiffs of the Town, with a great Company of armed Men, to conduct them to the Fire. When they were come to the Place appointed for their Suffering, they all three fell to the Ground, and *Palmer*, with an audible Voice pronounced the 31ſt Pſalm, but the other two made their Prayers ſecretly to Almighty God.

And as *Palmer* began to ariſe, there came behind him two Popiſh Prieſts, exhorting him yet to recant and ſave his Soul. *Palmer* anſwered and ſaid, *Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I ſay, all ye that work Iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the Voice of my Tears.* And ſo forthwith they put off their Raiment, and went to the Stake and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the Poſt, *Palmer* ſaid, *Good People, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the End. And for Chriſt's Sake beware of popiſh Teachers, for they deceive you.*

As he ſpake this, a Servant of one of the Bailiffs threw a Faggot at his Face, that the Blood guſhed out in divers Places. At which the Sheriff was very angry, and called him a cruel Tormentor, and with his Walking-ſtaff broke his Head, that the Blood likewiſe ran down about his Ears. When the Fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their Bodies, they lifted up their Hands towards Heaven, and quietly and chearfully, as tho' they had felt no Smart, they cried, Lord Jeſus ſtrengthen us, Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us, Lord Jeſus receive our Souls. And ſo they continued without any Struggling, holding up their Hands, and knocking their Hearts, and calling upon Jeſus until they had ended their mortal Lives.

A wonderful Spectacle in the Martyrdom of *Julius Palmer*.

It was very remarkable that when their three Heads by Force of the devouring Flames were fallen together in a Lump, inſomuch that the Spectators thought they were all certainly dead, *Palmer*, as a Man awaked out of Sleep, moved his Tongue and Jaws, and was heard to pronounce this Word *Jeſus*. So being diſſolved into Aſhes, he yielded to God as joyful a Soul (confirmed with the ſweet Promiſes of Chriſt) as any one that ever was called beſide to ſuffer for his bleſſed Name. God grant us all to be moved with the like Spirit, working in our Hearts conſtantly to ſtand in Defence and Confeſſion of Chriſt's holy Goſpel to the End, *Amen.*

On the Martyrdom of *Julius Palmer*.

WHilſt for Chriſt's Sake, Palmer *endures the Flame.*

Like the fam'd Tree that bears this Hero's Name,
Which higher ſhoots the more they it oppreſs,
The ſtrengthen'd Flames his ſtronger Faith confeſs.
Henceforth amidſt the heav'nly Hoſts he'll bear
That Palm of Righteouſneſs he dy'd for here.

The Juſt ſhall flouriſh as the Palm-Tree.

A memorable Story of Agnes Wardall *in the Town of* Ipſwich.

ABout the Month of *July*, in this preſent Year, 1556. there was one *Richard Argentine*, alias *Sexten*, a Doctor of Phyſick, with certain others dwelling in the Town of *Ipſwich*, not many in Number, but maliciouſly bent upon the Deſtruction of the Goſpel, and the Favourers of the ſame. Among whom were *Philip Ulmes*, *Edmund Leach*, *John Steward*, and *Matthew Butler* Apothecary. This *Butler* being then Conſtable in the Town of *Ipſwich*, as he was on the Watch by Night upon *Cornhil*, Dr. *Argentine* came to him in great Haſte, giving him Intelligence of one *Agnes Wardall*, being then lately come home to her Houſe in *Ipſwich*. Whereupon immediately ſuch a Way was contrived between them, that the ſaid *Agnes Wardall* forthwith ſhould be apprehended: But God, ſo graciouſly provided for his Servant, and ſo prevented their malignant Devices, that they came to nought, notwithſtanding all their Zeal and Diligence; as by the further Relation of the Story you ſhall find.

This *Agnes Wardall* was a Woman that lived in God's Fear, and defy'd the popiſh Traſh, deſiring rather with hard Fare and bad Lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her Houſe, and among the Tents of the ungodly: Her Husband alſo being a Man living in the Fear of God, and for the Teſtimony of his Conſcience being alſo hunted, by Force of the Law was conſtrained to avoid his Houſe, and got into a Crayer with an honeſt Man, ſerving as a Sailor, an Occupation which till now he had been a Stranger to, and alſo what render'd him the more incapable was his having a ſtumped Foot, which prevented his ready

Robert Wardall driven by Perſecution to ſerve in a Ship.

climbing to Top and Yard; yet it pleaſed God to enable him with Strength that he did good Service, as they can well witneſs that were of his Company.

His Wife is perſecuted by Dr. *Argentine* and others.

The ſaid *Agnes Wardall* happened one Day to come home to her Houſe to ſee her poor Children, who were under the Management of a young Maid, and being eſpy'd, the News was ſoon brought to Dr. *Argentine*, who immediately went to the Conſtable, the Apothecary as aforeſaid, and told him what a notable Cure was to be wrought on *Wardall*'s Wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to ſpeed than miſs, had not the good Providence of God otherwiſe order'd it.

The Watch was ſpeedily charg'd, and each Company ſent to its Place. *Argentine* and the Conſtable took a good Number with them, and forth they went to the Houſe of this poor Woman to lay Hands upon her, which they beſet on both Sides, ſome lying in the open Fields, and others were ſent to the Houſe of *Wardall*'s Mother, which was not far from his Houſe. This done one knock'd at the Street-door where *Argentine* and *Butler* was, and no Anſwer was made; the ſecond Time ſomewhat harder, but had no Anſwer. In the mean Time they fearing that ſome Conveyance was made, knocked the third Time harder than before.

There was not far from the Door where they knocked, a certain Window, where one might look out and ſpeak: And ſo at the third knocking, a Woman who at that Time was Tenant to *Robert Wardall*'s Mother, ſpeaking out hard by their Ears, asked who was there?

Ah Sirrah, ſaid *Argentine*, are you ſo nigh and will not ſpeak? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, being ſo nigh?

How fortuned it, ſaid the Woman, marry I ſhall tell you: I am but a Stranger here, and I have heard ſay, that there be Spirits walking hereabout, which if a Man do anſwer at the firſt Call or ſecond, he ſtands in great Danger, and I was never ſo afraid in my Life. At this her Anſwer they laughed, and commanded her to open the Door in the Queen's Name, for they were the Queen's Watch.

The Lord bleſs every good Man and Woman from ſuch wicked Spirits.

Agnes Wardall being at that Time in Bed in an inner Chamber, having her Maid with her, and her two Children, and being at that Time very heavy aſleep, heard not the Knocking. Her Maid hearing at the ſecond Knock, called and jogged her Dame, and with much ado awaked her, and ſaid, The Watch is at the Door. What, thou lieſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly, ſaid the Maid, and hath knock'd twice. With that ſhe aroſe with all Speed, and put on her Cloaths very ſlightly, and took with her a Buckram Apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her Head when ſhe was fain to creep in a Ditch with Nettles, and ſo paſſed down into a Parlour, wherein ſtood a Cup-board with a fair Preſs, into which the Maid did lock her.

Behold, He that keepeth Iſrael ſhall neither ſlumber nor ſleep, Pſal. 121.

And immediately went up to a Chamber which was hard by the Street, where ſhe might ſee and ſpeak to the Watch, and ſaid, who is there. Then they bade her open the Door. And ſhe ſaid, We have no Candle. And they ſaid, Open the Door, or we will lay it on the Floor. With that ſhe came down and opened the Door. Then asked they the Maid, who is within? And ſhe ſaid, None but a Woman that dwelleth with us, and two Children. Then ſaid they, Where is thy Dame? Truly, ſaid ſhe, I cannot tell, ſhe is not within. She was here in the Evening, ſaid they. Yea, ſaid the Maid, but ſhe went forth I know not whither. Notwithſtanding they charged her that ſhe knew where ſhe was, which ſhe denied. Then got they a Candle lighted at one of the Neighbour's Houſes, and came in, and in the Entry met the Woman which had anſwered them at the Window, and ſaid ſhe was afraid of Spirits. *Argentine* looking upon her, clapp'd her on the Back, and ſaid, Thou art not the Woman whom we ſeek for. Anno 1556.

So they entered the Houſe, and ſearched a Parlour next to the Street where the Woman lay which was his Mother's Tenant, and a young Child that ſucked on her Breaſt, and not only in the Bed, but alſo under the Bed, behind the painted Clothes, and in the Chimney, and up into the Chimney; and finding the Bed hot, ſaid, Who lay here in the Bed? The Woman ſaid, I and the Child. And none elſe, quoth they. No, ſaid the Woman. When they could find nothing there for their Purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner Parlour, in which ſtood the Cupboard wherein ſhe was, and ſearched the Parlour, which was but a little one. And one of the Company laying his Hand on the Cupboard, ſaid, This is a fair Cupboard, ſhe may be here for any Thing that is done. That is true, ſaith another of them. Notwithſtanding they looked no farther, but went from that into the Chamber above, wherein the ſaid *Agnes* had lain with her Maid and Children, with all other Rooms and Chambers.

At length they came down into the Yard, where they found a Horſe tied at a Pale eating of ſhorn Graſs. Then asked they the Maid, Whoſe Horſe is this? She anſwered, It is her Horſe indeed, and ſhe came in before Night, and went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hopes to find their Prey, and beſtirred them with Speed, and went into an Out-chamber that was in the Yard, in which was a Boy in Bed of twelve or fourteen Years old. And being in his dead Sleep, they ſuddenly awaked him and examined him for his Dame. Who anſwered, He knew not where ſhe was; and unto that ſtood firmly, altho' their Threats were vehement, not only to the poor ſilly Boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plain Maid. Then they cauſed him to ariſe and dreſs him, and ſent both Maid and Boy up to the Cage, where they put the Maid, but kept the Boy among their truſty Soldiers, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeak with another.

Now while ſome were on the Corn hill, and others ſearching the Neighbours Houſes, and Backſides, the Wife of *Wardall* being in the Preſs faſt locked up, and almoſt ſmothered for want of Breath, deſired the Woman her Mother's Tenant, when ſhe heard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the Keys were, who anſwered, they were in a Hamper, which ſhe found, and endeavoured to unlock the Preſs, but could not, though ſhe try'd a long Time. Then ſhe deſired her to break it open; for (ſaid ſhe) I had rather fall into their Hands, than to kill myſelf. Then ſhe ſought for her Husband's Hammer and Chiſel, but could not find them, to break it open withal, and came again and told her ſhe could find nothing for the Purpoſe.

Then, ſaid ſhe, try once more, for I truſt

Anno 1556. God will give Power to open it. And being within in great Extremity, ſhe heartily pray'd to God, who heard her Prayer, and helped her, for at the firſt Turn of the Key it opened eaſily. When ſhe came out ſhe looked as pale and as bleak as if ſhe had been dead and laid out, and as ſhe herſelf looked afterwards when ſhe was really dead, as the ſame Woman reported who then let her out, and was alſo at her Death long after in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and ſhe was all in a violent Sweat like Drops of Rain.

Then ſhe went out into the Backſide, where, towards the Fields, were Pales fixed for the Defence of the Garden, one or two of which being looſe, both ſhe and her Husband had often gone out and came in that Way, out ſhe got into the Fields, and paſſing one little Field, and over a Stile, ſhe hid herſelf in a deep Ditch full of Nettles, and covered her Head with the Buckram Apron before-mentioned, and ſo crept low, and lay in the Ditch. After long Search to no purpoſe in the Town, ſome of the Watch return'd again to the Field's ſide; among whom was one *George Manning*, and *John Bate* the Crier of the ſame Town coming together. This *Manning* was an honeſt plain Man, but *Bate* a very Enemy, and one that in Queen *Mary*'s Time would have been a Prieſt, as it was reported, if he had not been marry'd.

George Manning an honeſt Man.

Manning eſpying where ſhe lay, gave a Hem, and made a Noiſe with his Bill, he being before *Bate*; at which ſhe lay ſtill, at laſt they departed to the Street ſide to the Conſtable. All this Time the Maid was in the Cage, and the Boy with the reſt of the Watch untill perfect Day-light. Then went they up and let out the Maid, and ſent her home, and the Boy alſo; but they made the Maid believe they had found her Dame. Who anſwered, If ye have her, keep her faſt.

On the Morrow *Manning* ſent her Word to beware that ſhe hid herſelf no more ſo near.

Thus by the Might and Power of God was his faithful Servant deliver'd from their Cruelty, and they known to be his Adverſaries, not only at that Time, but divers Times before and after.

The Trouble of Peter Moon *and his Wife, and others, at* Ipſwich.

IN the Year 1556, a Viſitation was held by Dr. *Hopton* then Biſhop of *Norwich*, and *Miles Dunnings* his Chancellor, at *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, where divers were much troubled; among whom were *Peter Moon* a Taylor, and his Wife: They were accuſed of Diſobedience to the Law, in not coming to Church, and refuſing to partake of ſuch Romiſh Obſervances as at that Time were uſed.

And firſt the ſaid *Peter Moon* was commanded to come before the Biſhop, where he was examined of three ſeveral Articles, *viz.* 1. Whether the Pope were ſupreme Head. 2. Whether King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* were right Heirs to the Crown. 3. And whether in the Sacrament of the Altar was the very Body of Chriſt ſubſtantially and really there preſent.

Unto which the ſaid *Peter Moon* being timorous and weak, fearing more the Face of Men than the heavy Wrath of God, affirmed, and in a manner granted unto their Demands. Whereupon the Biſhop being in good Hope, that although he had not come to Church, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, nor been ready to do his Duty as the Law had commanded, yet there ſhewing his Mind, ſaid, that he liked the Man well: For ſuch as have been, ſaid he, earneſt in evil Things, will alſo be earneſt in that that is good and godly, if once they be won.

Thus as this ſpiritual Father was commanding his carnal Child, and rather preferring him to Hell-fire, than unto the ſincere Word and Commandments of God, it happened amongſt many others in the Chamber, was one of the Portmen of the ſame Town, named *Smart*, an earneſt Member of their *Romiſh* Law, doing of a very good Conſcience what he did, who after the Death of Queen *Mary* lived not many Years, but rendered his Life in godly Repentance, proteſting, that if God ſhould ſuffer him to live, he would never be the Man he had been before, what Laws ſoever ſhould come again: So that before the Time of his Sickneſs he frequenting earneſtly the Sermons in the ſame Town, msde by divers godly learned Men, would weep as it had been a Child, being notwithſtanding of Courage as ſtout as any Man in *Ipſwich*. Such is the marvellous Mercy of God in calling to his Kitgdom, whom, and when he pleaſeth.

This Portman aforeſaid, perceiving the Biſhop thus, as it were at an End with the ſaid *Moon*, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid unto the Biſhop, My Lord, I have a good Opinion of the Man, and that he will be conformable: But my Lord, he hath a perilous Woman to his Wife. For I will tell you, my Lord, ſhe never came to Church yet ſince the Queen's Reign, except it were at Even-ſong, or when ſhe was churched, and not then till Maſs were done. Wherefore your good Lordſhip might do a good Deed to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if you could do any Good. And therefore I beſeech your good Lordſhip to command him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip.

At which Words *Moon* was ſomewhat moved, in that he ſaid, Command him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip. And he ſaid unto him, Under my Lord's Correction I ſpeak, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are to command the worſt Boy in your Houſe. Yea, my Lord, ſaid the other, I cry your Lordſhip's Mercy: I have informed your Lordſhip with an Untruth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he ſaith, he might have commanded her to have come to Church in all this Time, if it had pleaſed him. Well, ſaid the Biſhop, look you come before me at Afternoon, and bring your Wife with you; I will talk with thee.

As my Lord's Dinner at that Time was ſerving up, *Moon* departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having ſuch an hard Breakfaſt given him before to digeſt. At Afternoon *Moon* delayed and waited his Time, bethinking when he might moſt conveniently come, eſpecially when his Accuſer and his Wife's ſhould not have been there. And according to the Commandment came with his Wife, which was not ſo ſecretly done, but his Accuſer had Knowledge thereof, and came with all Expedition in ſuch Poſt-ſpeed, that he was in

in a Manner breathleſs when he enter'd the Biſhop's Chamber.

Moon and his Wife brought before the Biſhop.

The Biſhop hearing that *Moon* and his Wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to *Moon*, Is this your Wife, *Moon*? Yea, my Lord, ſaid he. O good Lord, ſaid the Biſhop, how a Man may be deceiv'd in a Woman! I promiſe you a Man would take her for as honeſt a Woman, by all outward Appearance, as can be. Why, my Lord, ſaid *Moon's* Wife, I truſt there is none that can charge me with any Diſhoneſty, as concerning my Body; I defy all the World in that reſpect.

Nay, quoth the Biſhop, I meant not as concerning the Diſhoneſty of thy Body: But thou hadſt better to have given the Uſe of thy Body unto twenty ſundry Men, than to do as thou haſt done. For thou haſt done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the King and the Queen's Majeſties' out of their Royal Seats through thy Diſobedience, in ſhewing thyſelf an open Enemy unto God's Laws, and their Proceedings.

Then the Biſhop began to examine the ſaid *Moon* again with the aforeſaid Articles, and his Wife alſo. And ſhe hearing her Husband relent, did alſo affirm the ſame, which turned to their great Trouble of Mind afterward; but yet neither were they like thus to eſcape, but that in the mean Time *Dunning* the Biſhop's Chancellor came up in great Haſte, and brought News to the Biſhop, that there was ſuch a Number of Hereticks come, of which ſome came from *Boxford*, ſome from *Lanham*, and about from the Cloth-country, that it would make a Man out of his Wits to hear them: And there are among them both Hereticks and Anabaptiſts, ſaid he. And thus Dr. *Dunning* with his bluſtring Words interrupting *Moon*'s Examination, went down again to keep his Stir among them, and to take Order what ſhould be done with them.

The Biſhop beginning to bewail the State of the Country, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a Number of Hereticks, and rehearſing partly their Opinions to thoſe that were at that Time in the Chamber, *Moon*'s Wife had a young Child which ſhe nurſed herſelf, and the Child being brought into the Yard under the Biſhop's Chamber, cried, ſo that ſhe heard it; and then ſaid, My Lord, I truſt ye have done with me. My Child crieth beneath, I muſt go give my Child ſuck, with ſuch like Words. And the Biſhop being (as it were) out of Wind to talk with them any more, ſaid, Go your way, I will talk with you in the Morning: With this they both departed.

And beneath in the Stone-hall of the ſame Houſe, the Chancellor *Dunning* being very buſy about his bloody Buſineſs, eſpied *Moon* and his Wife coming, and muſt needs paſs by the Place where he ſtood, and ſaid; Nay, ſoft, I muſt talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to Day. To whom *Moon*'s Wife anſwered, My Lord hath had us in Examination, and therefore ye ſhall have nought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talk with you alſo. Unto whom *Moon* anſwered, in the Preſence of the greater, the leſs hath no Power: My Lord hath taken Order with us, and therefore we are as his Lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repair again before him To morrow. At which he let them go, although he was earneſtly importuned by the Party above ſpecify'd to have ſhewed his Quality, which was nothing elſe but Tyranny.

Moon's Anſwer to the Biſhop and his Chancellor.

Anno 1556.

Moon and his Wife eſcape from the Biſhop and his Chancellor.

They are confounded in Conſcience for their Denial.

So departed *Moon* and his Wife without Hurt of Body: But afterwards when they with *Peter* the Apoſtle, beheld the Face of Chriſt, they were ſore wounded in their Conſciences, aſhamed of their Doings, and alſo at the Door of Deſparation. Inſomuch that when he came home to his Houſe, and entering into a Parlour alone by himſelf, conſidering his Eſtate, and ſeeing where a Sword of his did hang againſt a Wall, he was earneſtly allured by the Enemy *Satan* to have taken it down, and therewith to have ſlain himſelf: But God who caſteth not away the penitent Sinner, repenting his Fall with a ſincere Heart, defended his unworthy Servant from that Temptation, and hath (I truſt) left him to the Amendment of Life by the Aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the Elect that ſhall be ſaved.

The Morrow they both remained and kept Houſe with no ſmall Grief of Conſcience, waiting and looking with Fear when to be ſent for to the Biſhop, rather than offering their Diligence to keep the Biſhop's Appointment: But God ſo wrought, that when the Time drew near that they feared the Biſhop's Call, the Bells rung for his Departure out of Town, for which they were not only glad, but alſo many a good Heart in *Ipſwich* rejoiced and gave Thanks to God. God for his Mercy grant, that our Sin may never deſerve to provoke God's Anger, leſt the like Days ſhould come again. And if they ſo do, God make them, with all other Weaklings, ſtrong and worthy Soldiers to encounter with the ghoſtly Enemies, the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil; and boldly to ſtand to the Confeſſion of Chriſt, and of his Goſpel, ſaying with the Apoſtles, *Whether it be right in the Sight of God, that we ſhould obey you more than God, judge ye.*

A tragical Story of a cruel Murder committed upon three Women and an Infant, viz. *the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Iſle of* Garnſey, July 18, 1556.

OF all the tragical Hiſtories in this Book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any Thing can come up to the Inhumanity of this Execution upon three Women and one Infant, whoſe Names be theſe following;

Catherine Cawches, the Mother.
Guillemine Gilbert, the Daughter.
Perotine Maſſey, the other Daughter.
An Infant the Son of *Perotine*.

Before I come to the Story itſelf, it will be neceſſary, for the better explaining of it, to relate the Circumſtances, from whence this Cruelty did originally ſpring, which was as followeth.

The 17th Day of *May*, in the Year 1556, in the Iſle of *Garnſey* (which is a Member of *England*) in a Town there called St. *Peter's Port*, was a naughty Woman named *Vincent Goſſet*, who being evil diſpoſed went (the Day aforeſaid) to the Houſe of one *Nicholas le Conronney*,

Anno 1556. ronney, dwelling in the Town of the ſaid St. Peter's Port, about ten of the Clock at Night, and there taking the Key of the Houſe (lying under the Door) entered into a Chamber toward the Street, where ſhe eſpying a Cup of Silver within a Cupboard, took it away, and ſo convey'd herſelf out of the Houſe again. Who immediately after this Fact was done (whether by Counſel or by what Occaſion elſe I know not) brought the Cup to the aboveſaid *Perotine Maſſey*, an honeſt Woman, dwelling in the ſaid Town, deſiring her to lend her Six-pence upon the ſame.

Perotine ſeeing the Cup, and ſuſpecting the ſame to be ſtolen, anſwered, that ſhe would not take it: Yet nevertheleſs, having Knowledge of the Owner thereof, took it to reſtore it again to whom it did belong; and to the End ſhe ſhould not carry it to another, gave her Six-pence then preſently. Where moreover is to be noted, that *Thomas Effart* ſaith and teſtifieth, that Knowledge was given by the ſaid *Perotine* to *Conronney* touching the ſtealing of this Piece, who ſoon upon the Miſliking thereof attached the ſaid *Vincent Goſſet* of the Treſpaſs; who being apprehended and examined upon the ſame, immediately confeſſed the Fact, deſiring to have one ſent with her (which was *Collas de Loutre*) with Sixpence to fetch the Cup again, which he accordingly did.

The next Day following, the King's Officers being informed of the Premiſſes by one *Nicholas Cary*, of the ſaid Town, Conſtable, aſſembled the Juſtices there to enquire and examine further, as well upon the Fact of *Vincent Goſſet*, as upon other Griefs and Things there amiſs. So that after Declaration made by the Officers and Conſtable before the Juſtice, for that the ſaid Conſtable did report to have found a certain Veſſel of Pewter in the Houſe of the aforeſaid *Perotine Maſſey* (who then dwelt with her Mother *Katherine Cawches*, and her Siſter *Guillemine Gilbert*) which Veſſel did bear no Mark, and eſpecially for that there was a Pewter Diſh, whereof the Name was ſcraped out, their Bodies upon the ſame were attached and put in Priſon, and their moveable Goods taken by Inventory. Within a few Days after theſe Things thus done and paſt, theſe three ſilly Women, abiding thus in Durance in the Caſtle, made their Supplication to the Juſtices to have Juſtice miniſtred unto them, *viz.* If they had offended the Law, then to let them have the Law; if not, beſeeching to grant them the Benefit of Subjects, *&c.* which Supplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their Anſwer the fifth Day of *June* in the Year aforeſaid. Upon which Day, after ſtrict examining of the Matter, and the honeſt anſwering of the Cauſe by the ſaid good Women, at laſt they ſubmitted themſelves to the Report of their Neighbours, that they were no Thieves, nor evil diſpoſed Perſons, but lived truly and honeſtly, as became chriſtian Women to do, notwithſtanding the falſe Report of their Accuſers.

So the Cauſe being thus debated, after the Inquiry made by the King's Officers, they were found by the ſaid Neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honeſt Women among them; ſaving only that to the Commandments of holy Church they had not been obedient, *&c.* Upon this Trial and Verdict of their Neighbours, it was in fine adjudged, firſt, that the ſaid *Vincent Goſſet*, being attainted of Felony, and condemned for the ſame, ſhould be whipped, and after her Ear being nailed to the Pillory, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the Iſle without further Puniſhment. And as touching the other three Women, the Mother with her two Daughters, for their not coming to Church, they were returned Priſoners again into the Caſtle the firſt of *July*. And thus far concerning the true Diſcourſe of this Matter, according to the faithful Teſtimony of the *Garnſey* Men, written with their own Hands both in the *French* and *Engliſh* Tongue. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed Matter was pretended againſt theſe Women, and nothing proved, and how by the Atteſtation of their Neighbours they were fully cleared of the Fact, and ſhould by the temporal Court have been diſmiſſed, had not the ſpiritual Clergymen picked Matter of Religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuch Extremity in perſecuting theſe miſerable Priſoners, that in no Caſe they ſhould eſcape their bloody Hands, till at length they had brought them to their End. For after the Time of this Declaration abovementioned made by the Neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other Things, and being then known of their not coming to Church, the Bailiff's Lieutenant and the Juſtice thinking the Matter not to pertain to them, but to the Clergy, forthwith wrote their Letters or Mandate under their Signets to the Dean, whoſe Name was *Jaques Amy*, and Curates of the ſaid Iſle: The Contents whereof here follow.

A Letter ſent from the Bayliffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. *Peter*'s-*Port*, to the Dean and Curates of the Iſle of *Garnſey*.

MAſter Dean and Juſtices in your Court and Juriſdiction, after all amicable Recommendations, pleaſeth you to know that we are informed by the Depoſition of certain honeſt Men, paſs'd before us in manner of an Enquiry; in which Enquiry, Katherine Cawches *and her two Daughters have ſubmitted themſelves in a certain Matter criminal: Wherein we be informed that they have been diſobedient to the Commandments and Ordinances of the Church, in contemning and forſaking the Maſs, and the Ordinances of the ſame, againſt the Will and Commandment of our Sovereign Lord the King and the Queen. Whereof we ſend you the ſaid Matter, foraſmuch as the Matter is ſpiritual, to the End you may proceed therein after your good Diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it pertaineth to your Office, recommending you to God, who give you Grace to do that which pertaineth to Right and Juſtice. Written the firſt Day of the Month of* July, *in the Year of our Lord* 1556.

After theſe Letters and Information thus addreſſed to *Jaques Amy* Dean, and the other Clergy, the ſaid Women were again convented before the Juſtice aforeſaid, with his Aſſiſtants. In the Preſence of whom they being examined of their Faith, concerning the Ordinances of the *Romiſh* Church, made their Anſwer that they would obey and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and the Commandments of the Church, notwithſtanding that they had ſaid and done the contrary

in the Time of King *Edward* the ſixth, in ſhewing Obedience to his Ordinances and Commandments before. After which Anſwer taken, they were returned again to Priſon, until the other had an Anſwer of their Letter from the Dean and his Accomplices. During which Time, the Dean and Curate gave their Information touching the ſaid Women, and delivered the ſame to the Bailiff and Jurates, condemning and reputing them for Hereticks, the Women neither hearing of any Information, neither yet being ever examined at any Time before of their Faith and Religion. Whereupon when the ſaid Bailiff and Jurates underſtood that the ſaid Dean and Curates had not examined the Women of their Faith, they would not ſit in Judgment on that Day, but ordained the Women to come firſt before the Dean and Curates to be examined of their Faith. And ſo the Officers, at the Commandment of the Juſtices, did fetch and preſent them before the ſaid Dean and Curates; which being done, they were examined apart, and then returned to Priſon again.

The 14th Day of the ſaid Month of *July*, in the Year aforeſaid, after the Examination abovementioned before *Elier Goſſelin* Bailiff, in the Preſence of *Thomas Devicke*, *Pierres Martin*, *Nicholas Cary*, *John Blundel*, *Nicholas de Liſle*, *John Laverchaunt*, *John le Fever*, *Pierres Bonamy*, *Nicholas Martine*, *John de la March*, Jurates; Sir *Jaques Amy*, Dean, and the Curates, did deliver before the Juſtice, under the Seal of the Dean, and under the Signs of the Curates, a certain Act and Sentence, the Sum whereof was, that *Katherine Cawches* and her two Daughters were found Hereticks, and ſuch they reputed them, and have delivered them to Juſtice, to do Execution according to the Sentence; the Tenor of which here followeth.

In the Year of our Lord 1556, July 13, *at the Church of St.* Peter's Port, *in the Iſle of* Garnſey, *Inquiry being made by us the Dean and Curates, concerning the Catholick Faith and the Sacraments of the Church*, viz. *of Baptiſm, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Marriage, Euchariſt, and extreme Unction, as alſo about eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, and the Honour and Worſhip of the Virgin* Mary *and the Saints, alſo of the Maſs and its Efficacy; where* Katherine Cawches, *and her two Daughters* Perotine *and* Guillemine, *being called together, and ſeparately, according to Law; and although often deſired and exhorted to confeſs their Faults and ask Pardon, yet they obſtinately deny'd whatever they had formerly ſaid vilely and diſhoneſtly againſt the Catholick Faith, the Sacraments of the Church and other eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, wherefore their Denial, Atteſtation and Depoſition, being heard, and we ſeeing, conſidering and well weighing the Evidence againſt them; as alſo the Opinions of the Curates and Vicars there aſſiſting, have found and do declare the ſaid* Katherine *and* Perotine, *as alſo* Guillemine, *to be guilty of Hereſy, wherefore we command them back from whence they came.*

Thomas le Coll, John Alles, William Panquet, Peter Tardiſe, *and* John Manatiel.

When this was done the King's Officers were commanded to go to the Caſtle to fetch the ſaid Women, to hear the Sentence againſt them in the Preſence aforeſaid. And they appearing before them, ſaid in the Ears of all the Auditory, that they would ſee their Accuſers, and know them that have depoſed againſt them, becauſe they might make Anſwers to their Sayings and Perſonages, and to have their Libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majeſties of the King and Queen, nor of the Church, but entirely would obey, ſerve and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and of the Church, as all good and true Subjects are bound to do. And for any Breach of the King's and Queen's Laws that they had done, they required Juſtice. Notwithſtanding all which their Reaſons and Allegations, the ſaid poor Women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt until they were conſumed to Aſhes: According to a Sentence given by *Elier Goſſelin* Bailiff: Of which Sentence the Subſtance here followeth. Anno 1556.

Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey *, *and* Guillemine Gilbert, *are all condemned and judged this Day to be burned, until they be conſumed to Aſhes in the Place accuſtomed, with the Confiſcation of all their Goods, Moveables and Heritages, to be in the Hands of the King's and Queen's Majeſties, according and after the Effect of a Sentence delivered in Juſtice by Mr. Dean and the Curates, the* 13*th Day of* July 1556, *in which they have been approved Hereticks.* In the Preſence of *Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Bloundel, Nicholas Deviſe, John le Merchant*, &c. Jurates.

* Perotine and Guillemine were the Daughters of Katherine Cawches.

After which Sentence pronounced, the ſaid Women appealed unto the King and Queen, and their honourable Council, ſaying, That againſt Reaſon and Right they were condemned, and for that Cauſe they made their Appeal; notwithſtanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the ſaid Bailiff to the King and Queen's Officers, to ſee the Execution done on them according to the ſaid Sentence.

The Time then being come when theſe Innocents ſhould ſuffer, in the Place, where they ſhould conſummate their Martyrdom were three Stakes ſet up. At the middle Poſt was the Mother, the eldeſt Daughter on the right Hand, the youngeſt on the other. They were firſt ſtrangled, but the Rope brake before they were dead, and ſo the poor Women fell in the Fire. *Perotine*, who was then great with Child, did fall on her Side, where happened a rueful Sight, not only to the Eyes of all that ſtood there, but alſo to the Ears of all true-hearted Chriſtians that ſhall read this Hiſtory. For as the Belly of the Woman burſt aſunder by the Vehemency of the Flame, the Infant, being a fair Man-child, fell into the Fire, and being immediately taken out by one *W. Houſe*, was laid upon the Graſs.

Then was the Child carry'd to the Provoſt, and from him to the Bailiff, who gave Order, that it ſhould be carry'd back again and caſt into the Fire. And ſo the Infant baptized in his own Blood, to fill up the Number of God's innocent Saints, was both born and died a Martyr, leaving behind to the World, which it never ſaw, a Spectacle wherein the whole World may ſee the *Herodian* Cruelty of this graceleſs Generation of Popiſh Tormentors, to their perpetual Shame and Infamy.

Now forſomuch as this Story, perhaps for the horrible Strangeneſs of the Fact, will be hardly believed by ſome, but rather thought

The Martyrdom of Iulius Palmer, Iohn Gwin & Thomas Askin, at Newbury.

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The Burning of Katherine Cawches and her two Daughters in ye Isle of Garnsey

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

Anno 1556. to be forged, or else more amplify'd by me than Truth will bear me out, therefore to discharge my Credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this Story by the faithful Relation both of the *French* and *English*, of them which were there present Witnesses, and Lookers on, but also have hereto annexed the true Supplication of the said Inhabitants of *Garnsey*, and of the Brother of the said two Sisters, complaining to the Queen and her Commissioners, concerning the Horribleness of the Act; which Supplication, for the more Evidence, hereunder followeth.

To the Right Honourable the Queen's most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and determining of Matters of Religion and Causes Ecclesiastical.

This Supplication was put up to Queen *Elizabeth.*

MOST lamentably and wofully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and honourable Lordships, your poor and humble Orator Matthew Cawches, *of the Isle of* Garnsey, *that where* Jaques Amy *Clerk, Dean of the Isle aforesaid, assisted by the Curates there, against all Order, Law, and Reason, by Colour of a Sentence of Heresy, pronounced against* Katherine Cawches, *the Sister of your Honours said Supplicant, and* Perotine *and* Guillemine *her two Daughters, did cause the said* Katherine, *being a poor Widow, and her said two Daughters most cruelly to be burned, although the said Persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any Thing directly against the ecclesiastical Laws then in place, under the Reign of the late Queen* Mary, *but in all Things submitted themselves obediently to the Laws then in Force: And yet the Cruelty of the said Dean and his Accomplices, in perpetrating such Murder aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said Persons did consume with violent Fire, the Womb of the said* Perotine *being burnt, there did issue from her a goodly Manchild, which by the Officers was taken up and handled, and after in a most despiteful Manner thrown into the Fire, and there also with the innocent Mother cruelly burnt: In tender Consideration whereof, and forsomuch as this bloody Murder was not in due Order of any Law, or in any Manner according to Justice, but of mere malicious Hatred, as the true Copy of the whole Proceedings in this Matter, by the said Dean and his Accomplices, here ready to be shewed to your Honours, will make very plain and manifest: May it therefore please your good and gracious Lordships, of the Zeal that you bear to Justice, and for our Lord* Jesus Christ's *Sake, to have due Consideration in Justice of such horrible Murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right Demerit thereof. And that it may please your honourable Lordships to order and decree also, that all the Goods of all the said Parties, by Pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor Beseecher, to whom of Right they do belong. And your Honours said Supplicant will daily pray to God for your long Preservation, to his Glory, and your everlasting Health.*

This Supplication being presented in Manner aforesaid to the Queen's honourable Commissioners, in the Year 1562. such Order therein was taken, that the Matter being returned again down to the said Country, further to be examined, the Dean was committed to Prison, and dispossessed of all his Livings. So that in Conclusion, both he, and all other Partakers of that bloody Murder, whether of Conscience, or for Fear of the Law were driven to acknowledge their Trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queen's Mercy. The Tenor of whose several Submissions, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publish to the World, for a Memorial of the more Truth of this Story.

The Submission of several Garnsey *Men, confessing their Trespass in the Condemnation of the three Women above specify'd.*

These Submissions were made to Queen *Elizabeth.*

ELier Gosseline, of the Parish of St. *Peter le Port* in *Garnsey*, Merchant; *Nicholas Cary* the elder, *John Merchant*, *Peter Bonamy*, of the Parish of St. *Martin*, and *Nicholas Martin*, Son of *John*, having humbly submitted themselves to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, acknowledging their erroneous Judgments, as well against *Katherine Cawches*, and *Guillemine*, and *Perotine* her two Daughters, and the Infant of the said *Perotine*, executed by Fire for supposed Heresy, as also for the acquitting of *Nicholas Norman*, a wilful Murderer, and other Matters contained in their several Submissions; pray the Pardon of the Queen's Majesty for the said Crimes and others committed in their several Submissions.

John Blundel the elder, of the Parish of St. *Saviour*, within the Isle of *Garnsey*, upon like Submission, and acknowledging of his Offence, prayeth like Grace and Pardon for his Consent given to the Execution of the said three Women.

Richard Devicke, of the Parish of St. *Peter le Port*, Merchant, prayeth like Grace and Pardon for his Consent and Judgment given for the acquitting of the said *Norman*, according to his Supplication and Submission late presented by *Peter Bonamy*, the same *Devicke*, and *Peter Pelley*, of the Parish of St. *Peter le Port*, Merchants.

The said *Peter Pelley* prayeth the Benefit of the said Pardon to be extended unto him, according to his Submission in the said Supplication.

Jaques Amy Clerk, prayeth the Benefit of the said Pardon for his Sentence with the Clergy against the said Women, according to his Submission.

Thomas Effart, of the Parish of St. *Peter le Port*, humbly prayeth, as Procurator lawfully constituted by the Chapter, Bailiff and Jurates, that the same Pardon may extend to acquit all the Inhabitants of the said Isle, of the Arrearages, *&c.*

The Copy of the Queen's Pardon to them of *Garnsey.*

THE QUEEN, to all unto whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Be it known unto you, that We of Our special Favour, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have pardoned, remitted, and forgave; and for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents do pardon, remit, and forgive, Elier Gosseline, *of the Parish of St.* Peter's Port, *within our Island of* Garnsey, *Merchant*; John Blundel *the elder, of the Parish of St.* Saviour *in the aforesaid Isle of* Garnsey, *Merchant*; Nicholas

Nicholas Cary *the elder, of the aforeſaid Pariſh of St.* Peter's Port, *within the ſaid Iſle of* Garnſey, *Merchant*; John Merchant *of the ſaid Pariſh and Iſland, Gentleman*: Nicholas Martin, *Son of* John, *of the ſaid Pariſh of St.* Peter's Port *within the aforeſaid Iſland of* Garnſey, *Merchant*; Richard Devicke *of the ſaid Pariſh of St.* Peter's Port, *within the aforeſaid Iſland of* Garnſey, *Merchant*; Peter Pelley *of the ſaid Pariſh of St.* Peter's Port, *in the aforeſaid Iſland of* Garnſey, *Merchant*; *and* James Amy *of the Pariſh of St.* Saviour, *within the ſaid Iſland of* Garnſey, *Clerk*; *and to all of them jointly and ſeparately, whether by any other Name or Names, Sirnames or additional Name or Sirname of Trades, Arts, or Places, the ſame* Elier, Nicholas Cary, John, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter *and* James, *are known, called, or named, or lately was known, called or named, or by any other Name, Sirname, or additional Name, or Sirname of Degree, Trade, Art, or Place, any of the ſaid* Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter *and* James *are known, called, or named, all and all manner of Murder, Man-ſlaughter, Felony, and felonious Killings of* Katherine Cawches, *and* Guillemine *and* Perotine, *Daughters of the ſaid* Katherine, *of every one of theſe, and the Acceſſaries of them, and all and ſingular Felonies, Inſultings, Strikings, Woundings, Burnings, Tranſgreſſions, Offences, Riots, Routs, unlawful Meetings, Aſſemblings, Gatherings together, Plottings, Conſpiracies, acceſſary Helps, Combinings, Procurings, Abettings, Strengthenings and Supportings, Concealments, Forfeits, Contempts, Aſſaultings, Neglects, and whatever other evil Deeds done appertaining to the Murder, Man-ſlaughter, and felonious killing of the aforeſaid* Katherine, Guillemine *and* Perotine, *or any of them, in any Part or Concern by the aforeſaid* Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter *and* James, *or any one or more of them, before this preſent Day, howſoever done, practiſed, committed, or perpetrated, and all and every Flight and Flights whatever by the aforeſaid* Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley *and* James Amy, *or any one or more of them, by Reaſon, or Occaſion of the Murder, Man-ſlaughter, or felonious killing of the aforeſaid, done or practiſed, and that ſo fully and entirely, and in ſo ample a Manner and Form as if every one of the aforeſaid* Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley *and* James Amy *had ſeparately Our Letters Patent of Pardon.*

Alſo We have pardoned, remitted and forgave, and by theſe Preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, James Amy, *and every one of their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, their Neglects, all and all manner of Incroachments, Breakings and Enterings, by all or ſome of them, or by the Proxies, Agents or Miniſters of all or any of them, in all and ſingular our Manors, Lands, Tenements, Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever and whereſoever lying within the aforeſaid Iſland of* Garnſey, *lately Chantries, Guilds, Cloiſters or Colleges of Ours or any one or more of Our Predeceſſors, before the* 17*th of* November *in the firſt Year of Our Reign, done, performed or committed, and all and ſingular Debts, Returns, Accompts, Arrears, Collections, Receivings, Detainings, and Duties of Grain, and other Returns, Outgoings, or Profits whatſoever, to Us or any one of Our Predeceſſors for the ſaid Chantries, Guilds, Cloiſters or Colleges, one or all of them, in whatever manner before the aforeſaid* 17*th Day of* November *in the firſt Year of Our Reign, owing, belonging, or appertaining.* Anno 1556.

We have pardoned, remitted and forgave, and of Our ſpecial Favour, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion to the aforeſaid, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents do pardon, remit and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, *and* Richard Devicke, *and each of them, the Freedom, Flight, Eſcape, and reſtoring to his Liberty* Nicholas Norman, *lately of the Pariſh of St.* Saviour *within the aforeſaid Iſland, Yeoman, of Manſlaughter or Murder lately judged, attainted and convicted, being for the killing or Murder of* John Breghault *of the ſaid Pariſh of St.* Saviour *within the Iſland aforeſaid, Husbandman, but all and all manner of Felonies, Crimes, Offences, Puniſhments, Deaths, Penalties, Forfeits, Contempts, Neglects, Ignorance, and other Faults and Offences whatſoever touching or in any manner concerning the aforeſaid Eſcape, Flight, and ſetting at Liberty of the aforeſaid* Nicholas Norman, *by the aforeſaid* Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, *and* Richard Devicke, *or any one or more of them, before this preſent Day, after what manner ſoever practiſed, done, committed or happened.*

Alſo We have pardoned, remitted, and forgave, and by theſe Preſents, of Our certain Knowledge and mere Motion, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors do pardon, remit, and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley *and* James Amy, *all and all manner of Riots, Routs, unlawful Meetings, and gatherings together to the Diſturbance of Our Peace, by the aforeſaid* Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Marchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley *and* James Amy, *or any one or more of them before this in whatſoever Manner within the aforeſaid Iſland, practiſed, committed, done, or perpetrated,* &c.

Three Martyrs burnt at Greenſtead *in* Suſſex.

NEAR about the ſame Time that theſe three Women with the Infant, were burnt at *Garnſey*, ſuffered other three likewiſe at *Greenſtead* in *Suſſex*, two Men and one Woman; the Names of whom were *Thomas Dungate*, *John Foreman*, and Mother *Tree*, who for Righteouſneſs ſake gave themſelves to Death and Torments of the Fire, patiently abiding what the furious Rage of Man could ſay or work againſt them, at the ſaid Town of *Greenſtead* ending their Lives the 18th of *July*, and in the Year aforeſaid.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Moor *at* Leiceſter, June 26, 1556.

AS the bloody Rage of this Perſecution ſpared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, Wife nor Maid, Lame nor Blind, and ſo thro' all

Anno 1556. all Men and Women, and as there was no Difference either of Age or Sex conſidered, ſo neither was there any Condition or Quality reſpected of any Perſon; but whoſoever he were that held not as they did on the Pope and the Sacrament of the Altar, were he learned or unlearned, wiſe or ſimple innocent, all went to the Fire, as may appear by this ſimple poor Creature and innocent Soul, named *Thomas Moor*, retained as a Servant in a Man's Houſe in the Town of *Leiceſter*, about the Age of 24 Years, and after the Manner of an Husbandman, who for ſpeaking certain Words, that his Maker was in Heaven, and not in the Pix, was thereupon apprehended in the Country, being with his Friends. Who coming before his Ordinary, firſt was asked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be, pointing to the high Altar. Which he deny'd.

How then, ſaid the Biſhop, doſt thou believe?

The young Man anſwered, As my Creed doth teach me.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, And what is yonder that thou ſeeſt above the Altar?

He anſwered, Forſooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to ſee. I ſee there fine Cloaths, with golden Taſſels, and other gay Matters hanging about the Pix, what is within I cannot ſee.

Why, doſt thou not believe, ſaid the Biſhop, Chriſt to be there, Fleſh, Blood and Bone? No, that I do not, ſaid he.

Whereupon the Ordinary making ſhort with him, read the Sentence, and ſo condemned the faithful Servant of Chriſt to Death in St. *Margaret*'s Church in *Leiceſter*; who was burnt, and ſuffered a joyful and glorious Martyrdom for the Teſtimony of Righteouſneſs, in the ſame Town, about the 26th Day of *June* 1556.

To this *Thomas Moore*, we have alſo annexed the Examination and Anſwers of one *John Jackſon*, before Dr. *Cook* one of the Commiſſioners, for that it belongeth much unto the ſame Time.

The Examination of John Jackſon *before Dr.* Cook, March 11. 1556.

FIRST when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me Heretick.

I anſwered and ſaid, I am no Heretick.

Cook. Yes thou art. For Mr. *Read* told me, that thou wert the rankeſt Heretick of all them in the *King's-Bench*.

Jackſon. I know him not.

Cook. No? Yes, he examined thee at the *King's-Bench*.

Jackſon. He examined five others, but not me.

Cook. Then anſwer me: What ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Tell me.

Jackſon. It is a diffuſe Queſtion, to ask me at the firſt Daſh, you promiſing to deliver me.

Cook. What an Heretick is this?

Jackſon. It is eaſier to call a Man Heretick, than to prove him one.

Cook. What Church art thou of?

Jackſon. What Church? I am of the ſame Church that is built on the Foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf being the head Corner-ſtone.

Cook. Thou art an Heretick.

Jackſon. How can that be, ſeeing that I am of that Church? I am ſure that you will not ſay that the Prophets and Apoſtles were Hereticks.

Cook. No. But what ſayſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar again? Tell me.

Jackſon. I find it not written.

Cook. No? Keeper away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I ſaid, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the Word of God.

Dr. *Cook* anſwered and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the Word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Jackſon. Yea that I do.

Cook. Whereby?

Jackſon. Hereby, ſaid I. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; *Search the Scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal Life. For they be they that teſtify of me.*

Cook. This is a wiſe Proof.

Jackſon. Is it ſo? What ſay you then to theſe Words that the Prophet *David* ſaid? *Whatſoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will ſhew him the Way that he hath choſen: His Soul ſhall dwell at Eaſe, and his Seed ſhall poſſeſs the Land. The Secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he ſheweth them his Covenant.*

Cook. Well, you ſhall be rid ſhortly one Way or other.

Jackſon. My Life lieth not in Man's Hands; therefore no Man ſhall do more unto me than God will ſuffer him.

Cook. No? Thou art a ſtubborn and naughty Fellow.

Jackſon. You cannot ſo judge of me, except you did ſee ſome Evil by me.

Cook. No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy Fellows judge us, and call us Papiſts.

Jackſon. Why, that is no Judgment: But Chriſt ſaith, *If you refuſe me, and receive not my Word, you have one that judged you. The Word that I have ſpoken unto you now, ſhall judge you in the laſt Day.*

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the Head of the Congregation?

Jackſon. Chriſt is the Head.

Cook. But who is Head in Earth.

Jackſon. Chriſt hath Members here in Earth.

Cook. Who are they?

Jackſon. They that are ruled by the Word of God.

Cook. You are a good Fellow.

Jackſon. I am that I am.

Then Dr. *Cook* ſaid to my Keeper, Have him to Priſon again.

I am contented with that, ſaid I, and ſo we departed.

I anſwer no further in this Matter, becauſe I thought he ſhould not have my Blood in a Corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the Time ſhall come, before the Congregation I ſhall ſhake their Building after another manner of Faſhion. For they build but upon the Sand, and their Walls be daubed with untempered Mortar, and therefore they cannot ſtand long.

Therefore (good Brothers and Siſters) be of good Cheer: For I truſt in my God, I and my other Priſon-fellows ſhall go joyfully before you, praiſing God moſt heartily, that we are

counted worthy to be Witneſſes of his Truth. I pray you accept my ſimple Anſwer at this Time, committing you unto God.

Of this *John Jackſon*, beſides theſe his foreſaid Anſwers and Examination before Dr. *Cook* one of the Commiſſioners, no more came to our Hands.

The Martyrdom of Joan Waſte, *a blind Woman, in* Derby.

THE firſt Day of *Auguſt*, ſuffered likewiſe at the Town of *Derby*, a poor honeſt Woman, being blind from her Birth, and unmarried, about the Age of 22, named *Joan Waſte*, of the Pariſh of *Alhallows*. Of them that ſate upon this innocent Woman's Blood, the chiefeſt was *Ralph Baine* Biſhop of the Dioceſs, Dr. *Draicot* his Chancellor, Sir *John Port*, Knight, *Henry Vernon*, Eſquire, *Peter Finch* Official of *Derby*, with the Aſſiſtance alſo of divers others, *Richard Ward* and *William Bembridge* the ſame Time being Bailiffs of the Town of *Derby*, &c.

Firſt, After the abovenamed Biſhop and Dr. *Draicot* had cauſed the ſaid *Joan Waſte* to be apprehended in the Town of *Derby*, ſuſpecting her to be guilty of certain Hereſies, ſhe was divers Times privily examined, as well in Priſon as out of Priſon, by *Peter Finch* the Official: After that brought to publick Examination before the Biſhop; at laſt, was there burnt in *Derby*, as is aboveſaid. Concerning whoſe Life, bringing up, and Converſation, ſomewhat more amply we mind to diſcourſe, as by faithful Relation hath come to my Hands.

Firſt, This *Joan Waſte* was the Daughter of *William Waſte*, an honeſt poor Man, a Barber, who ſometimes alſo uſed to make Ropes. His Wife had the ſame *Joan* and one other at one Birth, and ſhe was born blind. And when ſhe was about twelve or fourteen Years old, ſhe learned to knit Hoſe and Sleeves, and other Things, which in Time ſhe could do very well. Furthermore, as Time ſerved, ſhe would help her Father to turn Ropes, and do ſuch other Things as ſhe was able, and in no Caſe would be idle. Thus ſhe continued with her Father and Mother during their Lives. After whoſe Deceaſe ſhe lived with her Brother *Roger Waſte*, and in the Time of King *Edward* the ſixth of bleſſed Memory, gave herſelf daily to hear divine Service read in the vulgar Tongue. And thus by hearing Homilies and Sermons, ſhe became marvellouſly well affected to the Religion then taught. So at length having ſaved ſo much Money as would buy her a New Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one to be provided for her. And altho' ſhe was of herſelf unlearned, and by reaſon of her Blindneſs unable to read, yet for the great Deſire ſhe had to underſtand, and have imprinted in her Memory the Sayings of the old Scriptures contained in the *New Teſtament*, ſhe acquainted herſelf chiefly with *John Hurt*, then Priſoner in the common Hall of *Derby* for Debts.

The earneſt Deſire of Joan Waſte to learn the Scriptures.

The ſame *John Hurt* being a grave ſober Man, of the Age of threeſcore and ten Years, by her earneſt Intreaty, and being a Priſoner, and many Times idle and without Company, did for his Exerciſe daily read unto her ſome one Chapter of the New Teſtament. And if at any Time he were otherwiſe occupied or hindered through Sickneſs, ſhe would repair unto *John Pemerton* Clerk of the Pariſh Church of *All-Saints* in the ſame Town of *Derby*, or to ſome other Perſon which could read, and ſometimes ſhe would give a Penny or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch Perſons as would not freely read unto her, appointing unto them how many Chapters of the New Teſtament they ſhould read, or how often they ſhould repeat one Chapter upon a Price. Anno 1556.

Moreover in the ſaid *Joan Waſte* this was notorious, that ſhe being utterly blind, could notwithſtanding, without a Guide, go to any Church within the ſaid Town of *Derby*, or to any other Place or Perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch Exerciſe. By which Exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not only to recite many Chapters of the New Teſtament, but alſo could aptly diſprove, by divers Places of Scriptures, as well Sin, as ſuch Abuſes in Religion, as then were too much in uſe in divers and ſundry Perſons.

As this godly Woman thus daily increaſed in the Knowledge of God's Holy Word, and no leſs in her Life expreſſed the virtuous Fruits and Exerciſe of the ſame: Not long after, through the fatal Death of bleſſed King *Edward*, followed the woful Ruin of Religion in the Reign of Queen *Mary* his Siſter. In which Alteration notwithſtanding the general Backſliding of the greateſt Part and Multitude of the whole Realm into Popery again, yet this poor blind Woman, continuing in a conſtant Conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former Exerciſe, being both zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in Religion with thoſe, which taught contrary Doctrine to that ſhe had before learned in King *Edward*'s Time.

For which ſhe was called and convented before the aforeſaid Biſhop and Dr. *Draicot*, with divers others called in to bear witneſs.

The Articles miniſtred unto her, and wherewith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe did hold the Sacrament of the Altar to be but only a Memory or Repreſentation of Chriſt's Body, material Bread and Wine, but not his natural Body, unleſs it were received. And that it ought not to be reſerved from Time to Time over the Altar, but immediately to be received, *&c.*

Item, That ſhe did hold, in receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe did not receive the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs for our Redemption, *&c.*

Item, She did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper did not bleſs the Bread that he had then in his Hands, but was bleſſed himſelf, and by the Virtue of the Words of Conſecration, the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine is not converted and turned into the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Item, That ſhe did grant that ſhe was of the Pariſh of *Allhallows* in *Derby*, &c.

Item, That all and ſingular the Premiſſes are true and notorious by publick Report and Fame, *&c.*

Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe believed therein ſo much as the Holy Scripture taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached unto her by divers learned Men.

Whereof

Anno 1556. Whereof ſome ſuffered Impriſonment, and others ſuffered Death for the ſame Doctrine: Among whom ſhe named, beſides others, Dr. *Taylor*, who, ſhe ſaid, took it of his Conſcience, that the Doctrine which he taught was true, and asked of them, if they would do ſo in like Caſe for their Doctrine: Which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for God's Sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned Woman, with any further Talk, ſaying, that by God's Aſſiſtance, ſhe was ready to yield up her Life in that Faith, in ſuch Sort as they ſhould appoint.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſt by the ſaid Biſhop and Dr. *Draicot*, with many Arguments of Chriſt's Omnipotency, as, Why was not Chriſt able as well to make the Bread his Body, as to turn Water into Wine, raiſe *Lazarus* from the Dead? and ſuch other like Arguments; and many Times being threatned with grievous Impriſonments, Torments, and Death. The poor Woman thus being as it were half aſtoniſhed through their Errors and Threats, and probably deſirous to prolong her Life, offered to the Biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that Company, take it upon his Conſcience, that the Doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the Sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful Day of Judgment anſwer for her therein (as the ſaid Dr. *Taylor* in divers of his Sermons did offer) ſhe would then further anſwer them.

Well argued. Becauſe Chriſt is Omnipotent, *Ergo*, there is no Bread in the Sacrament.

Whereunto the Biſhop anſwered, he would. But Dr. *Draicot* his Chancellor hearing that, ſaid, My Lord, you know not what you do, you may in no Caſe anſwer for an Heretick. And he immediately asked the poor Woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould anſwer for herſelf. Unto whoſe Sayings the Biſhop alſo conform'd himſelf.

The poor Woman perceiving this, anſwered again, that if they refuſed to take of their Conſcience that it was true they would have her to believe, ſhe would anſwer no farther, but deſired them to do their Pleaſure; and ſo after certain Circumſtances, they pronounced Sentence againſt her, and deliver'd her to the Bailiffs of the ſaid Town of *Derby* aforenamed; who after they had kept her about a Month or five Weeks, there came unto them a Writ *De Heretico Comburendo*; by Virtue whereof they were appointed by the ſaid Biſhop to bring her to the Pariſh Church of *All-Saints* at a Day appointed, where Dr. *Draicot* was to make a Sermon.

When the Time was come that this innocent Martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt came to the Church Dr. *Draicot*, accompany'd with divers Gentlemen, as Mr. *Thomas Powthread*, Mr. *Henry Vernon*, Mr. *Dethick* of *Newal*, and divers others. This done, and all Things now in a Readineſs, at laſt the poor blind Creature and Servant of God, was brought and ſet before the Pulpit, where the ſaid Doctor being entered into his Sermon, and there inveighing againſt many Matters, which he called Hereſies, declared unto the People that that Woman was condemned for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, and was thereby cut off from the Body of the Catholick Church; and ſaid, that ſhe was not only blind of her bodily Eyes, but alſo blind in the Eyes of her Soul. And he ſaid, As her Body ſhould be preſently conſumed with material Fire, ſo her Soul ſhould be burned in Hell with everlaſting Fire, as ſoon as it ſhall be ſeparated from the Body, and there remain World without End; and ſaid it was not lawful for the People to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible Threats he made an End of his Sermon, and commanded the Bailiffs and thoſe Gentlemen to ſee her executed. Then this bleſſed Servant of God was carry'd away from the Church, to a Place called the *Windmil Pit*, near to the ſaid Town; and holding *Roger Waſte* her Brother by the Hand ſhe prepared herſelf, and deſired the People to pray with her, and ſaid ſuch Prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried upon Chriſt to have Mercy upon her, as long as Life ſerved. In this mean Seaſon the ſaid Dr. *Draicot* went to his Inn, for great Sorrow of her Death, and there laid him down and ſlept, during all the Time of her Execution. And thus much of *Joan Waſte*.

The Martyrdom of *Joan Waſte*.

Of Edward Sharp, John Hart, Thomas Ravenſdale, *a* Shoemaker, *a* Currier, *a* Carpenter, John Horn, *and a Woman.*

ON the 8th Day of *September* a certain aged, devout Perſon, born in *Wiltſhire*, named *Edward Sharp*, of the Age of forty Years, or thereabouts, was condemned at *Briſtol* to the like Martyrdom, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the juſt Quarrel of Chriſt's Goſpel, for miſliking and renouncing the Ordinances of the *Romiſh* Church, was tried as pure Gold, and made a lively Sacrifice in the Fire: In whoſe Death, as in the Death of all his other Saints, the Lord be glorify'd and thanked for his great Grace of Conſtancy; to whom be Praiſe for ever, *Amen*.

On the 24th of the ſame Month, 1556, *John Hart*, *Thomas Ravenſdale*, a *Shoemaker*, and a *Currier*, ſuffered at *Mayfield* in *Suſſex*: Who being at the Place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their Prayers, and were at the Stake ready to undergo the Force of the Fire, they conſtantly and joyfully yielded their Lives for the Teſtimony of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom be Praiſe for ever and ever, *Amen*.

The Day following, which was the 25th of the ſaid Month, a young Man, by Trade a *Carpenter* (whoſe Name we have not) was put to Death for the like Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, at *Briſtol*, where he yielded himſelf to the Torments of the Fire, gave up his Life into the Hands of the Lord, with ſuch joyful Conſtancy and Triumph, as all the Church of Chriſt have juſt Cauſe to praiſe God for him.

On the 27th of the ſame Month of *September*, *John Horn* and a Woman ſuffered Death by Fire at *Wotton-under-edge* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and died very glorioufly in a conſtant Faith to the Terror of the Wicked, and Comfort of the Godly. So glorioufly did the Lord work in them, that Death unto them was Life, and Life with a blotted Conſcience was Death.

The unmerciful Handling of William Dangerfield *and* Joan *his Wife, being in Child-Bed, taken out of her House, with her ſucking Infant of fourteen Days old, and laid in the common Gaol among Thieves and Murderers.*

WHEN I had written and finiſhed the Story of the three *Garnſey* Women, with the young Infant there burned with them, and alſo had paſſed the Burning of the poor blind Woman *Joan Waſte* at *Derby*, I well hoped I ſhould have found no more ſuch Stories of unmerciful Cruelty ſhewed upon innocent Women with their Children and young Infants: But now coming to the Perſecution in *Glouceſterſhire* about the Parts of *Briſtol*, I find another Story of ſuch Unmercifulneſs ſhewed againſt a Woman in Childbed, as far from all Charity and Humanity, as any other Story that hath hitherto been rehearſed, as by the Sequel hereof may appear.

In the Pariſh of *Wotton-under-edge*, not far from *Briſtol*, dwelt *William Dangerfield*, an honeſt poor Man, who by his Wife *Joan* had nine Children, and ſhe now lying in Child-Bed of the Tenth. This *William* after he had been Abroad from his Houſe a certain Space for fear of Perſecution, hearing that his Wife was brought to Bed, repaired Home to viſit her, as natural Duty required, and to ſee his Children, ſhe being delivered four Days before.

William Dangerfield apprehended in his own Houſe.

The Return of this Man was no ſooner known to ſome of his unkind Neighbours, but they immediately beſet the Houſe, and apprehended him, and carried him to Priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the Biſhop, Dr. *Brooks*; in whoſe cruel Handling he remained ſo long, till his Legs were almoſt fretted off with Irons.

Joan his Wife taken with her young Infant out of Child-Bed and committed to Priſon.

After the Apprehenſion of the Husband, the Wife likewiſe was taken, with her young-born Child, being but fourteen Days old, out of her Childbed, and carried into the common Gaol, and there confined among Thieves and Murderers; where ſhe and her innocent Babe found ſo little Charity, that ſhe could never come to any Fire, but was driven to warm the Cloaths ſhe was to put about the Child in her Boſom.

In the mean Seaſon while the Husband and Wife lay thus incloſed in ſeveral Priſons, the Biſhop began to practiſe not with the Woman firſt, as the Serpent did with *Eve*, but with the Man, craftily deceiving his Simplicity with fair gloſſing Words, falſly perſuading him that his Wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he ſhould ſtand in his own Conceit, than ſhe, being as well learned as he; and ſo ſubtily drew out a Form of Recantation, wherewith he deceived the ſimple Soul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered him to go to his Wife, where ſhe lay in the common Gaol.

Then they with melting Hearts opening their Minds one to another, when he ſaw his Wife not releaſed, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole Matter, how falſly he was circumvented by the ſubtle Flatterings of the Biſhop, telling him that ſhe had certainly recanted: And thus deceiving me (ſaid he) brought this unto me, and ſo plucked out of his Boſom the Copy of the Recantation, whereunto he had granted his Promiſe. At the Sight whereof the Wife hearing what her Husband had done, her Heart clave aſunder, ſaying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath *Satan* ſo prevailed, to cauſe you to break your firſt Vow made to Chriſt in Baptiſm? And ſo departed the ſaid *William* and *Joan* his Wife, with what Hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he greatly to bewail his Promiſe made to the Biſhop, and to make his Prayer to Almighty God, deſiring him that he might not live ſo long as to call Evil Good, and Good Evil; or Light Darkneſs, or Darkneſs Light; and ſo he departed toward his Houſe: Where by the Way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his Death, and ſhortly after departed, according to his Prayer, after he had been in Priſon twelve Weeks. Anno 1556.

The Prayer of *Dangerfield* to God.

The Death of the Huſband.

After this, *Joan* his Wife continued ſtill in Priſon with her tender Infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before that Biſhop to be examined. Whereunto, what her Anſwers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit moſt like it is whatſoever they were, they pleaſed not the Biſhop, as appeared by his Anger increaſed againſt the poor Woman, and her long Continuance in the Priſon, together with her tender Babe, which alſo remained with her in the Gaol, Partaker of her Martyrdom, ſo long as her Milk would ſerve to give it ſuck; till at length the Child, being ſtarved for Cold and Famine, was ſent away when it was paſt all Remedy, and ſo ſhortly after died: And not long after the Mother alſo followed. Beſides, the old Woman, which was Mother of the Husband, of the Age of eighty Years and upwards, who being left in the Houſe after their Apprehenſion, for lack of Comfort there periſhed alſo.

The young Infant famiſhed in Priſon.

The Martyrdom of the Mother.

The Death of the old Woman.

And thus have ye in one Story the Death of four together; firſt of the old Woman, then of the Husband, after that of the innocent Child, and laſtly of the Mother. What became of the other nine Children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly underſtand that they were all undone by the ſame.

This Story is reported and teſtify'd as well by others, as namely by Mrs. *Bridges* dwelling in the ſame Town, and Partaker then of the like Afflictions, and hardly eſcaped her Life.

In the Month of *October* following, was burnt at the Town of *Northampton*, a Shoemaker, a true Witneſs and Diſciple of the Lord, who according to the Grace of God given unto him, cleaving faſt to the ſound Doctrine and preaching of God's Word, renounced the Religion of the *Romiſh* See, wherein many a good Man hath been drowned.

After whom, not long after in the ſame Month of *October*, died alſo in the Caſtle of *Chicheſter* three godly Confeſſors, being there in Bonds for the like Cauſe of Chriſt's Goſpel, who alſo ſhould have ſuffered the like Martyrdom, had not their natural Death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruel handling of the Papiſts, made them away before, and afterwards buried them in the Fields.

Anno 1556. I read moreover, that in this preſent Year, to wit, 1556, one named *Hooke*, a true Witneſs of the Lord's Truth was burnt at *Cheſter*.

Five Perſons famiſhed in Canterbury Caſtle, *by the unmerciful Tyranny of the Papiſts, about the Beginning of* November.

AS among all the Biſhops, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, principally excelled in perſecuting the poor Members of Chriſt; ſo of all Archdeacons, *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, was of leaſt Compaſſion (only *Dunning* of *Norwich* excepted) by whoſe unmerciful and ſurly Diſpoſition very many were put to death in that Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, not only in the Time of Queen *Mary*, but ſome alſo in the beginning of the Reign of our renowned and moſt gracious Queen *Elizabeth*, as by the Grace of Chriſt hereafter ſhall appear.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* in the Time of Queen *Mary*, ſome be recited already, with the Order and Form of ſuch Articles as then were moſt commonly adminiſtred to the Examinates by *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, and the ſaid *Nicholas Harpsfield*, and others, as before-mentioned.

Now to proceed in Order and Courſe of Time where we left, next followeth the Month of *November*.

In the Beginning whereof fifteen innocent Martyrs, were together in the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, of which Number not one eſcaped with Life, but either were burnt, or elſe famiſhed in Priſon: Of which two Sorts, which is the eaſier Death, God knoweth, is hard to judge. Notwithſtanding, the Truth is, that of theſe fifteen, ten ſuffered in the Fire, of whom in the next Book more (God willing) ſhall be ſaid: The other five pined, and were moſt cruelly famiſhed in the cloſe Priſon, of whom we ſhall now treat. The Names of whom were theſe.

1. *John Clark*
2. *Dunſton Chittenden.*

} Theſe were yet uncondemned.

3. *William Foſter* of *Stone.*
4. *Alice Potkins.*
5. *John Archer* of *Cambroke*, Weaver.

} Theſe three were condemned to be burnt.

Of theſe five Priſoners, the firſt two were uncondemned, the other three were condemned, and ſhould have been burned, but ſuffered no leſs Torments than if they had abode the Fire, being pined to death by Famine. What their Articles and Anſwers were I need not here recite, ſeeing all they in the Time of Queen *Mary* commonly ſuffered for one manner of Cauſe, that is, for holding againſt the ſeven Sacraments, againſt the Reality of Chriſt being in his Supper, for ſpeaking againſt the Church of *Rome*, and Determinations of the ſame, againſt Images ſet up and worſhipped in the Church, for not coming to Church, &c.

Firſt, *William Foſter* anſwering to theſe and like Articles, ſaid, That he believed well in all the Articles of the Creed; but to believe that there be more Sacraments than two, and to pray to Saints either to profit us, or to pray for Souls in Purgatory to profit them, that Faith and Works do juſtify, or to allow the Popiſh Ceremonies in the Church, that he denied. Moreover he ſaid, to carry Candles upon *Candlemas-day*, were as good for him as to carry a Dung-fork; and that it is as neceſſary to carry the Gallows about, if his Father were hanged, as the Croſs. To come to the Church he could not, he ſaid, with a ſafe Conſcience. Concerning Fiſh-days and Fleſh-days, he granted it good to put Difference therein, except where Neceſſity required the contrary.

This *William Foſter* was a labouring Man, of the Age of forty Years. He was apprehended and impriſoned by Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Knight.

Alice Potkins for the like Confeſſion, was condemned to be burnt, for that ſhe was not, neither would be confeſſed to the Prieſt, for that ſhe received not the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to Saints, nor creep to the Croſs, &c. Being demanded of her Age, ſhe ſaid that ſhe was forty-nine Years old, according to her old Age; and according to her young Age, ſince ſhe learned *Chriſt*, ſhe was of one Years Age, and was committed to Priſon by Mr. *Roberts*.

The Anſwer and Confeſſion of *John Archer* of *Cambroke* was much in like ſort. And altho' ſome of theſe upon ignorant Simplicity ſwerved a little in the Number of Sacraments, ſome granting one Sacrament, that is, the Body of Chriſt hanging upon the Croſs, ſome more, ſome leſs, &c. yet in the principal Matter concerning the Doctrine of Salvation for Faith to ſtay upon, and in diſagreeing from the dreaming Determinations of the popiſh Church, they moſt agreed. Concerning the not praying to Saints, and for the Dead in Purgatory, for not creeping to the Croſs, for Faith only to juſtify, for taking of an Oath, and other ſuch like, he granted as the other had done. This Father *Archer*, by his Occupation a Weaver, of the Town of *Cambroke*, of the Age of fifty Years, was impriſoned by Sir *John Gilford*, Knight.

And thus have ye the Cauſe and Impriſonment of theſe five Priſoners.

The Perſecution of divers good People in the Dioceſs of Litchfield.

THESE aforeſaid Months of *September*, *November*, and *December*, as they were troubleſome to many other Places, and eſpecially to the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, by reaſon of the Archdeacon above-named; ſo likewiſe they brought no little Buſineſs in the Country to *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, by a cruel Biſhop there, named *Ralph Baine*, and a more cruel Chancellor called Dr. *Draicot*, through the fierce Inquiſition of whom great Stir was there among the People, being called to Examination of their Faith, and many cauſed to bear Faggots. Who, although they were not put to the Torment of Death, yet becauſe it may appear what a Number there is in the Countries of *England* abroad, who in their Hearts have a Miſliking of the Pope's *Romiſh* Laws and Religion, if for Fear they durſt utter their Minds, I thought to make a Rehearſal of their Names, which in the aforeſaid Dioceſs of *Co-*

ventry and *Litchfield* were taken in Suſpicion, and examined for their Religion.

The Names of them that did Penance in the Dioceſe of *Litchfield* and *Coventry.*

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoin'd to the popiſh Penance, that is, to bear a Faggot, Candle, and Beads about in Proceſſion, were *Agnes Foreman*, detected, examined, and by Witneſs convicted, and bare a Faggot the 12th of *September*. Likewiſe *Margery Kirry*, *Thomas Norris*, *Thomas Stiffe*, *William Kaime*, *Robert Katrenes*, *Tho. Smith*, *John Borſley* the younger. *Item*, *John Waterhouſe*, againſt whom came in Witneſs and Accuſers *Richard Caterbanke*, *J. Edge*, *William Smith*, *Robert Cooke*, laying againſt him for ſeldom coming to Church, for giving no Reverence at the Elevation of the Sacrament, but looking upon his Book, for not kiſſing the Pix, *&c.* *Robert Biſſel*, *Leonard Weſt*, *Richard Baily* of the Pariſh of *Whitacre*.

Theſe were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doctor; *Richard Jurdean*, Prieſt; *Edmund Crokel*, Prieſt; *Thomas Whitehead*, Prieſt; *William Taylor*, Prieſt; *Anſelme Sele*, Prieſt; *Richard Slavy*, Prieſt, married; *Edward Hawkes*, Prieſt, married; *Robert Aſton*, Prieſt, deprived; *Henry Tecka*, Prieſt, deprived; *Robert Moſſey*, Prieſt, married and deprived.

The Names of thoſe that were troubled, but did no Penance.

There were divers others beſides theſe, who in like Manner were detected, accuſed and examined, although they bare no Faggot, but were diſmiſſed; as *Richard Kempe*, *John Franklin*, *William Marler*, *Julius Dudley*, *Euſtache Byſacre*, *William Shene*, *Anthony Afterwhittle*, *Thomas Steilbe*, *Henry Birdlim*, *William Moſeley*, *John Leach*, *John Richardſon*, *Anthony Jones* alias *Pulton*, *Thomas Wilſon*, *Thomas Lynacres* and *Hugh Lynacres* his Son, *Iſabel Parker*, *Martin Newman*, *William Enderby*, *Cicely Preſton*, *Tho. Salter*, *John Stamford*, Shoemaker, *Richard Woodburne*, *Thomas Arnal* Shoemaker, *John Robinſon*, *Hugh Moore* Shoemaker, *John Adale*, *Thomas Arch*, *Frances Ward*, *John Avines*, *Richard Foxal*, *Thomas Underdonne*, *Richard Weaver*.

Theſe forenamed Perſons, with many more following in the next Year after, altho' they did ſubſcribe and relent through Fear of Death; yet for this Cauſe I do here recite them, that by them it might appear what a Number there were, not only in the Country of *Litchfield*, but alſo in other Parts, in Heart ſet againſt the Pope's Proceedings, if that Fear rather than Conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The Concluſion of the ſecond Book, containing a Brief Declaration of Sir *John Cheeke*'s Recantation.

Thus have ye the whole Perſecution of this Year declared, with the Names of all them which ſuffered Martyrdom within the Compaſs of the Year 1556: The Number of all which, ſlain and martyred in divers Places of *England* at ſundry Times this Year, came to above 84 Perſons, whereof many were Women, Wives, Widows, and Maidens; beſides thoſe who by ſecret Practices were otherwiſe made away, or driven from their Goods, out of their Houſes, or out of the Realm, or elſe within the Realm were put to Penance and conſtrained by forcible Violence to recant, ſave only that I have omitted the Story of Sir *John Cheeke*, Knight, and Schoolmaſter ſome Time to King *Edward*. The Worthineſs of which Man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his Fall ſhould rather be covered in Silence and Oblivion. It ſhall ſuffice only to note a Word or two of a few Things appertaining to the preſent Story. Anno 1556.

Sir *John Cheeke* being in the Country of *Germany*, out of all Danger of Perſecution, with many more of his own Countrymen and Acquaintance, was not only in Safety, but alſo with Reputation accordingly eſteemed among the *Germans*, and alſo well placed in the City of *Strasbourg*. Where if he had contented himſelf to have remained, rather giving Place to Time, than to preſume upon Adventures, peradventure it had been better for him. But what fatal Inſtigation wrought in his Mind I know not. In the End ſo it fell, that he would needs take his Journey with Sir *Peter Carew*, from *High Germany* to *Bruſſels*; having, as it is ſaid, King *Philip*'s ſafe Conduct to paſs and repaſs, and that by the Means, as I find, of the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *John Maſ.* pledging for his Safeguard, King *Philip*'s Fidelity, he came to *Bruſſels* to ſee the Queen's Ambaſſadors: And having brought the Lord *Paget* on his Way toward *England*, in the Return between *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp*, he was taken with Sir *Peter Carew* by the Provoſt Marſhal, ſpoiled of their Horſes, and clapped into a Cart, their Legs, Arms, and Bodies tied with Halters to the Body of the Cart, and ſo ſhipped, being blindfold under the Hatches, and ſo brought to the Tower of *London*.

Thus the good Man being intrapped, and in the Hands now of his Enemies, had but one of theſe two Ways to take, either to change his Religion, or to change his Life, other Remedy with thoſe holy Catholicks there was none. Neither could his Conſcience excuſe him, nor Truth defend him, nor his Learning help him.

However Mr. *Fecknam*, whether ſuborned by the Queen, or upon his own Devotion and Friendſhip toward his old Acquaintance, took upon him the Defence and Commendation of Sir *John Cheeke*, ſpeaking in his Behalf: Yet no Mercy could be had with the Queen, but he muſt needs recant, and ſo he did.

Then after this Recantation, he was thro' the crafty handling of the Papiſts, allured firſt to dine and accompany with them, at length drawn unawares to ſit in place, where the poor Martyrs were brought before *Bonner* and other Biſhops to be condemned; the Remorſe whereof ſo mightily wrought in his Heart, that not long after he left this mortal Life. Whoſe Fall, although it was full of Infirmity, yet his riſing again by Repentance was great, and his End comfortable, the Lord be praiſed.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

AN

A N

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SUFFERINGS and DEATH

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

In the REIGN of

Queen *MARY* the Firſt.

BOOK III.

The Order and Manner of Cardinal Poole's *Viſitation in* Cambridge, *with the condemning, taking up, and burning the Bones and Books of* Martin Bucer *and* Paulus Phagius, January 9, 1557.

Anno 1557.

CArdinal *Poole*, three Years after his Return into *England*, having ſomewhat withdrawn his Mind from other Affairs of the Realm, and having in all Points eſtabliſhed the *Romiſh* Religion, began to have an Eye to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which Place among others, eſpecially ſeemed to have need of Reformation out of Hand. To perform this Charge were choſen *Cuthbert Scot*, not long before conſecrated Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Nicholas Ormanet* an *Italian*, Arch-prieſt of the People of *Eodolon*, in the Dioceſs of *Vernon*, profeſſed in both the Laws, and bearing the Name of the Pope's *Datary*, *Thomas Watſon* elected Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Chriſtopherſon* elected Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Henry Cole* Provoſt of the College of *Eaton*. There was good Cauſe why the Mattter was eſpecially committed to theſe Perſons: For as touching *Ormanet*, it is well known that he was a Man of much Eſtimation with *Julius* the third, and at that Time Biſhop of *Rome*, and was appointed to come into *England* with Cardinal *Poole*, becauſe without his Knowledge (as in whom he put his chief Truſt and Confidence) the Biſhop would have nothing done that was of any Importance or Weight.

Theſe Perſons thus appointed (in the mean while as the Viſitors were addreſſing themſelves to their Journey) ſent their Letters with the Cardinal's Citation before to Dr. *Andrew Perne* then Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*, with the other Commiſſioners aſſociate, commanding him to warn all the Graduates of the Univerſity, in their Name, to be in Readineſs againſt the 11th Day of *January*, betwixt eight and ten of the Clock, in the Church of St. *Mary* the Virgin: Willing him eſpecially to be there himſelf in Preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the Reſidue, to whoſe Charge it belonged, that they ſhould ſearch out all Statutes, Books, Privileges, and Monuments appertaining to the Univerſity, or to any of the Colleges, or finally to any of themſelves, and theſe to preſent the ſame before them at the Day appointed, and every Man to appear there perſonally; for they would not fail being there at the ſame Time, to lay before them ſuch Things as ſhould ſeem neceſſary to

this Charge of reforming the University, and further to give Charge of all such Things as should seem most for the Profit and Behoof of the same, together with such Things as were to be done on their Part, according as should seem most agreeable to the Decrees of the canon Law.

This Citation of the Cardinal, being brought to *Cambridge* by Mr. *Bullock*, was first exhibited in the Convocation-house of Regents, and there openly read by the Orator of the University the 11th of *December*.

Preparation in *Cambridge* toward the Visitation.

After this, upon the 24th of *December*, which was *Christmas-Eve*, the Vice-chancellor with the Heads of the Houses, meeting together in the Schools, it was there concluded, that the Visitors Charges should be born by the University and Colleges (which then cost the University an hundred Pounds) and also that no Master of any College should suffer any of the Fellows, Scholars, or Ministers, to go forth of the Town, but to return before the Visitation.

On *Friday* the 8th of *January*, the Queen's Commissioners, namely, Dr. *Perne* Vice-chancellor, Dr. *Sedgwick*, Dr. *Harvy*, Mr. *Frank*, *Kust*, and another who is here nameless, and also Sir *James Dyer* the Recorder, Mr. *Chapman Evered*, sitting together in the Hall, some were there called by the Appointment of *L. Hawes*, and Charge given what should be done. And first the Commission was read. Then were all the High-constables called to bring in their Precepts, and sworn. Also two of every Parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to enquire of Heresy, Lollardy, Conspiracy, seditious Words, Tales, and Rumours against the King and Queen. *Item*, For heretical and seditious Books, for Negligences and Misdemeanours in the Church, for Observation of Ceremonies, for Ornaments, and Stock of the Church.

The Cause why the Reformation was taken in Hand.

We said at the first, that the Cardinal thought the University to have need of Reformation. The Reason why he should think so was this; either because the same of long Continuance had cast off the Bishop of *Rome*, and cleaved to the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel; or else by reason that both for the late Schism, not yet worn out of Memory, and for the Doctrine of *Martin Bucer*, who not long before openly in the said University interpreted holy Scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with this Infection, that (even as when Fire is spread in a Town) unless a speedy Remedy were applied out of Hand, it were not possible to their thinking, to quench it many Years after. Who also feared (if it were not looked to in Time) lest this Mischief should take Root, and by little and little infect all the Members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

The coming of the Inquisitors, and of their Entertainment.

This was in the Year 1556. To the Intent therefore to make a Salve for this Sore, the Inquisitors, of whom we spake before, came unto *Cambridge* the ninth Day of *January*. And as they were yet in their Journey, and far from the Town, divers of the Masters and Presidents of the Colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the Town, and after to their Lodgings. They were entertained in *Trinity-college* by Mr. *John Christopherson*, Master of the said House, and a little before elected Bishop of *Chichester*. Notwithstanding they were desired, some to one Place, and some to another, as Occasion served, either to do their Duties, or to shew their good Wills: Dr. *Cole* to the *King's-College*, and Dr. *Watson* to St. *John*'s. But whether it were for the Acquaintance of *Christopherson*, or for the Largeness of the House, which seemed most convenient for their Purpose, they all took up their Lodgings in the said College with Mr. *Christopherson*. Anno 1556.

At their coming thither an Oration was made by a Fellow of the House, who in the Name of all the rest, with long Protestation declared that they were most heartily welcome thither, and that he and his Fellows gave them great Thanks, that it had pleased their Lordships to have so good Opinion of them, as to choose their House especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to stand in hope of some further Benevolence towards them, and also done great Honour to their College by their being there: Wherefore they should look at their Hand again for as much Duty and Reverence, as lay in their Power to perform.

To this Oration Dr. *Watson* made Answer, That this forward and earnest good Wills and Minds of theirs, in doing such Courtesy, was right thankfully taken both of him and his, exhorting them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to proceed also when Need should require: For it was so far from any of their Thoughts, to stop them in this their Race, that they would rather haste them forward to run through more speedily, being not without good Cause persuaded to conceive good Hope of their Benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whatsoever might turn to their Profit and Advantage.

This Day, forasmuch as it was towards Evening e're they came, and the Sun was going down, nothing else was done. The next Day, being the 10th of *January*, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their Journey, and in setting other Things at a Stay. Nevertheless, to the Intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two Churches, namely, St. *Mary*'s where Mr. *Bucer*, and St. *Michael*'s, where *Paulus Phagius* lay buried. St. *Mary*'s and St. *Michael*'s interdicted because of *Martin Bucer* and *P. Phagius* Burial.

These Men were dead a good while before, *Paulus Phagius* had scarce yet shewed the Proof of his Wit and Learning when he departed to God 1549. *Bucer* lived but a little after. During which Time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old Man, being painful in the Word of God, never spared himself nor regarded his Health) he brought all Men into such Admiration of him, that neither his Friends could sufficiently praise him, nor his Enemies in any Point find Fault with his singular Life and sincere Doctrine. A most certain Token whereof may be his sumptuous Burial, solemnized with so great Assistance and Gladness of all the Degrees of the University, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same. The whole Manner and Order of the doing whereof being written by Mr. *Nicholas Carre*, a learned Man, in a little Treatise to Sir *John Cheeke*, Knight, with an Epistle full of Consolation, as concerning his Departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto *Peter Martyr*, then abiding at *Oxford*.

From the Burial of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, unto the coming of these Visitors, three or four

Anno 1557. Years were passed. And from the Time of the Decease of King *Edward* the sixth unto that Day, the Priests celebrated their Masses, and other kind of Ceremonies in those Places, and that without Scruple of Conscience, as far as Men could perceive. But after the Time that these Commissioners came hither, those Things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all those Assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy Ceremonies, should be removed to the *King's-Chappel*, which is a Place far more stately than all the other.

Now was come the 11th Day, in which the Vice-chancellor of the University, with the Masters and Presidents of Colleges, and all the other Graduates of every House, were commanded to appear before the said Commissioners in their Habits. It was commanded, that the Scholars also should come in their Surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great Numbers to *Trinity-College*, having the University Cross born before them, and in the *Gatehouse* a Form was set and covered, with Cushions and Carpets on the Ground for the Visitors. Where the Vice-chancellor, having on a Tissue Cope, sprinkled holy Water on them, and purposed to cense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the *Queen's-College*, and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Mr. *John Stokes*, common Orator of the University, made a *Latin* Oration in the Name of all the rest: A Copy whereof, now rendered into *English*, here followeth.

Mr. Stoke's *Oration to Queen* MARY's *Visitors at* Cambridge, Jan. 11. 1557.

THIS University, most Reverend Fathers, has been a long Time sollicitous about your coming, now greatly pleased freely beholds your Honours; and as a Testimony of her Willingness, pours out herself and all her Treasures. Assembled here see all the Cambridge *Scholars, all Orders present, who I assure your Lordships upon my own Knowledge, one and all congratulate your much wished Arrival. For we are all persuaded, that the Business of this Day, through God's Assistance, and your Excellencies, will prove auspicious to the common Benefit of this University; nor, in a Matter so necessary to the common Good, will your Help be wanting. And by many Things I am confirmed in this Opinion, but I shall mention only those that so nearly relate to the Business in hand, that they can't possibly be omitted; and these truly in Number are certain and finite, but in their Virtue and Power so immense, that no Faculty of Speech is able to express; because, as I said before, the Joy this University received from your coming was very great, I beseech you, while briefly I relate the Manner, to grant a favourable Ear.*

The most Reverend Father in Christ, Cardinal Poole, *Legate, who had restored oppress'd Religion, supported the Ruins of his Country, brought back from Exile our Laws, he, I say, that* English Poole, *and our true* Moses, *was the Author of your Visitation, from whose excellent Virtue many Blessings have redounded to all Parts of his Country. Yet there was a stricter and nearer Cause than the Bond of Necessity, seeing we was part of that Republick, which he had separately taken the Government on himself. For the Year before he most kindly took on himself the Government of this University, which he managed with so much Prudence, that he not only removed whatever might impede our Studies, but also added such Ornaments, as greatly increased the Glory of our University; these Things confirmed our former Hopes, and now brings so fresh into our Minds, that we can't choose but think all his Kindness to be collected in this Visitation, from which we expect all those Things which the remarkable Love of our great Chancellor, who looked on our University as his proper Pupil, promis'd. And I wish truly that he himself, was it not detrimental to the Publick, could have been here at this Time; that he with his Rays might have illuminated his University, involved in Darkness and a profound Night, with the Glory of the true Religion. But this our Desire is repugnant to the publick Good, and the Interest of the most holy Apostolick See; the Legate therefore has appointed you his Substitutes, whose natural Parts for Wisdom, whose Persons for Worth, and whose Minds for Knowledge, he judged most fit for this Imployment: I can therefore assure you truly, we all esteem you, as Men whose Religion we love, Virtue we honour, and on whose good Will, Belief and Counsel for the Publick Good we depend on. For after by the singular and extraordinary Virtue of the Legate, Cardinal* Poole, *from the Darkness and Night of former Times, we began to review the Light in publick, together with a clearer Sight of our former Unhappiness, to the Greatness of which our Ignorance of it contributed not a little; for, in my Opinion, we ought to be accounted so much the more miserable, who labouring under so damnable an Heresy, yet saw not the Danger we were in. As that Distemper is by much the worse, which destroys Nature without being perceiv'd to afflict the Senses; and the Man is often dead before he knew he was sick. This was the Disease of our University, which however sharp-sighted other Ways, in this Case of Religion, the Head of the Church being hurt, (whence springs all the Power of judging) became stupid, lethargick, and as it were without any Sense; till about three Years ago, the divine Compassion of the most holy Father* Julius, *to us* English *almost dead, again incorporated us in his most holy Church, again restored Health to our Bodies, and Peace to our Minds. How easy was it then for* Britannia *to see how near she had approached the Jaws of Hell, this University especially plainly discern'd, how our Nation was miserably afflicted with this Desolation and Schism of Religion. There is no need here to repeat the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the robbing the Church, the slaying the Priests, the murdering the Nobles, the Riots and Tumults of the People, the impoverishing the whole Kingdom, these Things might possibly have happened and we blameless, but here the Judgment was so remarkable, that we must needs look on it as a Punishment for our Sins and Wickednesses. But granting these Things only the Sport of Chance, we suffered worse in our Religion and Conscience. Piety towards God was vanish'd, the Chastity of the Priests was turn'd into open Prostitution, the Soul lay as it was asleep, no religious Ceremonies to awaken it; the Mind by the Variety of Opinions so distracted, so differing from itself, that it embraced an Infinity of Errors, among which there were two principal Fountains, of the Streams of which this University drinking a little too much, we confess became intoxicated. The first owed its Birth from the unnatural Separation from the Unity of the Catholick Church, not unlike what of old* Menenius Agrippa *mentions of the Members and the Belly. The second arose from* Wickliffe's *Mud and Mire, which made the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Altar an Abomination. For the Truth of which let any Man consult himself:*

For we imitating Philosophers, and those none of the best, have borrowed a Light to the Scriptures from the School of the Epicureans. *For whereas Christ (in the Truth of whose Words is placed the Foundation of our Faith) affirms every where, distinctly, and without Exception, the true and perpetual Presence of his Body, yet we are truly to interpret these Expressions as if they were imperfect, or had another Meaning, unless we had Recourse to the Atomes of* Epicurus, *and that the true Body and Blood of Christ was only as it were the Body and Blood. But this is not a Time to make a particular Mention of all the Things that have past, no, I rather wish they could be eternally forgot, that no Remembrance of them might be handed down to our Posterity. Yet I thought myself obliged to say something in the general, as a Confession of our past Errors: Still remembring, that as this University received her Wounds from her former Visitors, so from you her present, she may be restored to her former Health. And here she promises both for herself and hers, by her unwearied preaching of Repentance, to bring back to the true Religion all her erring Children, and make them so diligent in the present, as to redeem the Time past. For they that are first in this Race, contend so earnestly, as makes it plainly appear they voluntarily entered it; and they that came in last, and as it were at the eleventh Hour, shew such Zeal for their Religion, as well witnesses they left it rashly, and not on mature Judgment and Deliberation; our University thus restored, the desired Religion seems more to please, than had her Precepts been constantly obeyed, and her Glory never obscured.*

Wherefore this University suppliant and prostrate, first begs Pardon and Peace of the eternal God, and that he will preserve the right Faith of her and hers, and cause this University once more to flourish and abound. Then for her and hers, all and singular, she offers this Petition to your Highnesses, that the Industry of her present Sons may make amends for the Errors and Offences of her former. For the rest she submits wholly to the Sentence your great Wisdom and singular Love shall pronounce, hoping your Justice will find her Cause good, or your Mercy make it so: Either will be an equal Benefit, whether you judge this University innocent from the Justice of her Cause, or whether you make her so by the Abundance of your Love. Now to return you Thanks, we again promise you, the greatest Regard to Things sacred, unwearied Diligence in searching the Scriptures and Fathers, a perpetual Love of the true Religion, and an eternal Remembrance of your Favours.

The Answer of Mr. *Scot*, Bishop of *Chester*, to Mr. *Stokes*'s Oration.

When he made an End of speaking, the Bishop of *Chester* answered thereunto:

That they took in right good Part, that the Mother the University had made so open a Declaration of her good Will toward them: For which he gave most hearty Thanks, desiring her to perform in Deed, and in her Works, the Things that she had so largely promised of herself in Words and Communication.

As concerning their good Wills, there was no Cause to mistrust. For their coming thither was not to deal any Thing roughly with such as fell to the Amendment: But both the Cardinal himself and they also, were fully minded to shew Favour, devising how to bring all Things to Peace and Tranquility, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right Path again. The right reverend Father, the Lord Cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the self same Thing also, desiring nothing so much as he with his own Hands to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the Ground, the University of his Ward: For he gladly taketh upon him the Name and Duty of her Guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the Infections of the Time past had spread Abroad so grievous Diseases, that even the University itself was touched with the contagious Air thereof. For he would more gladly have come hither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weighty Affairs of the Realm would have permitted it. But now seeing he could not so do, he had appointed this Commission, in which he had assigned them to be his Deputies, which (because they knew him to set so much Store by the University) should extend the more Favour to it, and because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it. The chief Matter that they came for, tended to this End, that such as had erred should confess their Faults, and return into the right Way again. For they were in good Forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on his Part, that he would not altogether excuse the Faults of the University, nor of other Men, but confess and acknowledge the Crime, as that there were many Things had need to be corrected and amended.

Anno 1557.

The Causes declared.

The Commission signed by the Cardinal, and why?

The Cause why they were sent thither, was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into Favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their Expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some Men as they would: Yet notwithstanding, according to their Duty, they would shew themselves so diligent for their Part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many Men did divers Things of a froward Wilfulness, and took stoutly upon them: Wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved, as Reason was, so they coveted to remedy the Mischief. Against whom, if any Thing should seem hereafter to be streightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own Deserts, and not to the Wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and sound, to be moved at the Chastisements of others, for so much as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul Blot which now sticked on the University, but also to the Health of many others which had taken much Hurt by the Infection of them. For their own Parts they more inclined unto Mercy than Rigour. Howbeit, considering that so great Diseases could not by gentle Medicines be healed, they were driven of Necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right Minds, which Thing they chiefly coveted (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome Counsel) and would yet at length wax weary of their Errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient Customs of themselves, and of their Forefathers, they might boldly look for all Kind of Humanity and Gentleness at their Hands, in all this their Business of Reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the University but to do as became them: Which being performed, he promised that their Benevolence, neither in any publick or private Person's Case, should in any wise be behind hand.

A Mass at the *King's College*.

These Things being finished, they were brought in Procession to the King's College, by all the Graduates of the Univerlity, where was sung a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great Solemnity, nothing wanting in that Behalf that might make to the setting forth of

Anno 1557. the ſame. In this Place it was marked, that *Nicholas Ormanet*, commonly ſirnamed *Datary*, (who albeit he was inferior in Eſtate unto *Cheſter* being a Biſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in Authority) while the Maſs was celebrating, ſometimes ſtanding, anon ſitting, and afterwards kneeling on his Knees, obſerved certain Ceremonies, which afterward were required to be obſerved of all others, as in Proceſs hereof was to be ſeen.

From thence they all attended upon the Legates to St. *Mary*'s Church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which Place, foraſmuch as it was ſuſpended, although no Maſs might be ſung, yet there was a Sermon made in open Audience by Mr. *Peacock* in the *Latin* Tongue, preaching againſt Hereſies and Hereticks, as *Bilney*, *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the Viſitation: Where firſt Dr. *Harvy* did in the Cardinal's Name, exhibit the Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Cheſter* with a few Words in *Latin*. Which being accepted, and by Maſter Clerk openly read to the End, then the Vice-chancellor with an Oration did exhibit the Certificate under his Seal of Office with the Cardinal's Citation annexed, containing every Man's Name in the Univerſity and Colleges, with the Officers and all the Maſters of Houſes. Among whom was alſo *Robert Braſſey*, Maſter of *King's-College*, a worthy old Man, both for his Wiſdom and his hoary Hairs: Who hearing his own Name recited next after the Vice-chancellor's, ſaid, He was there preſent as all the others were: Nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as the Reformation of his Houſe was wholly reſerved to the Diſcretion of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, not only by the King's Letters Patents, but alſo by grant of Confirmation from the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, under a Penalty if he ſhould ſuffer any Strangers to intermeddle, he openly proteſted, in Diſcharge of his Duty, that unleſs their Commiſſion gave them Authority and Juriſdiction upon the College, either by expreſs Words, or manifeſt Senſe, he utterly exempted himſelf from being preſent.

Mr *Peacock* preacheth at St. *Mary's*.

The Citation of the Maſters of Colleges.

Mr. *Braſſey's* Exception.

This his Exception they all took in great Diſpleaſure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the Order of the Matter by the Cardinal, out of whoſe Juriſdiction no Place nor Perſons was exempted: Wherefore he had done Evil to call into Queſtion their Authority, ſo well known to all Men. The Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſeemed to be more moved with the Matter than all the others; and that was becauſe *Braſſey* had a little before obtained the Worſhip of that Room, even utterly againſt his Will, he doing the worſt he could againſt him.

After the formal Solemnity of theſe Things thus accompliſhed, the Commiſſion being read, and the Citation exhibited, all the Maſters of Houſes being openly cited, every Man for a while departed home to his own Houſe, with Command to be at the common Schools of the ſaid Univerſity, at one of the Clock the ſame Day. When the Degrees of the Univerſity, commonly called Regents and Non-regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpent the reſt of the Day in reading over the Charters granted to the Univerſity by Kings and Princes, in ſearching out of Bulls and Pardons from the Pope, and in peruſing of other Monuments pertaining to the Univerſity.

Inquiſition at the common Schools.

The next Day following, being the 12th of *January*, they reſorted to the *King's-College* to make Inquiſition, either becauſe the ſame for the Worthineſs thereof was Chief and Sovereign of all the Reſidue, or elſe becauſe that that Houſe eſpecially before all others, had been accounted, Time out of Mind, never to be without an Heretick (as they termed them) or twain. And at that preſent Time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themſelves from thence, yet they judged there were ſome ſtill remaining. The Order and Manner how they would be entertained of every College, when they ſhould come to make Inquiſition, they themſelves appointed, which was in this Sort.

Inquiſition at the *King's-College*.

They commanded the Maſter of every Houſe, together with the Reſidue, as well Fellows as Scholars, apparelled in Prieſt-like Garments (which they call Habits) to meet them at the uttermoſt Gate of their Houſe towards the Town. The Maſter himſelf to be dreſſed in like Apparel as the Prieſt when he dreſſeth himſelf to Maſs, ſaving that he ſhould put on uppermoſt his Habit, as the reſt did.

The Manner of receiving the Inquiſitors when they went to make Inquiſition.

The Order of their going they appointed to be in this wiſe: The Maſter of the Houſe to go foremoſt; next unto him every Man in his Order, as he was of Degree, Seniority, or of Years. Before the Maſter ſhould be carried a Croſs and holy Water to ſprinkle the Commiſſioners withal, and then after that the ſaid Commiſſioners to be cenſed. And ſo after this Meeting, and mumbling of a few Devotions, they determined with this Pomp and Solemnity to be brought to the Chappel.

Many thought they took more Honour upon them than belonged to the State of Man. Others (foraſmuch as at that Time they not only pretended the Juriſdiction of the Cardinal, but alſo repreſented the Power and Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, who was accounted to be more than a mortal Man) ſaid; It was far leſs than of Duty appertained to his Holineſs, in that the Honour that was done to his Legates, was not done to them, but to his Holineſs.

The Commiſſioners repreſent the Pope.

Now was the Hour come, at which they appointed to meet; and being entered the *King's-College* Gate, where they looked for the Maſter and Fellows of the Houſe, ſeeing no Man came to meet them, they proceeded to the Church-door, where they ſtayed. There perceiving how the Maſter and the reſt of the Houſe were dreſſing themſelves as faſt as they could, in ſuch Order as was appointed before they came in ſuddenly upon them, before they had ſet out any Foot out of their Places.

Here was a foul Fault committed, that theſe Men came in without Proceſſion.

Then the Maſter firſt excuſed himſelf, that he was ready no ſooner, acknowledging that it had been his Duty to have been in a Readineſs. *Secondly*, he ſaid he was very glad of their coming, promiſing firſt in his own Name, and after in the Name of all the reſt, as much Reverence as might be, in all Matters concerning their common Utility, which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at their Hands, according to his Expectation. But, like as he had done the other Day in St. *Mary*'s Church, the ſame Exception he made to them now alſo; which his Doing he beſought them not to be offended withal. For ſeeing he did it only for the Diſcharge of his Duty, he had juſter Cauſe to be held excuſed.

Mr. *Braſſey* maketh Exception again.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his Tale, but the Biſhop of *Cheſter* with a frowning Look,

Dr. *Scot's* Anſwer to Mr. *Braſſey.*

Look, and an angry Countenance, interrupting him in his Talk; and ſaid, he needed not to repeat the Things he had proteſted before, nor they to make Anſwer any more to thoſe Things wherein they had ſufficiently informed him before. He rather feared, that their Quarrel was not good, that they made ſuch ado about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting Holes. For ſo were diſeaſed Perſons oftentimes wont to do, when for the Pain and Grief they are not able to abide a ſtrong Medicine. As though that any Man were able to grant ſo ſtrong a Privilege, as to withſtand the Pope's Authority. As for the Pope's Letters, he ſaid, muſt needs make on his Side, and with ſuch as were with him, and could not in any wiſe be alledged againſt him. Therefore he admoniſhed him to deſiſt from his unprofitable Altercation, and to conform himſelf, and his, to ſuch Things as then were in doing.

After this they went to Maſs. Which finiſhed, with great Solemnity, firſt they went to the high Altar of the Church, and having there ſaluted their God, and ſearching whether all were about him or no, they walked thorough all the inner Chappels of the Church. The Church Goods, the Croſſes, the Chalices, the Maſs-books, the Veſtments, and whatſoever Ornaments were beſides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had ſufficiently viewed all Things, and had called forth by Name every Fellow and Scholar of the Houſe, they went to the Maſter's Lodging, where firſt and foremoſt ſwearing them upon a Book, to anſwer to all ſuch Interrogatories as ſhould be propounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined firſt the Maſter himſelf, and afterward all the Reſidue, every Man in his Turn. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this Oath, becauſe they had given their Faith to the College before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all Right and Reaſon to ſwear againſt themſelves: For it was contrary to all Law, that a Man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelf, and not be ſuffered to keep his Conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt Proof to be laid to his Charge, but much more unjuſt it is, that a Man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelf. Nevertheleſs theſe Perſons alſo, after ſuch Altercation, at length (conditionally, that their Faith given before to the College were not impeached thereby) were contented to be ſworn.

The Oath refuſed by ſome in the King's College, and why?

Three Days long laſted the Inquiſition there. This was now the Third Day of their coming, and it was thought that the Caſe of *Martin Bucer* and *Phagius*, was delayed longer than needed. For they looked to have had much Wrangling and Buſineſs about the Matter. Now, foraſmuch as the preſent State of the Caſe required good Deliberation and Advice, the Vice-chancellor and the Maſters of the Colleges aſſembled at the common Schools, where every Man gave his Verdict what he thought meet to be done in this Matter of *Bucer*. After much debating, they agreed all together in this Determination.

That foraſmuch as *Martin Bucer*, while he lived, had not only ſowed pernicious and erroneous Doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelf been a Sectary and famous Heretick, erring from the Catholick Church, and giving others Occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe; a Supplication ſhould be made to the Lords Commiſſioners, in the Name of the whole Univerſity, that his dead Carcaſe might forthwith be digged up (for ſo it was needful to be done) to the Intent that Inquiſition might be made as touching his Doctrine, which being brought in Examination, if it were not found to be good and wholeſome, the Law might proceed againſt him: For it was againſt the Rule of the Holy Canons, that his Body ſhould be buried in Chriſtian Burial. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open Derogation of God's Honour, and the violating of his holy Laws, with the great Peril of many Mens Souls, and the Offence of the Faithful, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a Time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which utterly diſſented from all other Men in the Trade of their Living, Laws, and Cuſtoms, ſhould have any Part with them in the Honour of Burial. And therefore the Glory of God, firſt and before all Things, ought to be defended, the Infamy (which through this Thing riſeth on them) with all Speed put away, no room at all left unto thoſe Perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame Places where they lay, were injurious and noiſome to the very Elements; but the Place ought to be purged, and all Things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying the Conſciences of the weak. In executing whereof ſo notable an Example ought to be given to all Men, that no Man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

Anno 1557.

Cauſes why the Bodies of *Martin Bucer* and *P. Phagius* ought to be taken up.

Inquiſition to be made of *Martin Bucer's* Doctrine.

They gave the ſame Verdict by common Conſent againſt *Phagius* alſo.

Unto this Writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized *Andrew Perne* the Vice-chancellor, to be the common Factor for the Univerſity. He was a Man fitteſt for the Purpoſe, both for the Office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the Teſtimony of Mr. *Chriſtopherſon*, he was judged to be the moſt Catholick of all others. This Supplication, confirmed by the Conſent of all the Degrees of the Univerſity, and ſigned with their common Seal, the next Day, which was the 13th Day of *January*, the Vice-chancellor put up to the Commiſſioners.

Note here, good Reader, what a Feat of Conveyance this was, to ſuborn the Univerſity under a colourable Pretence, to deſire this Thing of them by Way of Petition. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would never have gone about it of themſelves.

But this Gloſs was ſoon found out. For the Commiſſioners had given the Vice-chancellor Inſtructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this Means to remove the Envy of this Act from themſelves.

Thus the Vice-chancellor came unto the Commiſſioners, according to the Appointment made the Day before, about ſeven o'Clock in the Morning. He had ſcarce declared the Cauſe of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his Sute, but alſo even at the very ſame Time received the Sentence of Condemnation, for taking up *Bucer* and *Phagius*, fair copied out by *Ormanet Datary* himſelf. This was to be confirmed by the Conſent of the Degrees of the Univerſity. Whereupon a ſolemn Convocation, called *Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium*, for the ſame Purpoſe was appointed to be at Nine o'Clock; where the Graduates being aſſembled together, the

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*, copied out by the Datary.

Anno 1557. Demand was propounded concerning the Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and the Grace asked, which was this:

Grace aſked in the Congregation for the taking up of *Bucer*.

Pleaſeth it you that Martin Bucer, *for the Hereſies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without Repentance, and was buried in Chriſtian Burial, may be exhumate and taken up again,* &c.

Immediately after this Grace was granted, the Sentence of Condemnation being drawn by the Datary, was openly read, and another Grace asked, that the ſame might be ſigned with the common Seal. Which Requeſt was very eaſily obtained: And it was no marvel.

For after the Death of King *Edward*, when the Realm was governed by Queen *Mary*, all ſuch Perſons were driven away as had rejected the *Romiſh* Religion (in whom alone well nigh reſted whatſoever Wit and Learning was in the whole Univerſity beſides) and ſuch a Sort of Men were put in their room, that all Places now ſwarmed with unlearned Chaplains: To whom nothing was greater Pleaſure, than to cauſe all Men to ſpeak reproachfully of *Bucer*. There were divers yet left among them to ſpeak againſt their Demands. But they (becauſe as it commonly cometh to paſs, that Might overcometh Right) could nothing avail. For this is a common Cuſtom in all ſuch Matters and Ordinances, that what the greater Number decreeth, is publiſhed in the Name of all: And that which the better Part diſalloweth, ſeemeth as though no Man at all diſallowed it.

The next Day being the 14*th* of *January*, all the Viſitors (Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* only excepted) came to the King's College: Where firſt going into the Church, and there making their Prayers at the Greeſings, they ſo proceeded into the Stalls, there ſitting all the Maſs Time, the Company ſtanding in their Copes, and ſinging a ſolemn Reſpond in Honour of the Viſitors. After the Reſpond done, the Provoſt made to them his Proteſtation, unto whom the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made Anſwer alſo in *Latin*, declaring that he could not perceive to what Purpoſe his Proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to Maſs, which ended, the Catholick Viſitors approached up to the Altar, and took down the Sacrament and ſearched the Pyx, but firſt the two Biſhops cenſed the Sacrament.

Then they went unto the Veſtry, and opened the Chalices, Corporas Caſes and Chryſmatory, and viewed all thoſe Things: And ſo returning into the Provoſt's Chamber, divided themſelves in Examination of the Provoſt, Vice-provoſt, and the reſt of the Company. The ſame Day Dr. *Bacon* Maſter of *Gonvile-hall*, invited the Vice-chancellor, Dr. *Young*, Dr. *Harvey*, *Swineborn*, *Maptide*, with others, home to Dinner. Theſe Men immediately after Dinner, cauſed the common Seal of the Univerſity to be put to the foreſaid Inſtrument of Condemnation, according as was determined the Day before by the general Conſent of the Graduates of the Univerſity: And afterwards they carried the ſame to the Commiſſioners to their Lodging. Which when they had received and carefully peruſed, it pleaſed them not in all Points, and therefore they raſed out ſome Things, ſome they interlined, others they changed; ſo that in fine, they were fain to take the Pains to ingroſs it new again.

To the ſigning whereof a Congregation was immediately called of all the Graduates of the Univerſity againſt the next Day, which there being read over, a new Grace again was asked and granted for ſetting the Seal. Then were the Graduates diſmiſſed, with Command to reſort forthwith to St. *Mary*'s Church, whither the Commiſſioners alſo repaired. When they had taken their Places, Dr. *Harvey* preſented to them before all the Company, a new Commiſſion to make Inqueſt upon Hereſy then newly ſent from the Cardinal, which was immediately read by *Ormanet*'s Clerk. This done, Dr. *Perne*, who was Factor for the Univerſity, exhibited to the Commiſſioners in the Name of the Univerſity, the Sentence of the aforeſaid Condemnation. This Condemnation being openly read, then Dr. *Perne* deſired to ſend out Proceſs to cite *Bucer* and *Phagius* to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their Cauſe, and to ſtand to the Order of the Court againſt the next *Monday*: To the Intent that when they had exhibited themſelves, the Court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by Order of Law.

Dr. *Harvy* preſenteth a Mandate from the Cardinal.

Dr. *Perne* maketh Petition that *Bucer* and *Phagius* may be cited to the Court.

The Commiſſioners condeſcended to his Requeſt, and the next Day Proceſs went out to cite the Offenders. This Citation *Vincent* of *Noally* their common Notary, having firſt read it over before certain Witneſſes appointed for the ſame Purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed up in Places convenient, to wit, upon St. *Mary*'s Church Door, the Door of the Common Schools, and the Croſs in the Market-place of the ſame Town. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain *Bucer* and *Phagius*, or ſtand in Defence of their Doctrine, ſhould at the eighth Day of the ſame Month ſtand forth before the Lords Commiſſioners in St. *Mary*'s Church, which was appointed the Place of Judgment, and there every Man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This Commandment was ſet out with many Words.

Bucer and *Phagius* cited out of their Graves to appear, or any other that would anſwer for them.

Shortly after the Matter drew toward Judgment. Therefore the Day before the limited Day, which was the 17*th* of *January*, the Vice-chancellor called to him to *Peter-houſe* (whereof he was Maſter) Dr. *Young*, Dr. *Sedgwick*, and with them *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Parker*, *Redman*, *Whitlock*, *Mitch*, and certain others. Theſe Men caſt their Heads together how they might bear Witneſs againſt *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to convice them of Hereſy. For ſeeing the Matter was brought in face of open Court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſs, that ſome Patrons of their Cauſe would come out, they thought it needful to have Witneſſes to depoſe of their Doctrine. What came of this their Conſultation is not perfectly known.

Witneſſes ſworn againſt *Bucer*.

The eighteenth Day, the Vice-chancellor going to the Inquiſitors ſitting at the King's-College, put them in Remembrance, that that was the Day in which by their Proceſs ſent forth the 16*th*, they had commanded to appear in St. *Mary*'s Church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend *Bucer* and *Phagius* by the Law. He deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchance any Man would try the Adventure of the Law. They ſoon condeſcended thereunto. When the Vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the Proceſs of the Citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying, that he had diligent-

ly executed whatſoever the Contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their Places, and no Man putting forth himſelf to anſwer for the Offenders, the Judges call aſide Dr. *Young*, *Sedgwick*, *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Maptide*, *Hunter*, *Parker*, *Redman*, abovementioned. Alſo *Brown*, *Gogman*, *Rud*, *Johnſon*, *Mitch*, *Raven*, and *Carre*, who had before written out the Burial of *Bucer*, with a ſingular Commendation of him, and ſent it to Sir *John Cheeke*, Knight. Theſe Men taking firſt their Oath upon a Book, were commanded to bear Witneſs againſt the Hereſies and Doctrine of *Bucer* and *Phagius*. The twenty-ſecond Day of the ſame Month was limited to this Jury to bring in their Verdict.

In the mean while, *Ormanet* and Dr. *Watſon* abode at home in their Lodging to take the Depoſition of them, whom we ſhewed you before to have been called to *Peter-houſe*, and to have communicated with the Vice-chancellor as concerning that Matter, whoſe Depoſitions (as I told you) never came to light. The Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *Cole* this Day viſited them of *Katherine-hall*, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of Rehearſal.

A Relick given by *Ormanet* to *Trinity-college*.

As *Ormanet* the Pope's Datary, was ſitting at *Trinity College*, *John Dale* one of *Queen's College* came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the Pix, wherein the Biſhop of *Rome*'s God of Bread is wont to be encloſed. For *Ormanet* told them he had a precious Jewel; the ſame was a linnen Clout that the Pope had conſecrated with his own Hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a Gift. But *Dale* miſunderſtanding *Ormanet*, in ſtead of the Pix brought a Chalice and a ſinging Cake called the Hoſt, which he had wrapped up and put in his Boſom. When he was come, *Ormanet* demanded if he had brought him the Thing he ſent him for. To whom he anſwered, he had brought it. Then give it me, quoth he. *Dale* pulled out the Chalice, and the ſinging Cake. When *Ormanet* ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat back, as it had been in a Wonder, calling him Blockhead, and little better than a Madman, demanding what he meant by thoſe Things, ſaying, he deſired him to bring none of that Gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a Benefit: Yet notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would perform his Promiſe. Whereupon with great Reverence and Ceremony he pulled out the Linnen Cloth and laid it in the Chalice, and the Bread with it, commanding them both for the Holineſs of the Thing, and alſo for the Author of it, to keep it among them with ſuch due Reverence as belonged to ſo holy a Relick.

Heretical Books commanded to be brought in.

About the ſame Time the Commiſſioners had commanded the Maſters of the Colleges, that every Man ſhould put in Writing what Books he had, with the Authors Names. And to the Intent that every Man ſhould execute it without Deceit, they took an Oath of them. This Command ſome executed exactly and diligently; others, foraſmuch as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it ſlack enough.

We declared before that the eighteenth Day was limited for the Day of Judgment. When the Day came, and that neither *Bucer* nor *Phagius* would appear at their Call in the Court, nor any put forth himſelf to defend them, yet the courteous Commiſſioners would not proceed to Judgment; which nevertheleſs for their Contumacy in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that Day was peremptory. But theſe Men, being bent altogether to Equity and Mercy, had rather ſhew ſome Favour, than to do the uttermoſt they might by the Law. Whereupon *Vincent* publiſhed the ſecond Proceſs, and ſet it up in the ſame Places, as in Manner before. The Meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the Judgment-day unto the 26th of the ſame Month. Upon which Day the Vice-chancellor was ſent for to their Lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the Order of publiſhing the Sentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no Solemnity in the Matter, they commanded him further to warn the Mayor of the Town to be there at the Day appointed with all his Burgeſſes, which the Vice-chancellor did ſpeed with all Readineſs. Anno 1556.

This Day (as I ſaid) was the twenty-ſixth of *January*, which being now come, firſt all Degrees of the Mother Univerſity were aſſembled. And to fill up this Pageant, thither came alſo the Mayor and his Townſmen, and all met together in St. *Mary*'s Church, to behold what there ſhould be determined upon theſe Men. After long Attendance, at length the Commiſſioners came forth, and went up to a Scaffold that was ſomewhat higher than the Reſidue, prepared for the ſame Purpoſe. When they had taken their Places, Dr. *Perne* the Vice-chancellor, the Player of this Interlude, faſhioning his Coutenance with great Gravity, reached to them the Proceſs that was lately publiſhed to cite them, ſaying theſe Words: I bring forth again (ſaid he) to you Right Reverend Father, and Commiſſioners of the moſt Reverend my Lord Cardinal *Poole*, this Citation executed according to the Purport and Effect of the ſame; omitting nothing for his Part that might make to the Commendation of this Matter.

When he had thus finiſhed his Tale, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, after he had viewed the People a little, began in the following Manner.

The Oration of Dr. *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, before the Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*.

YE ſee how ſore the Univerſity preſſeth upon us, how earneſt Interceſſion it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer *and* Phagius, *which theſe certain Years paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious Doctrine among you, to be Hereticks, as they be indeed, but alſo that we will command their dead Carcaſes, which unto this Day have obtained honourable Burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the Canon Law, to be caſt into Fire, or whatſoever is more grievous than Fire, if any can be. For the Degrees of the Univerſity deal not ſlightly nor ſlackly with us in this Caſe, but do ſo preſs upon us, and follow the Suit ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of Delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this Caſe of itſelf be ſuch, as that even the Unworthineſs of thoſe Perſons, though there were no further Cauſe, ought to indnce us to the Doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſome Petitions; it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of ourſelves are inclined to Mercy in our Hearts (than which we proteſt*

What diſſembling is here in theſe Papiſts.

Anno 1556.

proteſt there is nothing under the Sun to us more dear and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the very Law riſeth up to Revenge; ſo that the common Salvation of you all, which the Law provideth for, muſt be preferred before the private Charity of our Minds. Neither ought any ſuch Negligence to overtake us for our Parts, that we, being ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the Shipwreck of our former Calamity, ſhould now ſuffer this unexpiable Miſchief to diſquiet any longer the Conſciences of the Weak.

O Lord God, as though this were the Doing of the Univerſity, and not your own!

Moreover, it is but Reaſon that we ſhould do ſomewhat at ſo earneſt Intreaty and Suit of the Univerſity. I need not to ſpeak much of ourſelves. For if we had been deſirous to enterprize this Matter, it had been lawful after the firſt Citation, to have proceeded to Judgment: But becauſe we were willing that their Defenders ſhould be heard, and that the Matter ſhould be denounced and tried by Law, we ſent out the ſecond Proceſs.

The Wolf pretendeth to be a Lamb.

If we had deſired Revenge, we might have ſhewed Cruelty upon them that are alive: Of which (alas the more Pity) there are too many that embrace this Doctrine. If we thirſted for Blood, it was not ſo to be ſought in withered Carcaſes and dry Bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our Wills that we now came hither: But partly induced at the Intreaty of the Univerſity, partly moved with the Unworthineſs of the Caſe itſelf: But eſpecially for the Care and Regard we have of your Health and Salvation, which we covet by all Means to preſerve.

For you yourſelves are the Cauſe of this Buſineſs: You gave Occaſion of this Confeſſion, among whom this Day ought to be a notable Example, to remain as a Memorial to them that ſhall come after, as in that which ye may learn not only to ſhake off the Filth which ye have taken of theſe Perſons; but alſo to beware hereafter that ye fall no more ſo ſhameful as ye have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you Minds to keep yourſelves from it.

As concerning the Parties themſelves, whoſe Caſe now hangeth in Law, they bear about the Name of the Goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe than Thievery and Deceit. And ſo much the more wicked were they, in that they ſought to cover ſo ſhameful Acts, with the Cloaks of ſo fair and holy a Name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this Deſpite, of itſelf wicked, to you pernicious, but the Authors thereof ſhameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is ſlow to Wrath and Vengeance, will wink at it for a Time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the Charge of the Lord's Flock leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable Crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one Hour.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the Sentence out of a Scroll, and condemned *Bucer* and *Phagius* of Herefy; the Form and Tenor of which Sentence, now rendered into *Engliſh*, here followeth:

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt *Martin Bucer* and *Phagius*.

WE Cutbert, *by the Grace of God and the apoſtolick See, Biſhop of* Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet *Archbiſhop of* Verona, *within the Dioceſs underwritten, Auditor of the Reverend Lord Cardinal and Legate*; Thomas Watſon, *Dean of* Durham; *and* Henry Cole, *Provoſt of* Eaton-college, *Viſitors to the Univerſity and Town of* Cambridge, *within the Dioceſs of* Ely, *alſo to all Perſons dwelling in the ſaid Town and Places adjacent, for certain Motions, Cauſes and Reaſons thereunto moving, we are to enquire, and in what Manner we think fit proceed againſt thoſe, who have run into vile Hereſies, and condemn their Memory; we are impowered by Letters from the moſt illuſtrious and Reverend Father in Chriſt,* Reginald Poole, *Cardinal and Prieſt of the moſt holy* Roman *Church, Legate* de Latere *from our moſt holy Lord the Pope, and the Apoſtolick See, to the moſt ſerene* Philip *and* Mary, *King and Queen of* England, *and to the whole Kingdom, to depute Commiſſioners or Delegates, ſufficiently inſtructed in the Knowledge of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and having the Fear of God before their Eyes, to conſtitute a Court, and by this our definitive Sentence, which we give according to the Opinion of the moſt learned Divines and Lawyers, herein contained, to condemn thoſe Sons of Iniquity,* Martin Bucer *and* Paulus Phagius, *by Nation* Germans, *but both of old living and dying in this Town, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious Hereticks whilſt they lived; for truly* Martin Bucer, *contrary to the Rules and Precepts of the holy Fathers, as alſo to the Traditions of the apoſtolick* Roman *Church and holy Councils, and of the Chriſtian Religion, thoſe Rites and Proceſſions (which are every Year on the Day of the Supper of our Lord celebrated and read by the* Roman *Prieſts, in which among others the* Wickliffians *and* Lutherans, *and all other Hereticks are condemned and anathematized) of the Sacraments having continued in the Church hitherto, he eſpecially taught and preached about the Number of them, contrary to what our holy Mother the Church had preached and obſerved: And he denied and openly condemned the Authority of the holy Apoſtolick See, and the Supremacy of our great High-prieſt, and he eſpecially held this Article:*

"That the Church may err in Faith and Worſhip.

This he particularly defended in the publick Aſſemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others, as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, *and other chief Hereticks invented, and condemned by the Church, eſpecially that,*

"That all Things were governed by Fate and an abſolute "Neceſſity."

As by himſelf firſt broached, believing and following falſe and heretical Principles, and moreover alſo writing Books, and cauſing them to be printed, and publiſhing them being printed, and in reading theſe Writings publickly, and defending them in publick Diſputations, as alſo by an obſtinate living and dying in this Manner, not only as a notorious Heretick, but as a Founder of Hereſy.

Alſo Paul Phagius, *who among other Things which ſavour of Hereſy, ſcattered up and down in his Writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the higheſt Encomiums to the impious Memory of* John Œcolampade, *the aforeſaid* Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent, *and their Doctrines; which manifeſtly ſhews, he not only favoured Hereticks, but aſſented, believed and approved their falſe Principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the ſame: Thus he lived a common, notorious Heretick, and died impenitent. We therefore pronounce the ſaid* Martin Bucer *and* Paulus Phagius *excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the*

common

coumon Law, as by Letters Proceſs, and that their Memory be condemned, we alſo condemn their Bodies and Bones (which in that moſt wicked Time of Schiſm, and other Hereſies flouriſhing in this Kingdom, were raſhly buried in holy Ground) to be dug up, and caſt far from the Church, that they may be known from the Bodies and Bones of the Faithful, according to the holy Canons; and we command that they and their Writings, if any be there found, be publickly burnt; and we interdict all Perſons whatſoever of this Univerſity, Town or Places adjacent, who ſhall read or conceal their heretical Books, as well by the common Law, as by our Letters of Proceſs.

After the Sentence thus read, the Biſhop commanded their Bodies to be digged out of their Graves, and being degraded from holy Orders, delivered them into the Hands of the Secular Power. For it was not lawful for ſuch innocent Perſons as they were, abhorring from all Bloodſhed, and deteſting all Deſire of Murder, to put any Man to Death.

Beſides this Oration and Sentence of Dr. *Scot*, came in alſo Dr. *Perne* Vice-chancellor, with his Sermon tending to the ſame Effect, to the depraving of Mr. *Bucer*, taking for his Theam the Place of the 133 Pſalm, *Behold how good and pleaſant a Thing it is*, &c.

Theſe Things being diſpatched, Dr. *Perne* was of Courteſy bidden to Dinner to Trinity-College by the Commiſſioners. Where, after the Table was taken up, they cauſed the Sentence of Condemnation to be copied out with all Speed: Which being ſigned with the Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s Seal, the next Day following was for a Triumph ſent to *London*.

The Sentence of Condemnation ſent to *London* with the Commiſſioners Letters.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their own Letters, wherein they both advertiſed the Cardinal how far they had proceeded in that Matter, and alſo deſired his Grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of Hand to *Smith*, the Mayor of the Town, the Commandment, commonly called a Writ, for the Burning of Hereticks. For unleſs he had the Queen's Warrant to ſave him harmleſs, he would not have to do in the Matter: And that which remained to be done in that Caſe, could not be diſpatched till that Warrant came.

While this Purſivant went on his Journey, they ordered to be brought unto them the Books that they commanded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the Fire with *Bucer* and *Phagius*.

Dr. *Watſon*'s Sermon upon *Candlemas-Day*.

About the ſame Time Dr. *Watſon* taking Occaſion upon the Day, becauſe it was a high Feaſt, in which was wont to be celebrated the Memorial of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, made a Sermon to the People upon that Pſalm, *We have received thy Mercy, O Lord, in the midſt of thy Temple*, &c. In which Sermon he ſpake much Reproach of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and of their Doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe Men, and all the Hereticks of our Time that were of the ſame Opinion (which for the moſt Part, he ſaid, were budded out of *Germany*) among other Things which they had perniciouſly put into Mens Heads, taught to caſt away all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtanding the Apoſtle himſelf commanded all Things to be done in due Order.

And upon that Deed of the Bleſſed Virgin and *Joſeph*, which was done by them as upon that Day, if was manifeſtly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little Babe, obſerved theſe Rites and Ceremonies for Catholick Men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the Temple the ſame Time with Wax Candles in their Hands, after the Manner of Proceſſion (as they term it) in good Order with much Reverence and Devotion, and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe Things with the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. Anno 1557.

As he was ſpeaking of Chriſt, *Mary* and *Joſeph*, one of them that heard him, a pleaſant and merry-conceited Fellow, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him, And if it be true, ſaid he, that this Man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a Man might ask him a Queſtion) bare the Croſs before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemn Ceremonies. Not only this Man jeſted at the Preachers Folly, but divers others alſo laughed at his manifeſt Unſhamefacedneſs, in preaching theſe ſo vain and fooliſh Superſtitions.

By this Time the Purſivant was returned again, who (as we ſaid before) was ſent to *London* with the Commiſſioners Letters, and brought with him a Warrant for the Burning of theſe Men.

The Day aſſigned for burning *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*.

Upon the Receipt whereof, they appointed the ſixth Day of *February* for the Accompliſhment of the Matter: For it had been in Hand a great while already.

Therefore when the ſaid Day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent for the Vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what Caſe Things ſtood, whether all Things were in a Readineſs for the Accompliſhment of this Buſineſs. Underſtanding by him that all Things were ready, they commanded the Matter to be broached out of Hand.

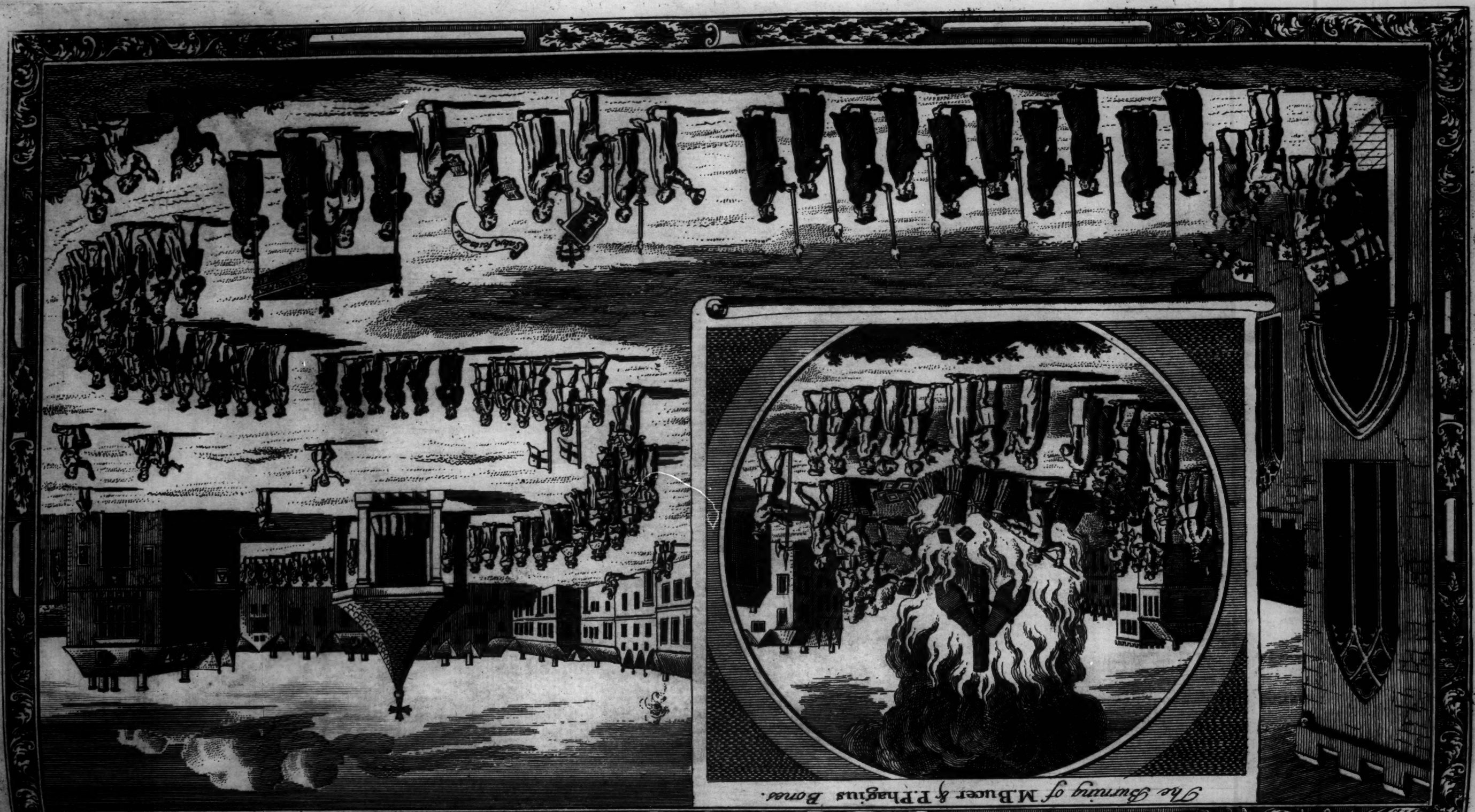
The Vice-chancellor therefore taking with him *Marſhal* the common Notary, went firſt to St. *Michael*'s Church where *Phagius* was buried. Then he called forth *Andrew Smith*, *Henry Sawyer*, and *Henry Adams*, Men of the ſame Pariſh, and bound them with an Oath, to dig up the Bones of *Phagius*, and to bring them to the Place of Execution. *Marſhal* took their Oaths, receiving the like of *Roger Smith* and *William Haſell* the Town Serjeants, and of *John Caper*, Warden of the ſame Church, for doing the like with *Bucer*. *Smith* the Mayor of the Town, who ſhould be their Executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in Caſes of Blood) commanded certain of his Townſmen to wait upon him in Harneſs, by whom the dead Bodies were guarded; and being bound with Ropes, and laid upon Men's Shoulders (for they were incloſed in Cheſts, *Bucer* in the ſame that he was buried, and *Phagius* in a new one) they were carried into the midſt of the Market-place, with a great Train of People following them.

The Burning of *M. Bucer's* and *Paulus Phagius's* Bones.

This Place was prepared before, and a great Poſt was ſet faſt in the Ground to bind the Carcaſes to, and a great Heap of Wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the Cheſts were ſet up on End with the Dead Bodies in them, and faſtned on both Sides with Stakes, and bound to the Poſt with a long Iron Chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as ſoon as it began to flame round about, a great many Books that were condemned with them were caſt into the ſame.

There



The burning of M.Bucer & P.Phagius Bones.

Plate XXII

BRITISH MUSEUM
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Anno 1557. There was that Day gathered into the Town a great Multitude of Country Folks (for it was Market-day) who ſeeing Men borne to Execution, and learning by Enquiry that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extream Cruelty of the Commiſſioners toward the rotten Carcaſes, and partly laughed at their Folly in making ſuch Preparatives. For what needeth any Weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead Bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome Harm. Or to what Purpoſe ſerveth that Chain wherewith they were tied, ſince they might be burnt looſe without Peril: For it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Dr. *Watſon's* Sermon at the burning of *Bucer* and *Phagius.*

In the mean Time that they were a roaſting in the Fire, Dr. *Watſon* went into the Pulpit in St. *Mary*'s Church, and there before his Audience railed upon their Doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the Ground of all the Miſchief that had happened of a long Time in the Common-wealth. For behold (ſaid he) as well the Proſperity as the Adverſity of theſe Years that enſued, and ye ſhall find that all Things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found Faith; as contrarily, all Things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we ſeen in this Realm, as long as Religion was defaced with Sects; the common Treaſure (gathered for the Maintenance of the whole publick Weal) and the Goods of the Realm ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the Maintenance of a few Peoples Luſts, all good Order broken, all Diſcipline caſt aſide, Holidays appointed to the ſolemnizing of Ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the Places themſelves beaten down, Fleſh and other kind of prohibited Suſtenance eaten every where upon Days forbidden, without Remorſe of Conſcience, the Prieſts had in Deriſion, the Maſs railed upon, no Honour done to the Sacraments of the Church; all Eſtates and Degrees given to ſuch a licentious Liberty, without Check, that all Things may ſeem to draw to their utter Ruin and Decay.

Watſon ſlanderouſly depraveth the Doctrine of the Proteſtants.

And yet in the mean Time the Name of the Goſpel was pretended outwardly, as tho' that for it Men ought of Duty to give Credit to their erroneous Opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different, or more to the Slander of God's Word than the ſame. For what other Thing taught they to remain in that moſt bleſſed and myſtical Sacrament of the Body of our Lord, than bare unleavened Bread? And what elſe do the Remnant of them teach unto this Day? Whereas Chriſt by expreſs Words doth aſſure it to be his very Body. How perilous a Doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and abſolute Neceſſity of Predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no Choice at all in Things. As who ſhould ſay, it skilled not what a Man purpoſed of any Matter, ſince he had not the Power to determine otherwiſe than the Matter ſhould come to paſs. Which was the peculiar Opinion of them, that made God the Author of Evil, bringing Men through this Perſwaſion into ſuch a careleſs Security of the everlaſting Eternity, that in the mean Seaſon it made no Matter either toward Salvation, or Damnation, what a Man did in this Life. Theſe Errors (which were not even among the heathen Men) were defended by them with great Stoutneſs.

Theſe and many other ſuch Things he falſly alledged againſt *Bucer*, whoſe Doctrine (in ſuch Sort as he himſelf taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was minded to ſlander. And yet he was not ignorant, that *Bucer* taught none other Things than the very ſame whereunto both he and *Scot*, in the Reign of King *Edward* VI, had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their own Hands. While he talked in this wiſe before the People, many of them that had written Verſes before, did now ſet up others, in which, like a Sort of Water Frogs, they ſpued out their venemous Malice againſt *Bucer* and *Phagius*. This was the laſt Act of this Interlude, and yet there remained a few Things to be done, among which was the reconciling of Two-Churches, of our Lady, and of St. *Michael*, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

Watſon and *Scot* had both ſubſcribed to the Doctrine of the Goſpel in the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth.

This was done the next Day following by the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Cheſter*, with as much ceremonial Solemnity as the Law required. But that impanate God, whom *Bucer*'s Carcaſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet turned thither again: Neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unleſs he was brought thither with great Solemnity: As I ſuppoſe, during all the Time of his Abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſſioners at Trinity-college, and there continued as a Sojourner. For thither came all the Graduates of the Univerſity, the 8th of *February*, of Gentleneſs and Courteſy, to bring him Home again. Amongſt which Number, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* (worthy for his Eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe he was a Biſhop) took and carried him clad in a long Rochet, and a large Tippet of Sarcenet about his Neck, wherein he wrapped his Idol alſo. *Ormanet* had given the ſame a little before to the Univerſity, for that and ſuch like Purpoſes.

The Reconciling of the Churches that were interdicted.

A Solemn Proceſſion of the Univerſity and of the Townſmen.

When this Idol ſhould return Home, he went not out the neareſt Way as other Folks are wont to go, but he fetched a Compaſs about moſt Part of the Town, and roamed through ſo many of the Streets, that it was an Hour or more e're he could find the Way into this Church again. I believe the ancient *Romans* obſerved a Cuſtom not much unlike this in their Proceſſions, when they made Supplications at the Shrines of all their Gods. The Order of which Proceſſion was this: The Maſters Regents went before, ſinging with a loud Voice, *Salve feſta dies*, &c. Next them followed the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, about him went *Ormanet* and his Fellow-Commiſſioners, with the Maſters of the Colleges, bearing every Man a long Taper lighted in his Hand. After whom, a little Space off, followed other Degrees of the Univerſity. Laſtly came the Mayor and his Townſmen. Before them all went the Beadles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow themſelves humbly before the Hoſt. If any refuſed ſo to do, they threatned to ſend them forthwith to the *Tolbooth*. Their God being led with this Pomp, and pacified with great ſacrificed Hoſts of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, at length ſettled himſelf again in his accuſtomed room.

The Order of Proceſſion in *Cambridge*.

Dr. *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter* prayed with many Words, that that Day might be lucky and fortunate to himſelf, and to all that were preſent,

sent, and that from that Day forward (now that God's Wrath was appeased, and all other Things set in good Order) all Men should make themselves conformable to Peace and Quietness, namely, in Matters pertaining to Religion.

After this they bestowed a few Days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving Voices either to their own Preferment, or to the Preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the Charge of Pupils, lest they should infect the tender Youth (being pliable to take what Print soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt Doctrine and Heresy, others they chastised wrongfully without any Desert, and many a one they punished, contrary to all Right and Reason.

The Decrees of the Inquisitors.

Last of all they set forth certain Statutes, by which they would have the University hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many Things, as concerning the Election of their Officers of their University, of keeping and administring the Goods of the University, and of many other Things. But especially they handled the Matter very circumspectly for Religion. In which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all Things either with open Blasphemy or with ridiculous Superstition. For they prescribed at how many Masses every Man should be Day by Day, and how many *Pater Nosters* and *Ave*'s every Man should say when he should enter into the Church; and in his Entrance, after what Sort he should bow himself to the Altar, and how to the Master of the House, what he should do there, and how long he should tarry, how many, and what Prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what Meditations others should use while the Priest is in his Memento, mumbling secretly to himself, what Time of the Mass a Man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make Courtesy, when exclusively, when inclusively, and many other superstitious Toys they decreed, that it was a Sport then to behold their Superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these Masters of good Order, for Fashion sake, ordained that every Man should put on a Surplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their Noses thereon.

Ormanet and *Cole* made Doctors.

These Things thus set at a Stay, when the Commissioners were now ready to go their Ways, the University for so great Benefits coveting to shew some Token of Courtesy towards them again, dignified *Ormanet* and *Cole* with the Degree of Doctorship; for all the rest, saving *Christopherson*, who now, by reason he was elected Bishop, preventing that Degree, had received that Order before. Thus at length were sent away these Peacemakers, that came to pacify Strifes and Quarrels, who through provoking every Man to accuse one another, left such Gaps and Breaches in Mens Hearts at their Departure, that they could never be joyned together again.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made of the Death of the worthy and famous Clerk *Martin Bucer*, and of the Burning of his Bones after his Death, it will not be improper here to insert the Funeral Verse of Dr. *Redman* upon *Bucer*'s Death, now translated into *English*.

The Epitaph or Funeral Verse of Dr. *Redman*, upon the Death of *Bucer*.

Anno 1557.

HENCE, O far hence let Envy fly,
Nor be Revenge nor Mock'ry nigh:
The lying Lips and faithless Mind,
Let here no Rest or Refuge find.
These from the Man God's Image take,
And him more like the Devils make.
But Holy Truth be present here,
Thou Virgin everlasting fair.
And to the inquiring many show,
From whence proceeds this Scene of Woe.
Bucer, *who lead the Church before,*
Bucer, *that Light of Learning, is no more;*
As the Sun glides the World around,
So he in Learning's Orb was found.
The Morning Schools his Loss confess,
But who can Cambridge's *Grief express?*
High as the Stars her Sighs ascend,
Lamenting thus her wonted Friend:
No more shall we a Master find,
Like him so just, like him so kind:
Whose exemplary Life was fraught,
With all the Virtues which he taught:
His Rest so small, Labour so great,
Nature sunk down beneath the Weight,
And yielded to Death's fatal Power,
Before his short appointed Hour.
But stop, my Muse, thy Labour's vain,
Thy Lines can't half his Praise contain:
Then farewel Bucer, *thy Remains,*
An humble Sepulchre retains,
'Till the Great Judge of all shall come,
And pass his universal Doom:
Then he thy Body will restore,
More glorious than it was before.
'Till when thy Soul amongst the Blest remains,
There happily thou liv'st, there happily thou reigns.

The despiteful Handling and Madness of the Papists towards Peter Martyr's *Wife at* Oxford, *taken up from her Grave at the Command of Cardinal* Poole, *and afterwards buried in a Dunghil.*

AND becaufe one University should not mock the other, like Cruelty was also declared upon the dead Body of *Peter-Martyr*'s Wife at *Oxford*, an honest, grave and sober Matron while she lived, and always a great Helper of poor People, as many dwelling there can testify.

In the Year of our Lord 1552, she departed this Life, with great Sorrow of all those needy Persons, whose Necessities many Times and often she had liberally eased and relieved. Now when *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester*, *Nicholas Ormanet*, Datary, *Robert Morwen* President of *Corpus Christi* College, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, came thither as the Cardinal's Visitors, they among other Things had in Commission to take up this good Woman again out of her Grave, and to consume her Carcase with Fire, not doubting but that she was of the same Religion that her Husband had professed before, when he read the King's Lecture there. And to make a Shew that they would do nothing disorderly, they cal-

Anno 1557. led all thoſe before them that had any Acquaintance with her or her Husband. They adminiſtred an Oath unto them, that they ſhould not conceal whatſoever was demanded. In fine, their Anſwer was, that they knew not what Religion ſhe was of, by reaſon they underſtood not her Language.

To be ſhort, after theſe Viſitors had ſped their Buſineſs they came for, they went to the Cardinal again, certifying him that upon due Inquiſition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the Law they might burn her. Notwithſtanding the Cardinal did not leave the Matter ſo, but wrote down his Letters a good while after to *Marſhall*, then Dean of *Frideſwides*, that he ſhould dig her up, and lay her out of Chriſtian Burial, becauſe ſhe was interred nigh unto St. *Frideſwide*'s Relicks, ſometime had in great Reverence in that College. Dr. *Marſhall* calling his Spades and Mattocks together in the Evening, when he was well whitled, cauſed her to be taken up and buried in a Dunghil.

Peter Martyr's Wife's Bones taken out of her Grave and buried in a Dunghil.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed God under good Queen *Elizabeth* to give Quietneſs to his Church, long Time perſecuted with Priſon and Death, then Dr. *Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Edmund Grindall* Biſhop of *London*, *Richard Goodrick*, with divers others her Majeſty's high Commiſſioners in Matters of Religion, willed certain of that College, in which this uncourteous Touch was attempted or done, to take her out of the Dunghil where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the Face of the whole Town to bury her again in a more decent Monument. For though the Body being once dead, no great Eſtimation were to be had, how or where the Bones were laid; yet was ſome Reverence to be uſed toward her for Sex and Womanhood Sake. Beſides, to ſay the Truth, it was great Shame, that he which had travelled ſo far at King *Edward*'s Requeſt, from the Place wherein he dwelt quietly and had taken ſo earneſt Pains, being an old Man, in reading and ſetting forth the Truth all he could, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerved of that Univerſity; ſhould with ſo ungentlè a Recompence of Ingratitude be rewarded again, as to have his Wife that was a godly Woman, a Stranger, good to many, eſpecially to the Poor, and hurtful to none, either in Word or Deed, without juſt deſerving, and beſide their own Law, not proceeding againſt her according to the Order thereof, ſpitefully to be laid in a ſtinking Dunghil.

Great Ingratitude ſhewed to *Peter Martyr.*

To all good Natures the Fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be indued with Humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Mr. *Calfield*, then Sub-dean of the College, diligently provided, that from *Marſhall*'s Dunghill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper Place again, yea, and withal coupled her with *Frideſwide*'s Bones, that in caſe any Cardinal will be ſo mad hereafter to remove this Woman's Bones again, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcern the Bones of her from the other. And to the Intent the ſame might be notified to the Minds of Men the better, the next Day after, which was *Sunday*, Mr. *Rogerſon* preached unto the People, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough Dealing of the Adverſaries, which not contented to practiſe their Cruelty againſt the Living, but they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lain two Years in her Grave. God grant them once to ſee their own Wickedneſs. *Amen.*

The Bones of *Peter Martyr's* Wife coupled with the Bones of St. *Frideſwide.*

An Account of Ten Martyrs condemned and burnt within the Dioceſe of Canterbury.

MEntion has been already made of the Perſecution in *Kent*: Where we declared that 15 were impriſoned and condemned in the Caſtle of *Canterbury*. Of which 15 we declared five to be famiſhed to death within the ſaid Caſtle, and buried by the High-way, about the beginning of *November*. The other ten in *January* 1557, were committed unto the Fire, and there conſumed to Aſhes, by *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*.

Their Names be theſe: *John Philpot* of *Tenterden*, *William Waterer* of *Beddingden*, *Stephen Kempe* of *Norgate*, *William Hay* of *Hithe*, *Thomas Hudſon* of *Salenge*, *Matt. Bradbridge* of *Tenterden*, *Thomas Stephens* of *Beddingden*, *Nich. Final* of *Tenterden*, *W. Lowick* of *Cranbroke*, *W. Prowting* of *Thornham*.

Of theſe ten godly Martyrs, ſix were burnt at *Canterbury* about the 15th of *January*, that is, *Kempe*, *Waterer*, *Prowting*, *Lowick*, *Hudſon* and *Haye*. Other two, *Stephens* and *Philpot* at *Wye*, about the ſame Month. The other two, *Final* and *Bradbridge*, were burnt together at *Aſhford* the 16th of the ſame.

What the ordinary Articles were that were commonly objected to them of *Canterbury* Dioceſs is before rehearſed, ſave only that to ſome of theſe, as to them that follow after, as the Time of their Perſecution did grow, ſo their Articles withal did increaſe to the Number of two and twenty, containing ſuch like Matter as ſeemed to the Maintenance of the *Romiſh* See.

Their Anſwers likewiſe to theſe Articles need not to be rehearſed, ſeeing they all agreed together, tho' not in the ſame Form of Words, yet to the ſame Effect, *&c.*

The next Month following, which was *February*, came out another bloody Commiſſion from the King and Queen, to kindle up the Fire of Perſecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the Contents of which Commiſſion I thought here not to omit; not for lack of Matter, whereof I have too much; but that the Reader may underſtand how Kings and Princes of this World, like as in the firſt Perſecutions of the primitive Church under *Valerian*, *Decus*, *Maximinian*, *Diocleſian*, *Licinius*, &c. ſo now alſo in theſe latter perilous Days, have ſet out all their main Force and Power, with Laws, Policy and Authority to the uttermoſt they could deviſe againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe Laws, Conſtitutions, Injunctions, and terrible Proclamations provided againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, Chriſt yet ſtill continueth, his Goſpel flouriſheth, and Truth pervaileth; Kings and Emperors in their own Purpoſes overthrown, their Devices diſſolved, their Counſels confounded; as Examples both of this and of all Times and Ages do make manifeſt. But now let us hear the Intent of this Commiſſion, in Tenor as followeth.

Examples how Kings and Princes, and the Power of the World band themſelves againſt Chriſt and his Word, and yet could never prevail.

A bloody Commiſſion given forth by King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to perſecute the poor Members of Chriſt.

PHilip *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God King and Queen of* England, *&c. To the Right Reverend Father in God our right truſty and well beloved Counſellor* Thomas *Biſhop of* Ely, *and to our right truſty and well beloved* William Windſore, *Knight, Lord* Windſore, Edward North, *Knight, Lord* North, *and to our truſty and well-beloved Counſellor* J. Bourn, *Knight, one of our chief Secretaries*, J. Mordaunt, *Knight*, Francis Englefield, *Knight, Maſter of our Wards and Liveries*, Edward Walgrave, *Knight, Maſter of our great Wardrobe*, Nicholas Hare, *Knight, Maſter of the Rolls*, Thomas Pope, *Knight*, Roger Cholmley, *Knight*, Richard Rede, *Knight*, Rowland Hill, *Knight*, William Raſtal, *Serjeant at Law*, Henry Cole, *Clerk, Dean of* Paul's, William Roper *and* Ralph Cholmley, *Eſquires*, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, *and* John Vaughan, *Doctors of the Law, greeting.*

Foraſmuch as divers deviliſh and ſlanderous Perſons have not only invented, bruted, and ſet forth divers falſe Rumours, Tales, and ſeditious Slanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers Hereſies, and heretical Opinions, and ſet forth divers ſeditious Books within this Our Realm of England, *meaning thereby to ſtir up Diviſion, Strife, Contention, and Sedition, not only amongſt Our loving Subjects, but alſo betwixt Us and Our ſaid Subjects with divers other outragious Miſdemeanour, Enormities, Contempts and Offences, daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and Our People, We, minding the due Puniſhment of ſuch Offenders, and the repreſſing of ſuch like Offences, Enormities, and Misbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms and Diſcretions, have authorized, appointed and aſſigned you to be Our Commiſſioners, and by theſe Preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful Men, as by Witneſſes and all other Means and politick Ways you can deviſe, of all and ſingular heretical Opinions, Lollardies, heretical and ſeditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conſpiracies, and all falſe Rumours, Tales, ſeditious and ſlanderous Words or Sayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruted, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us, or againſt the quiet Governance and Rule of Our People and Subjects, by Books, Lies, Tales, or otherwiſe, in any County, Key, Bowing, or other Place or Places, within this Our Realm of* England *or elſewhere, in any Place or Places beyond the Seas, and of the Bringers in, Utterers, Buyers Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyors of any ſuch Letter, Books, Rumour and Tale, and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counſellors, Comforters, Procurers, Abettors, and Maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full Power and Authority by Virtue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your Hands and Poſſeſſions, all manner of heretical and ſeditious Books, Letters, and Writings, whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, as well in Printers Houſes and Shops, as elſewhere, willing you and every of you to ſearch for the ſame in all Places according to your Diſcretions.*

And alſo to enquire, hear and determine all and ſingular Enormities, Diſturbances, Misbehaviours, and Negligences committed in any Church, Chapel, or other hallowed Place within this Realm, and alſo for and concerning the taking away or withholding any Lands, Tenements, Goods, Ornaments, Stocks of Money, or other Things belonging to every of the ſame Churches and Chapels, and all Accounts and Reckonings concerning the ſame. Anno 1557.

And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch Perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, or to come to their Pariſh Churches, or other convenient Places appointed for divine Service, and all ſuch as refuſe to go on Proceſſion, to take holy Bread or holy Water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any Church or other hallowed Place, whereſoever any of the ſame Offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be committed within this our ſaid Realm.

Nevertheleſs, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any Perſon or Perſons hereafter being called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt, or ſtand in any manner of Hereſy, or heretical Opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take Order, that the ſame Perſon or Perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered or committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical Laws.

And alſo We give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, to enquire and ſearch out all Vagabonds, and maſterleſs Men, Barretours, Quarrellers, and ſuſpected Perſons, abiding within Our City of London, *and ten Miles Compaſs of the ſame, and all Aſſaults and Affrays done and committed within the ſame City and Compaſs.*

And further to ſearch out all Waſtes, Decays, and Ruins of Churches, Chancels, Chapels, Parſonages, and Vicarages in the Dioceſs of the ſame, being within this Realm, giving you, and every of you full Power and Authority by Virtue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other Offences and Matters above ſpecify'd and rehearſed, according to your Wiſdoms, Conſciences, and Diſcretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from Time to Time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politick Ways and Means, for the Trial and ſearching out of the Premiſſes, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary: And upon Enquiry and due Proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the Confeſſion of the Parties, or by ſufficient Witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the Premiſſes or any part thereof, or by any other Ways or Means requiſite, to give and award ſuch Puniſhment to the Offenders, by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch Order for Redreſs and Reformation of the Premiſſes, as to your Wiſdoms, or three of you ſhall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their Appearance before you, or three of you at your Calling or Aſſignment, or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders and Commandments in any Thing or Things, touching the Premiſſes or any Part thereof, to commit the ſame Perſon or Perſons ſo offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you he be diſcharged or delivered, &c.

The Apprehenſion of Twenty-two Priſoners in Eſſex.

AFter this bloody Commiſſion thus given out at *London*, which was the eighth

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

The Martyrdom of Kemp, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, *&* Haies. *at* Canterbury.

Inventy Invo Prisoners brought in one Band from Colchester *to* London.

Hulett Sculp.

Anno 1557. Day of *February*, in the third and fourth Years of the Reign of the King and Queen, theſe new Inquiſitors, eſpecially ſome of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; ſo that all Quarters were full of Perſecution, and Priſons almoſt full of Priſoners; namely, in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, whereof we will ſpeak more anon.

Perſecution about *Colcheſter.* In the mean Time, about the Town of *Colcheſter*, the Wind of Perſecution began fiercely to riſe; inſomuch that three and twenty together, Men and Women, were apprehended at one Clap; of which Number, one eſcaped; the other twenty two were driven up like a Flock of Chriſtian Lambs to *London*, with two or three Leaders with them at moſt, ready to give their Skins to be plucked off for the Goſpel's ſake. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, afraid belike of the Number, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought Means to deliver them, and ſo they did, drawing out a very eaſy Submiſſion for them, or rather ſuffering them to draw it out themſelves; notwithſtanding divers of them were afterward taken again and ſuffered, as ye ſhall hear hereafter.

The Order of bringing 22 Priſoners to *London.* Such as met them by the Way coming up, ſaw them in the Fields ſcattering in ſuch Sort, as that they might eaſily have eſcaped away. And when they entered into the Towns, their Keepers called them again into Aray, to go two and two together, having a Band or Line going between them, they holding the ſame in their Hands, every one having another Cord about his Arm, as tho' they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteen Men and eight Women carried up to *London*, the People by the way praying to God for them, to give them Strength. At their entering into *London* they were pinioned, and ſo came into the City, as the Picture doth deſcribe. But firſt let us declare concerning their being taken and their Attachers, contained in the Commiſſary's Letter written to *Bonner*; then, the Indenture made between the Commiſſioners and the popiſh Commiſſary. The Letter of the Commiſſary is this:

AFTER my Duty done in receiving and accompliſhing your honourable and moſt loving Letters, dated *Auguſt* 7: Be it known unto your Lordſhip, that the 28th of *Auguſt*, the Lord of *Oxenford*, Lord *Darcy*, *H. Tyrel*, *A Brown*, *W. Bendlows*, *E. Tyrel*, *R. Weſton*, *R. Appleton*, publiſhed their Commiſſion, to ſeize the Lands, Tenements and Goods of the Fugitives, ſo that the Owners ſhould have neither Uſe nor Advantage thereof, but by Inventory remain in ſafe Keeping, until the Cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the Queen's Warrant for the Reſtitution of the Church Goods within *Colcheſter*, and the Hundreds thereabout, to the Uſe of God's Service. And then were called the Pariſhes particularly, and the Hereticks partly committed to my Examination. And that divers Perſons ſhould certify me of the Ornaments of their Churches, betwixt this and the Juſtices next Appearance, which ſhall be on *Michaelmas* next. And the Pariſhes which had preſented at two ſeveral Times, to have all Ornaments with other Things in good Order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their Appearance from Time to Time. And thoſe Names blotted in the Indenture, were indicted for Treaſon, Fugitives, or Diſobedients, and were put forth by Mr. *Brown*'s Commandment. And before the ſealing, my Lord *Darcy* ſaid unto me apart, and Mr. *Bendlows*, that I ſhould have ſufficient Time to ſend unto your Lordſhip, yea, if Need were, the Hereticks to remain in Durance till I had an Anſwer from you, yea, till the Lord Legate Graces Commiſſioners come into the Country.

And Mr. *Brown* came unto my Lord *Darcy*'s Houſe and Parlour belonging unto Mr. *Barnaby*, before my ſaid Lord and all the Juſtices, and laid his Hand on my Shoulder, with a ſmiling Countenance, and deſired me to make his hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, and asked me if I would: And I ſaid, Yea, with a good Will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not have been charged with ſo ſudden Carriage.

But after Dinner, the Juſtices counſelled with the Bailiffs, and with the Jaylers, and then after took me into them, and made Collation of the Indentures, and ſealed them; and then Mr. *Brown* commanded me this Afternoon, being the 30th of *Auguſt*, to go and receive my Priſoners by and by. And then I ſaid, it is an unreaſonable Commandment, for that I have attended on you here theſe three Days, and this *Sunday* early I have ſent home my Men. Wherefore I deſire you to have a convenient Time appointed, wherein I may know, whether it will pleaſe my Lord my Maſter to ſend his Commiſſioners hither, or that I ſhall make Carriage of them unto his Lordſhip. Then Mr. *Brown* ſaid, We are certified that the Council have written to your Maſter to make Speed, and to rid theſe Priſoners out of Hand: Therefore go receive your Priſoners in Haſte. I anſwered, Sir, I ſhall receive them within theſe ten Days. Then Mr. *Brown* ſaid, The Limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this Indenture, whoſe Faith or Opinions I knew not, truſting that ye will grant me a Time to examine them, leſt I ſhould puniſh the Catholicks. Well, ſaid Mr. *Brown*, for that Cauſe ye ſhall have Time betwixt this and *Wedneſday*. And I ſay unto you, Mr. Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your Hands on *Wedneſday*, ſet open your Door, and let them go.

Then I ſaid, My Lord, and Maſters all, I promiſe to diſcharge the Town and Country of theſe Hereticks within theſe ten Days. The Lord *Darcy* anſwered, Commiſſary, we do and muſt all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before *Wedneſday*.

To which I replied, My Lord, the laſt I carried, I was going betwixt the Caſtle and St. *Katherine*'s Chappel two Hours and a half, and in great Preſs and Danger: Wherefore this may be to deſire your Lordſhip, to give in Commandment unto Mr. *Sayer*, my Bailiff, here preſent, to aid me through his Liberties, not only with Men and Weapons, but that the Town-clerk may be ready there with his Book to write the Names of the moſt buſy Perſons, and this upon three Hours Warning; all which both my Lord and Mr. *Brown* commanded.

What ado is here with the Butchers to bring the poor Lambs to the Shambles?

The 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *William Goodwin* of *Muchbirch*, Husbandman, this Bringer, and *Tho. Alſey* of *Copford*, your Lordſhip's Apparator of your Conſiſtory in *Colcheſter*, covenanted with me, that they ſhould hire two other

Men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a Bow-man, to come to me the next Day about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, ſo that I might recite this Bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the Money, that is, forty ſix Shillings and eight Pence. Wherefore they ſhould then go forth with me unto *Colcheſter*, and on *Wedneſday* before three of the Clock in the Morning receive there at my Hand within the Caſtle and Mote-hall, 14 Men and 8 Women, bound with Cords and Fetters, and drive, carry, or lead and feed with Meat and Drink, as Hereticks ought to be found continually, unto ſuch Time that the ſaid *Goodwin* and *Alſey* ſhall cauſe the ſaid two and twenty Perſons to be delivered unto my Lord of *London*'s Officers, and within the ſafe Keeping of my ſaid Lord, and then to bring unto me again the ſaid Fetters, with a perfect Token of or from my ſaid Lord, and then this Covenant is void, or elſe, *&c.*

Twenty two poor Priſoners in Bonds for Chriſt and his Word.

Mr. *Bendlows* ſaid unto me in my Lord of *Oxenford*'s Chamber at the King's-Head, after I had ſaid Maſs before the Lords, that on the Morrow after Holy-Rood Day, when we ſhall meet at *Chelmsford* for the Diviſion of theſe Lands, I think Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. *Smith*, ſhall be fain to ride with certain of the Jury to thoſe Portions and Manors in your Part of *Eſſex*, and in like Caſe divide yourſelves, to tread and view the Ground with the Queſt, or elſe I think they will not labour the Matter, and ſo do you ſay unto Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice the Wife of *William Walley* of *Colcheſter*, hath ſubmitted herſelf, abjured her erroneous Opinions, asked Abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemn Penance in her Pariſh Church at St. *Peter*'s on *Sunday* next, and to continue a Catholick and faithful Woman, as long as God ſhall ſend her Life. And for theſe Covenants her Husband ſtandeth bound in five Pounds. Which *Alice* is one of the nine Women of this your Indenture, and ſhe is big with Child. Wherefore ſhe remaineth at Home, and this done in the Preſence of the Bailiffs, Aldermen, and Town-clerk. And becauſe Mr. *Brown* was certified there was no Curate at *Lexdon*, he enquired who was the former? The Anſwer was made, Sir *Francis Jobſon*. Who is the Parſon? They of the Queſt-men anſwered, Sir *Roger Ghoſtlow*. When was he with you? Not theſe Fourteen Years. How is your Cure ſerved? now and then. Who is the Patron? My Lord of *Arundel*. And within ſhort Time after, Sir *Francis Jobſon* came with great Courteſy unto my Lord *Darcy*'s Place. And of all Gentlemen about us, I ſaw no more come in.

Sir *Robert Smith* Prieſt, ſometime Canon of *Bridlington*, now Curate of *Appledoore* in the *Wild of Kent*, came to *Colcheſter* the 28*th* Day of *Auguſt*, with his Wife big with Child, of late divorced, taken on Suſpicion, examined by the Lords, and Mr. *Brown* told me that they have received Letters from the Council for the Attachment of certain Perſons, and eſpecially of one Prieſt, whoſe Name is *Pullen* (but his right Name is *Smith*) doubting this Prieſt to be the ſaid *Pullen*, although neither he nor his Wife would confeſs the ſame.

Wherefore he lieth ſtill in Priſon, but ſurely this is not *Pullen*. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip to have in Remembrance, that the Houſholders might be compelled to bring every Man his own Wife to her own Seat in the Church in Time of divine Service, it would profit much. And alſo there be yet ſtanding Hoſpitals, and others of like Foundation about *Colcheſter*, which I have not known to appear at any Viſitation, as the Maſters and Lazars of *Mary Magdalen* in *Colcheſter*, the Proctor of St. *Katherine*'s Chappel in *Colcheſter*, the Hoſpital or Breadhouſe of the Foundation of the Lord *H. Harney* in *Laremarky*, the Hoſpital and Beadman of *Little Horkſley*. Thus preſuming on your Lordſhip's Goodneſs, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly Buſineſs, beſeeching Almighty God to ſend your honourable Lordſhip a condign Reward. Anno 1557.

From Eaſtthorp *this preſent* 30*th Day of* Auguſt.

We found a Letter concerning the Marriage of Prieſts in the Hands of the aforeſaid Sir *Robert Smith*. Alſo I deſired Mr. *Brown*, the Doer of all Things, to require the Audience to bring in their unlawful Writings and Books; who asked me, If I had proclaimed the Proclamation? I ſaid, Yea. Then he ſaid openly upon the Bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed once every Quarter. And then take the Conſtables and Officers, and they alone take and puniſh the Offenders accordingly.

By your poor Beadman,

John Kingſton, *Prieſt.*

An Indenture made between the Lords and Juſtices within ſpecify'd, and *Bonner*'s Commiſſary, concerning the Delivery of the Priſoners above-named.

THIS Indenture made the nineteenth Day of Auguſt, *in the third and fourth Years of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady*, Philip *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* England, Spain, France, *both* Cicils, Jeruſalem *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of* Auſtria, *Dukes of* Burgundy, Milan *and* Brabant, *Counties of* Hasburgh, Flanders *and* Tirol, *between the Right Honourable Lord* John de Vere, *Earl of* Oxford, *Lord high Chamberlain of* England, Thomas *Lord* Darcy *of* Chich, Henry Tirel, *Knight*, Anthony Brown *the King and Queen's Serjeant at Law*, William Bendelows *Serjeant at Law*, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton *Eſquires, Juſtices of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *and of the Peace within the ſaid County of* Eſſex, *to be kept of the one Party, and* John Kingſton, *Clerk, Batchelor at Law, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of* London, *of the other Party, witneſſeth, that* Ro. Colman *of* Walton *in the County of* Eſſex, *Labourer*; Joan Winſeley *of* Horſeley Magna *in the ſaid County*, Spinſter; Stephen Glover *of* Rayley, *in the County aforeſaid*, Glover; Richard Clerke *of* Much Holland *in the ſaid County*, Marriner; William Munt *of* Much Bently *in the ſaid County*, Husbandman; Thomas Winſeley *of* Much Horſeley, *in the ſaid County*, Sawyer; Margaret Field *of* Ramſey *in the ſaid County*, Spinſter; Agnes Whitlock *of* Dovercourt *in the ſaid County*, Spinſter; Alice Munt *of* Much Bentley *in the ſaid County*, Spinſter; Roſe Allin *of the ſame Town and County*, Spinſter; Richard Bongeor *of* Colcheſter

Anno 1556. cheſter *in the ſaid Country*, Currier; Richard Atkin *of* Halſtead *in the ſaid County*, Weaver; Robert Barcock *of* Winſton *in the County of* Suffolk, Carpenter; Richard George *of* Weſtbarholt *in the County of* Eſſex, Labourer; Richard Jolly *of* Colcheſter *in the ſaid County*, Marriner; Thomas Feereſanne *of the ſame Town and County*, Mercer; Robert Debnam *late of* Dedham *in the ſaid County*, Weaver; Ciſely Warren *of* Cockſall *in the ſaid County*, Spinſter; Chriſtian Pepper, *Widow, of the ſame Town and County*; Allin Simpſon, Elen Euring, Alice *the Wife of* William Wallis *of* Colcheſter, Spinſter; Willam Bongeor *of* Colcheſter *in the ſaid County*, Glaſier; *being indicted of Hereſy, are delivered to the ſaid* John Kingſtone, Clerk, *Ordinary to the Biſhop of* London, *according to the Statute in that Caſe provided.*

In witneſs whereof to the one Part of this Indenture remaining with the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices, the ſaid Ordinary hath ſet to his Hand and Seal; and to the other Part remaining with the ſaid Ordinary, the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices have ſet to their ſeveral Hands and Seals, the Day and Year above written.

Oxenford.	William Bendelows.
Thomas Darcy..	Edmund Tyrel.
Henry Tyrel.	Richard Weſton.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton.

The twenty two aforeſaid Priſoners thus ſent from *Colcheſter* to *London*, were brought at length to Biſhop *Bonner*: Concerning whom *Bonner* himſelf writeth to Cardinal *Poole*, in the following Manner.

A Letter of Biſhop *Bonner* to Cardinal *Poole*.

MAY it pleaſe your Grace, with my moſt humble Obedience, Reverence, and Duty, to underſtand, that going to London *upon* Thurſday *laſt, and thinking to be troubled with Mr.* Germaine's *Matter only, and ſuch other common Matters as are accuſtomed, enough to weary a right ſtrong Body, I had the Day following to comfort my Stomach withal, Letters from* Colcheſter, *that either that Day or the Day following, I ſhould have ſent thence twenty two Hereticks, indicted before the Commiſſioners, and indeed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their Charges as I did of the others, both of which coſt me above twenty Nobles, a Sum of Money that I thought full evil beſtow'd. And theſe Hereticks notwithſtanding they had honeſt Catholick Keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the Way from* Colcheſter *to* Stratford-Bow *did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to* Stratford *they began to take Heart of Grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their Guard, which generally increaſed till they came to* Aldgate, *where they were lodged* Friday *Night.*

And albeit I took Order that the ſaid Heretieks ſhould be with me very early on Saturday *Morning, to the Intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the Clock before they would come, and no Way would they take but through* Cheapſide, *ſo that they were brought to my Houſe with about a thouſand Perſons. Which Thing I took very ſtrange, and ſpake to Sir* John Greſſam *then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffs that this Thing was not well ſuffered in the City. Theſe naughty Hereticks all the Way they came through* Cheapſide, *both exhorted the People to their Part, and had much Comfort from the promiſcuous Multitude; and being entered into my Houſe, and talked withal, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate, and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt Means I could, both of myſelf and others, to have won them, cauſing divers learned Men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but Pride and Wilfulneſs, I thought to have had them all hither to* Fulham, *and here to give Sentence againſt them. Nevertheleſs, perceiving by my laſt Doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my Duty before I any Thing further proceeded herein, to advertiſe firſt your Grace hereof, and know your good Pleaſure, which I beſeech your Grace I may do by this truſty Bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my Leave of your good Grace, beſeeching Almighty God always to preſerve the ſame. At* Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your Grace's moſt bounden Beadſman and Servant,
Edmund Bonner.

By this Letter of Biſhop *Bonner* to the Cardinal, is to be underſtood, what good Will was in this Biſhop to have the Blood of theſe Men, and to have paſs'd with Sentence of Condemation againſt them, had not the Cardinal ſomewhat (as it ſeemed) ſtay'd his fervent Headineſs. Concerning which Cardinal, although it cannot be deny'd by his Acts and Writings, but that he was a profeſſed Enemy, and no otherwiſe to be reputed but for a Papiſt: Yet again it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the bloody and cruel Sort of Papiſts, as may appear not only by ſtaying the Rage of this Biſhop, but alſo by the ſollicitous Writing, and long Letters written to *Cranmer*, alſo by the Complaints of certain Papiſts accuſing him to the Pope, to be a Bearer with the Hereticks, and by the Pope's Letters ſent to him upon the ſame, calling him up to *Rome*, and ſetting Friar *Peto* in his Place, had not Queen *Mary* by ſpecial Intreaty, kept him out of the Pope's Danger. All which Letters I have (if Need be) to ſhew: And beſides alſo, that is thought of him that toward his latter End a little before his coming from *Rome* to *England*, he began ſomewhat to favour the Doctrine of *Luther*, and was no leſs ſuſpected at *Rome*: Yea, and furthermore, did there at *Rome* convert a certain learned *Spaniard* from Popery to *Luther*'s Side; notwithſtanding the Pomp and Glory of the World afterward carried him away to play the Papiſt thus as he did. But of this Cardinal enough.

Bonner's Cruelty ſomewhat ſtayed by Cardinal *Poole*.

Cardinal *Poole* half ſuſpected for a *Lutheran* at *Rome*.

To return now to this godly Company again, firſt how they were brought up in Bands to *London*, ye have heard; alſo how *Bonner* was about to have read the Sentence of Death upon them, and how he was ſtayed by the Cardinal, ye underſtand. As touching their Confeſſion, which they articled up in Writing, it were too tedious to recite, but we ſhall inſert this ſhort Supplication to the Commiſſioners, requiring that Juſtice might be adminiſtred unto them.

A Supplication of the Priſoners to the Judges.

TO the right honourable Audience, before whom theſe our ſimple Writings, and the Confeſſion of our Faith ſhall come to be heard or ſeen, we poor Priſoners being faſt in Bonds upon the Trial of our Faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures,

pray moſt heartily, that foraſmuch as God hath given you Power and Strength over us as concerning our Bodies, under whom we ſubmit ourſelves as obedient Subjects in all Things due, ye being Officers and Rulers of the People, may execute true Judgment, keep the Laws of Righteouſneſs, govern the People according to right, and hear the Poor and Helpleſs in Truth, and defend their Cauſe.

God for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, give you the Wiſdom and Underſtanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moſes, *with divers other moſt virtuous Rulers, by whoſe Wiſdom and moſt godly Underſtanding, the People were juſtly ruled and governed in the Fear of God, all Wickedneſs was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all Godlineſs and Virtue did flouriſh and ſpring. O God which art the moſt Higheſt, the Creator and Maker of all Things, and of all Men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, who doſt try all Mens Works and Imaginations, before whoſe Judgment Seat ſhall come both High and Low, Rich and Poor; we moſt humbly beſeech thee to put into our Rulers Hearts the pure Love and Fear of thy Name, that even as they themſelves would be judged, and as they ſhall make Anſwer before thee, ſo they may hear our Cauſes, judge with Mercy, and read over theſe our Requeſts and Confeſſions of our Faith, with Deliberation and a godly Judgment.*

And if any Thing here ſeemeth to your honourable Audience to be erroneous or diſagreeing to the Scripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips to hear us patiently, which do offer ourſelves to the Scriptures, thereby to make Anſwer, and to be tried, in ſo doing we poor Subjects being in much Captivity and Bondage, are moſt bound to pray for your noble Eſtate and long Preſervation.

The Requeſt of theſe Men being ſo juſt, and their Doctrine ſo ſound, yet all this could not prevail with the Biſhop and other Judges, but that Sentence ſhould have proceeded againſt them immediately, had not the Goodneſs of the Lord better provided for his Servants, than the Biſhop had intended. For as they were now under the Edge of the Ax, ready to be condemned by Sentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the Cardinal, and ſome other wiſer Heads; fearing belike, leſt by the Death of ſo many together, ſome Diſturbance might riſe peradventure among the People; and ſo it was decreed among themſelves, that they ſhould rather make ſome Submiſſion or Confeſſion, ſuch as they would themſelves, and ſo be ſent Home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them were afterward apprehended and put to Death. But in the mean Space as touching their Submiſſion which they made, this it was as in Form here followeth:

The Submiſſion or Confeſſion of the aforeſaid Priſoners.

BEcauſe our Saviour Chriſt at his laſt Supper took Bread, and when he had given Thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his Diſciples, and ſaid, Take eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in Remembrance of me. *Therefore according to the Words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we do believe in the Sacrament to be Chriſt's Body. And likewiſe he took the Cup, gave Thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid,* This is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many. Anno 1557.

Therefore likewiſe we do believe that it is the Blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſt's Church doth adminiſter the ſame. Unto which catholick Church of Chriſt we do in this like as in all other Matters ſubmit ourſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good chriſtian Men, and here in this Realm to uſe ourſelves as it becometh faithful Subjects unto our moſt gracious King and Queen, to all other Superiors both Spiritual and Temporal, according to our bounden Duties.

Theſe Names of thoſe who ſubſcribed to this Submiſſion, were theſe,

John Atkin, Alyn Sympſon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winſſey, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Chriſtian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winſly, Cicely Warren, Roſe Alin, Ann Whitelocke, George Baker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

The Story of five godly Martyrs, burnt at one Fire in Smithfield, *on the* 12th *Day of* April, 1557.

TO proceed further in this Hiſtory of perſecuted Martyrs, next in order follow theſe five, namely,

Thomas Loſeby.
Henry Ramſey.
Thomas Thirtel.
Margaret Hide,
and
Agnes Stanley.

Who being, ſome by the Lord *Rich*, ſome by other Juſtices of Peace, and Conſtables (their own Neighbours) at the firſt accuſed and apprehended for not coming to their Pariſh Churches, were in the End ſent unto *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and by his Commandment, the 27*th* Day of *January* were examined before Dr. *Darbiſhire*, then Chancellor to the ſaid Biſhop, upon the former general Articles mentioned.

Anſwers to the Articles.

WHOSE Anſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and Catholick Church, whereof they ſtedfaſtly believed, and thought the Church of *Rome* to be no Part or Member: So in the ſame Church they believed there were but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord. Howbeit, ſome of them attributed the Title and Honour of a Sacrament to the holy Eſtate of Matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather out of ſimple Ignorance than of any wilful Opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admoniſhed.

Moreover, they acknowledged themſelves to be baptized into the Faith of that true Church, as in the third Article is ſpecify'd. And here in reading, as well of theſe Articles, as alſo of the reſt, mark I beſeech you, the crafty Subtilty of theſe Catholick Companions, who intermixing certain Points of Faith, and of the true Church, with the idolatrous

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latrous and ſuperſtitious Maumetry of their *Romiſh* Synagogue, becauſe the poor and ſimple People, for lack of Knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty Nets.

For after they have made them grant a true Church, with the Sacraments of the ſame, tho' not in ſuch Number as they would have them, and alſo that they were chriſtened into the Faith thereof, that is, In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, they craftily now in their other Objections, deſcending, as it were, from the Faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous Maſs and other ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof they have ſevered themſelves from the Faith of the true Church, whereinto they were baptized, which is moſt falſe: For tho' the true Light of God's Goſpel and holy Word, was marvellouſly darkened, and in a Manner utterly extinguiſhed, yet the true Faith of the Trinity, by the merciful Providence of God, was ſtill preſerved, and into the Faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the Belief and Profeſſion of their horrible Idolatry and vain Ceremonies.

Theſe Things not thoroughly weigh'd by theſe poor, yet faithful and true Members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the Years of Diſcretion, and underſtood the Light of the Goſpel, they did ſeparate themſelves from the Faith of the Church, meaning none other but only to ſeparate themſelves from admitting or allowing of ſuch their Popiſh and erroneous Traſh as they now had defiled the Church of Chriſt withal, and not from their Faith received in Baptiſm, which in expreſs Words in their Anſwers to the other Articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the Maſs and Sacrament of the Altar to be moſt wicked Blaſphemy againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and contrary to the Truth of his Goſpel, and therefore utterly they refuſed to aſſent unto, and to be reconciled again thereunto.

They who ſeparate themſelves from certain Traſh brought into the Church, do not ſeparate themſelves from the Church.

Theſe Anſwers in Effect of them thus taken by the ſaid Chancellor, they were for that Time diſmiſſed; but the Biſhop, taking the Matter into his own Hands, the *6th* Day of *March*, propounded unto them certain other new Articles: The Copy whereof followeth:

Other Articles objected by Bonner *Biſhop of* London, *againſt* Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell, Margaret Hide, *and* Agnes Stanley, *the ſixth Day of* March, *being the ſecond Time of Examination.*

1. FIRST, That thou haſt thought, believed, and ſpoken, within ſome Part of the City and Dioceſs of *London*, that the Faith, Religion, and eccleſiaſtical Service here obſerved and kept, as it is in the Realm of *England*, is not a true and a laudible Faith, Religion, and Service, eſpecially concerning the Maſs, and the ſeven Sacraments, nor is agreeable to God's Word, and Teſtament, and that thou canſt not find in thy Heart without murmuring, grudging, or ſcruple, to receive and uſe it, and to conform thyſelf unto it, as other Subjects of this Realm cuſtomably have done and do.

2. *Item*, That thou haſt thought, *&c.* that the *Engliſh* Service ſet forth in the Time of King *Edward* VI. here in this Realm of *England*, was and is good and godly, and Catholick in all Points, and that it alone ought here in this Realm to be received, uſed, and practiſed, and none other.

3. *Item*, Likewiſe thou haſt thought, *&c.* that thou art not bound to come to thy Pariſh Church, and there to be preſent, and hear Mattins, Maſs, Even-ſong, and other divine Service, ſung or ſaid there.

4. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that thou art not bound to come to Proceſſion to the Church upon Days and Times appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the Pariſh, ſinging or ſaying then the accuſtomed Prayers uſed in the Church, nor to bear a Taper or Candle on *Candlemaſs-day*, nor take Aſhes upon *Aſh-Wedneſday*, nor bear Palms upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor to creep to the Croſs upon Days accuſtomed, nor to receive and kiſs the Pax at Maſs Time, nor to receive holy Water or holy Bread, nor to accept and allow the Ceremonies and Uſages of the Church, after the Manner and Faſhion as they are uſed in this Realm.

5. Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that thou art not bound at any Time to confeſs thy Sins to any Prieſt, and to receive Abſolution at his Hands, as God's Miniſter, nor to receive at any Time the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, eſpecially as it is uſed in this Church of *England*.

6. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* That in Matters of Religion and Faith, thou muſt follow and believe thine own Conſcience only, and not give Credit to the Determination and common Order of the Catholick Church, and the See of *Rome*, nor to any Member thereof.

7. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that all Things do chance of an abſolute and preciſe mere Neceſſity, ſo that whether a Man do well or evil, he could not chuſe but do ſo, and that therefore no Man hath any free Will at all.

8. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that the Faſhion and Manner of Chriſtening of Infants, is not agreeable to God's Word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby ſaved, except he have Years of Diſcretion to believe himſelf, and ſo willingly accept or refuſe Baptiſm at his Pleaſure.

9. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that Prayers to Saints, or Prayers for the Dead, are not available, and not allowable by God's Word, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the Souls departed do ſtraightways go to Heaven or Hell, or elſe do ſleep till the Day of Doom, ſo that there is no place of Purgation at all.

10. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that all ſuch as in the Time of King *Henry* VIII, or in the Time of Queen *Mary* in *England*, have been burned as Hereticks, were no Hereticks at all, but faithful and good Chriſtian People; eſpecially *Barnes*, *Garret*, *Jerome*, *Frith*, *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Latimer*, *Taylor*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and ſuch like; and that thou didſt and doſt allow, like, and approve all their Opinions, and doſt miſlike their Condemnations and Burnings.

11. *Item*, Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that faſting and Prayers uſed in this Church of *England*, and the appointing of Days for faſting, and the abſtaining from Fleſh upon Faſting-

days, and eſpecially in the Time of *Lent*, is not laudable or allowable by God's Word, but is Hypocriſy and Fooliſhneſs; and that Men ought to have Liberty to eat at all Times all Kinds of Meat.

12. *Item*, Thou haſt taught, *&c.* that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and to reſerve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain Idolatry and Superſtition: And likewiſe of the Maſs and Elevation of the Sacrament.

13. *Item.* Thou haſt thought, *&c.* that thou or any elſe, convented before an eccleſiaſtical Judge concerning Matters of Belief and Faith, are not, nor is bound to make Anſwer at all eſpecially under an Oath upon a Book.

Their Anſwers to the Articles.

CONcerning the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, ſaving that they denied the Souls of the departed to ſleep till the Day of Judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth Article.

And as concerning the ſixth Objection, they thought themſelves bound to believe the true Catholick Church, ſo far forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them according to God's holy Word, but not to follow the Determinations of the erroneous and *Babylonical* Church of *Rome.*

As for the ſeventh, eighth and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any ſuch abſurd Opinions as are contained therein, but that they granted that Man of himſelf, without the Help and Aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit, hath no Power to do any good Thing acceptable in God's Sight.

To the eleventh they ſaid, that true faſting and Prayer, uſed according to God's Word, are allowable and available in his Sight, and that by the ſame Word every faithful Man may eat all Meats at all Times, with Thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

After this, the firſt Day of *April*, they were again convented before the Biſhop in his Palace at *London*, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their Anſwers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant, and deny the received and infallible Truth, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open Conſiſtory, the third Day of the ſame Month of *April* in the Forenoon, where firſt underſtanding by them their immutable Conſtancy and Stedfaſtneſs, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation.

Loſeby's Words to Biſhop Bonner.

To whom *Thomas Loſeby* firſt anſwered, God give me Grace and Strength to ſtand againſt you, and your Sentence, and alſo againſt your Law, which is a devouring Law, for it devoureth the Flock of Chriſt. And I perceive there is no Way with me but Death, except I would conſent to your devouring Law, and believe in that Idol the Maſs.

Thirtel's Words to the Biſhop.

Next unto him anſwered *Thomas Thirtel*, ſaying, My Lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an Heretick, then you make Chriſt and all the twelve Apoſtles Hereticks: For I am in the true Faith and right Belief, and I will ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall have eternal Life therefore.

The Biſhop then asked the like Queſtion of *Henry Ramſey*; who ſaid again, My Lord, will you have me to go from the Truth that I am in; I ſay unto you, that my Opinions be the very Truth, which I will ſtand unto, and not go from them: And I ſay unto you further, that there are two Churches upon the Earth, and we (meaning himſelf and other true Martyrs and Profeſſors of Chriſt) be of the true Church, and ye be not. Anno 1557. *Ramſey's Words to Biſhop Bonner.*

Unto this Queſtion next anſwered *Margaret Hide*, ſaying, My Lord, you have no Cauſe to give Sentence againſt me, for I am in the true Faith and Opinion, and will never forſake it; and I do wiſh that I were more ſtrong in it than I am. *Margaret Hide's Words to the Biſhop.*

Laſt of all anſwered *Agnes Stanley*, and ſaid, I had rather every Hair of my Head were burned, if it were never ſo much worth, than that I will forſake my Faith and Opinion, which is the true Faith. *Agnes Stanley's Words to the Biſhop.*

The Time being now ſpent, they were commanded to appear again in the Afternoon in the ſame Place: Which Commandment being obeyed, the Biſhop firſt called for *Loſeby*, and after his accuſtomed Manner ordered his Articles and Anſwers to be read: In reading whereof, when Mention was made of the Sacrament of the Altar, the Biſhop with his Collegues put off their Caps. Whereat *Loſeby* ſaid, My Lord, ſeeing you put off your Cap, I will put on my Cap; and therewithal did put on his Cap. And after the Biſhop continuing in his accuſtomed Perſuaſions, *Loſeby* again ſaid unto him, My Lord, I truſt I have the Spirit of Truth, which you deteſt and abhor, for the Wiſdom of God is Fooliſhneſs unto you. Whereupon the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him.

And delivering him unto the Sheriff, called for *Margaret Hide*, with whom he uſed the like Order of Exhortations. To whom ſhe ſaid, I will not depart from my Sayings till I be burned: And my Lord, quoth ſhe, I would ſee you inſtruct me with ſome part of God's Word, and not to give me Inſtructions of the holy Bread and holy Water, for it is no part of the Scripture.

But he, being neither himſelf, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſh her Requeſt, to make ſhort Work, uſed his final Reaſon of Convincement, which was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, *viz. Agnes Stanley*, who upon the Biſhop's like Perſuaſions made this Anſwer:

My Lord, where you ſay I am an Heretick, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any Man that is wiſe will believe as you do. And as for theſe that ye ſay be burnt for Hereſy, I believe are true Martyrs before God: Therefore I will not go from my Opinion and Faith as long as I live.

Her Talk thus ended, ſhe received the like Reward that the others had. And the Biſhop then turning his Tale and manner of Enticement unto *Thomas Thirtell*, received of him likewiſe this final Anſwer, My Lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous Ways, as you do: For I ſay, the Maſs is Idolatry, and will ſtick to my Faith and Belief, ſo long as the Breath is in my Body. Upon which Words he was alſo condemned as an Heretick.

Laſt of all *Henry Ramſey* was demanded if he would, as the reſt, ſtand unto his Anſwers, or elſe recanting the ſame, come home again,

The Martyrdom of T. Losby, H. Ramsey, T. Thirtell, Margaret Hide & Agnes Stanley in Smithfield

The Burning of T. Fishcock, N. White, N. Pardue, B. Final, Bradbridge Wilson & Benden at Canterbury.

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and be a Member of their Church. Whereunto he answered, I will not go from my Religion and Belief as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your Doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's Word.

After these Words, the Bishop (to conclude) pronouncing the Sentence of Condemnation against him and the rest (as ye have heard) charged the Sheriffs of *London* with them: Who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth Day of the same Month of *April*, brought them into *Smithfield*, where all together in one Fire most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal Lives, receiving therefore the Life eternal.

Three burned in St. George's Fields *in* Southwark.

IN the Month of *May* following, *William Morant*, *Stephen Gratwick*, —— *King*, suffered in St. *George*'s *Fields* in *Southwark*.

Among other Histories of the persecuted and condemned Saints of God, I find the Condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this *Stephen Gratwick*: Who first was condemned by the Bishop of *Winchester* and the Bishop of *Rochester*, who were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, When he did appeal from these incompetent Judges to his right Ordinary, his Appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, When they had no other Shift to colour their inordinate Proceedings withal, they suborned one of the Priests to come in for a Counterfeit and a false Ordinary, and sit upon him.

Fourthly, Being openly convinced and overturned in his own Arguments, yet Dr. *White* the said Bishop of *Winchester*, neither would yield to the Force of Truth, nor suffer any of the audience Assistant once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, As they brought in a false Ordinary to sit upon him, so they pretended false Articles against him which were no part of his Examinations, but of their devising, to have his Blood.

Sixthly and lastly, Having no other Ground nor just Matters against him, but only for saying these Words, *That which I said, I have said*, they read the Sentence of Death upon him.

And this was the Dealing of these Men, who needs will be reputed for Catholick Fathers of the Spiritualty, Succeeders of the Apostles, Disciples of Christ, Pillars of the holy Church, and Leaders of the People. Of whose Proceedings, how agreeable they are to the Example of Christ and his Apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the Judgment hereof to them who know the Institution of Christ's Religion and Doctrine.

Now lest peradventure the disordered Misrule of these *Christmas* Lords, will not be credited upon the simple Narration of the Story, ye shall hear the whole Discourse of this Process register'd by the Hand of the Martyr himself, who, as he could best tell what was done, so I am sure he would not testify otherwise than the Truth was, according as you shall hear by his own Declaration here following.

The Declaration of Stephen Gratwick *concerning his own Story and Condemnation.*

ON the 25th of *May*, in the Year 1557, I *Stephen Gratwick* came before Dr. *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, in St. *George*'s Church in *Southwark* at eight of the Clock in the Morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me:

Winchester. Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the Matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy Heresies, which thou hast maintained and defended here within my Diocess, oftentimes before me; and also upon *Sunday* last ye stood up in the Face of the whole Church maintaining your Heresies, so that you have offended within the Liberty of my Diocess: And now I being your Ordinary you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not, which I have here in Writing; and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the Articles against you.

And so when he had ended, he bad me answer unto them.

Gratwick. My Lord, these Articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making; for I never had any of my Examinations written at any Time, and therefore these be the Objections that you lay against me as a Snare to get my Blood. Wherefore I desire your lawful Favour, to allow my lawful Appeal to mine Ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your Diocess, it is nothing so: for I have not enterprised either to preach or teach within your Diocess, but was apprehended by mine own Bishop, and sent Prisoner into your Diocess, by the Consent of the Council and mine own Ordinary; and therefore I so being in your Diocess, you have no Cause to refuse my lawful Appeal.

And with that came the Bishop of *Rochester*, (whom the Bishop of *Winchester* gladly receiv'd) according to their determinate Purpose before invented; and so followed the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; and then the Bishop again started up, as a Man half ravished of his Wits for Joy, embracing him with many gentle Words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said *Winchester*;

Catholick Conveyance among these Bishops.

Winchester. Sir, I am very glad of your coming; for here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you, being his Ordinary. Then said the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*;

Archdeacon. I know this Man very well. He hath been divers Times before me. And then I answered and said;

Gratwick. My Lord, I am not of his Diocess by five Miles: For his Diocess reacheth on that Part no farther than the Clifts of *Lewes*, and I dwelt at *Brighthelmston*, five Miles beyond, in the Diocess of the Bishop of *Chichester*; and therefore I am not of his Diocess.

Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* cast their Heads together and laughed; And then they said my Ordinary would be here

by

by and by, and ſo they ſent forth for a Counterfeit inſtead of mine Ordinary: And then I ſaw them laugh; and I ſpake to them, and ſaid:

Gratwick. Why do ye laugh? Are ye confederate together for my Blood, and therein triumph? You have more Cauſe to look weightily upon the Matter; for I ſtand here before you upon my Life and Death. But you declare yourſelves what you are: For ye are cloathed in Lamb's Apparel, but I would to God ye had Coats according to your Aſſembly here, which is ſcarlet Gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my Blood.

And then came ruſhing in that counterfeited Biſhop, who was the hired Servant to deliver me into the Hands of the High-prieſt; and the Biſhop hearing him come, with Haſte enquired of his Man who was there: And he ſaid, My Lord of *Chicheſter.* Then the Biſhop with Haſte roſe up and ſaid:

Wincheſter. Ye are moſt heartily welcome, and required him to ſit down; and then ſaid the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to me, Lo here is your Ordinary, What have you now to ſay to him?

Gratwick. I have nothing to ſay to him. If he have nothing to ſay to me, I pray you let me depart. Then anſwered my counterfeit Ordinary and ſaid:

Counterfeit. Here you ſtand before my Lords and me in Trial of your Faith, and if you bring the Truth we ſhall by Compulſion give Place unto you, as it is to be proved by the Word; and your Doctrine to be heard and embraced for a Truth.

Gratwick. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by Authority, or by the Judgment of the Spirit of God in his Members.

And he anſwer'd me, By Authority as well as by the Spirit.

Then, ſaid I, Now will I turn your own Argument upon you; for Chriſt came before the High-prieſts, Scribes and Phariſees, bringing the Truth with him, being the very Truth himſelf, which Truth cannot lie, yet both he and his Truth was condemned, and took no Place with them: And alſo the Apoſtles, and all the Martyrs that died ſince Chriſt: Therefore I turn your own Argument upon you; anſwer it if you can.

Then the ſaid counterfeit Ordinary with great Heat and Choler, ſaid to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Object ſome Articles againſt him, for he is obſtinate, and would fain get out of our Hands, therefore hold him to ſome Particular: So that no other Anſwer could I have to this Argument.

Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* began to read Objections of his own making againſt me, and he bade me anſwer to them.

And I ſaid, No, except you will ſet the Law apart, becauſe I ſee you are mindful of my Blood.

Wincheſter. Now you may ſee he will not anſwer to theſe, but as he hath aforeſaid.

Then ſpake the counterfeit Ordinary again, and ſaid, My Lord, ask him what he ſaith to the Sacrament of the Altar. Then the Biſhop asked me, as my counterfeit Ordinary required him.

Gratwick. My Lord, I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, truly adminiſtred in both Kinds, according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the worthy Receiver, he eateth myſtically by Faith the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Then I asked him if it were not the Truth, and he ſaid Yes; then ſaid I, Bear witneſs of the Truth. Anno 1557.

Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Head being ſubtileſt to gather upon my Words, ſaid, My Lord, ſee you not how he creepeth away with his Hereſies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here ſeparateth the Sacrament of the Altar from the Supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our Adminiſtration in one Kind, allowing that the unworthy Receiver doth not eat and drink the Body and Blood of Chriſt; which be ſore Matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his ſubtil Shifts and Sophiſtry, but he ſhall anſwer directly before he depart.

Gratwick. My Lord, that is but your gathering of my Words, for you before confeſſed the ſame Sayings to be the Truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have an Advantage for my Blood? But ſeeing you judge me not to mean the Sacrament of the Altar, now come to the Probation of the ſame Sacrament, and prove it to be the true Sacrament, and I am with you; or elſe if you can prove your Church to be the true Church, I am alſo with you.

But then he called to Memory the laſt Probation of the Church and Sacraments, how he before was driven to forſake the Scriptures, and to ſhew me by good Reaſon how they might adminiſter the Sacrament in one Kind: And his Reaſon was this, Like as a Man or Woman dieth on a ſudden, and ſo when we have given him the Body of Chriſt, in the mean Time the Party dieth and ſo he eateth the Body of Chriſt, and not drinketh his Blood. And this was his ſimple Shift in the proving of their Sacraments: ſo that he was now half aſhamed to begin that Matter again.

But yet a little Shift he brought in, and ſaid:

Wincheſter. What ſayſt thou by the Adminiſtration of the Prieſts every Day for themſelves, and they miniſter in both Kinds?

To that I anſwered, You have two Adminiſtrations, for I am ſure at *Eaſter* you adminiſter but in one Kind, and therefore it is not according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your own Imaginations.

Wincheſter. Why then, What ſayſt thou to theſe Words, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* Theſe are the Words of Chriſt. Wilt thou deny them?

Gratwick. My Lord, they are the Words of Scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

Rocheſter. Why then thou doſt confeſs in the Sacrament of the Altar to be a real Preſence, the Self-ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and is aſcended up into Heaven.

Gratwick. My Lord, what do you now mean? do you not alſo mean a viſible Body? for it cannot be, but of Neceſſity, if it be a real Preſence, and a material Body, it muſt be a viſible Body alſo.

Wincheſter. Nay, I ſay unto thee, it is a real Preſence and a material Body, and an inviſible Body too.

Gratwick. My Lord, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical Body, for if it ſhould be a material and inviſible, as you affirm, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical Body: For it is apparent

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rent that Christ's human Body was visible and seen.

Then the Bishop brake out and said, When didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.

To that I answered and said, a simple Argument it is; because our corporal Eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth it prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?

And with that the Bishop began to grow weary of his Argument, and removed his Talk to *Judas* in eating the Sacrament, and said, He eat him wholly, as the Apostles did.

And then I asked him, If he meant Christ's Flesh and Blood, which he speaketh of in the Sixth of *John*, and saith, *He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life in me.*

To that he answered and said, Yea.

If the Wicked do eat the Body of Christ, they must needs be saved; and if Infants eat him not, they must be condemned, by the Pope's Doctrine.

Then said I, of Necessity *Judas* must needs be saved, because he did eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ, as you have affirmed, and also all the ungodly that die without Repentance, because they have eaten your Sacrament, which you say is the Flesh and Blood of Christ: Therefore of Necessity they shall receive the Benefit thereof, that is, eternal Life. Which is a great Absurdity to grant; and then of Necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your Sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ saith, *Except ye eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, ye have no Life in you.* And you have aforesaid that of your Sacrament, which you say is the same Flesh and Blood which Christ speaketh of: And here I prove, that all Children then that die under Age to receive the Sacrament, by your own Argument must be damned, which is horrible Blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Winchester. My Lord, do you not see what deceitful Arguments he bringeth in here against us, mingled with Sophistry, and keepeth himself so that we can get no hold of him? But I say unto thee, thou perverse Heretick, I see now thou art a perverse Fellow. I had a better Opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our Time about thee, yet I answer thee, St. *Paul* doth open the Sixth of *John* plainly, if thou wilt see: For he saith, *They eat Christ's Body, and drink his Blood unworthily*, and that was the Cause of their Damnation.

Gratwick. My Lord, take Heed ye do not add unto the Text, for he that addeth to the Text is accursed of God, and I am sure here you have brought more than *Paul* hath spoken: For he saith not, Because they have eaten his Body and drank his Blood unworthily; But St. *Paul* saith, *Whosoever shall eat of this Bread and drink of the Cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ.* Note, my Lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary. And with that they were all in a great Rage.

And the Bishop of *Winchester* said I belied the Text.

And then I called for the Text.

Winchester. I asked thee even now if thou didst understand *Latin*, and thy Answer was, Whether thou didst or no, the People shall bear Witness in *English*.

Gratwick. And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were *Latin* or *English*, for the Trial of the Text.

And then when the Bishop of *Winchester* saw that I cared not whether of the Translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple Man that had a Book there, and bad him that had an *English* Testament to bring it in, that he might get some Hold at him that should bring a Testament: But God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from his Matter, and began to rail upon me, and said, my subtil Arguments should not serve: For if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. For (said he) I see a mad Toy in thine Head; thou glorieſt much in thy Talk, and thinkeſt now the People are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical Opinion. For the last Day when thou wast before me upon *Sunday* in St. *Mary Overy*'s Church, thou there reproved'st my Sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at least, to bid God strengthen thee: But now let me see him here that dare open his Mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the Death that thou shalt die.

To that I answered, My Lord, I know your Cruelty doth extend more largely than your Pity. Good Experience so I have to say, for you keep Men in Prison a Year or two, taking their Books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their Souls Comfort, which all Men ought to have: And so you treat them more like brute Beasts than Christian Men.

Winchester. No Sir, we will use you as we will use the Child: For if the Child will hurt himself with the Knife, we will keep the Knife from him. So because you will damn your Souls with the Word, therefore you shall not have it.

Gratwick. My Lord, a simple Argument you bring to maintain and cover your Fault. Are you not ashamed to make the Word the Cause of our Damnation? I never knew any Man but only you that did not affirm our Sins to be the Cause of our Damnation, and not the Word, as you say: And therefore if your Argument be good, then this is good also; Because that some Men do abuse Drink, therefore the Benefit of Drink should be taken from all Men, or any other such like good Gift.

Winchester overthrown in his own Similitude.

Winchester. My Lords, here we lose much Time, for this Fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but Sophistry and perverse Questions: so that we can get no Advantage of him.

Then spake my counterfeit Ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with Haste when he was awaked he began to tell his Tale, and said:

Counterfeit. Read these Articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first Words, *That which I said, that I have said.*

Then the Bishop of *Winchester* began to read them again.

But I said unto him I would not answer them, because they were none of mine Examinations, but Objections of their own making, because they would have my Blood. But yet I said, if they would set the Law apart, I would talk my Conscience freely to them.

Then my counterfeit Ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the Saying of St. *Peter*, that I should render Account of such Hope as was in me.

Grat. So can I do, yet I shall not please you, for here I now render my Hope as St. *Peter* willeth me: I believe only in *Jesus Christ* to

have my Salvation in him, by him, and thro' him; but I perceive you would have me render my Faith in such sort, as you may have my Blood, and therefore you bring good Scriptures, and Evil apply them.

Winchester. Why, this Fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his Hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce Sentence against him, for we do but lose our Time.

Grat. Nay good my Lord, seeing you will needs have my Blood, let me say a little more for myself.

Upon *Sunday* last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a Truth, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostle St. *James*, and said, *If any Man think himself a religious Man, and in the mean Time seduce his Tongue or his Heart, the same Man's Religion is a vain Religion*; and so my Lord, you standing there in the Pulpit, in the mean Time seduced your Tongue to slander us poor Prisoners being there present in Iron Bands, burdening us with the Sect of *Arians*, and with the Sect of *Herodians*, and with the Sect of *Anabaptists*, and with the Sect of *Sacramentaries*, and with the Sect of *Pelagians*.

And when we stood up to purge ourselves thereof, you said you would cut out our Tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the Church by Violence. But there you gave yourself a shrewd Blow, for your Tongue in the mean Time slandered your Neighbour. For I, my Lord, will give my Life against all these Heresies, which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my Life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my Condemnation, and said,

Winch. Thou wilt grant here no more but this Word, *That I have said, I have said:* And here I gather Matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a Confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.

Then I answered, If you can prove that ever any of mine Examinations were written, it were enough: But you have nothing against me but Objections of your own making.

Winch. Have at thee now, If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce Sentence against thee; and so he proceeded forward, cursing and banning in *Latin*; so that I told him, If the People might hear it in *English*, they would think you an uncharitable Bishop.

And then I said, Stay my Lord, and note what you do: for you have neither temporal Law nor spiritual here against me in any Cause.

Then stepped forth a Gentleman, and said unto my Lord, Take heed what ye do: For he doth here say, that you have no Title or Cause why you should condemn him.

Then the Bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I should recant.

Then said the Bishop, Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: And so he proceeded forth in reading my Condemnation. And there was another Gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me: and then said I, I would God I had known this ere ever I had come from Home, I would surely have put on Breeches, and not had my Skin thus torn. And all this while the Bishop read on still.

At last his Chaplains cried, Stop, stop, my Lord: For now he will recant. And then the Bishop asked me again.

To which I answered, My Lord, my Faith is grounded more stedfastly, than to change in a Moment, it is no Process of Time can alter me, unless my Faith were as the Waves of the Sea: And so the Bishop made an End, and delivered me into the Hands of the Sheriff, to be again carried to the *Marshalsea*. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud Voice, that he would not lay my Blood to their Charge, if it were his good Will, and they refused my Prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his Tongue, or stop his Mouth: And so I was brought to the *Marshalsea*, and bound in Irons. And therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this present Writing shall come, may take Example by my Death and Warfare. So be it. Anno 1557.

By me Stephen Gratwick, *condemned for God's everlasting Truth.*

Here for want of Time, I left out many Matters, because the Lord hath hastened the Time, so that I have written but the Bitterness of the Matter in Probation of Faith, and the Reward of Faith, which the Bishop of *Rochester* and I debated upon; which Matter I would have been very glad to have set down in writing. *Stephen Gratwick to the Reader.*

Also much more Talk there was, that the Bishop of *Winchester* and I had concerning my worldly Friends and personal Estate: For he plaid Satan with me, he carry'd me up to the Mountains, and there told me my Learning was good, and my Eloquence, and also my Knowledge, save that I did abuse it, said he; and then he fell to praising of my Person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a Prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me answer to such Objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his Dioceſs.

Thus this Christian Martyr *Stephen Gratwick*, being wrongfully condemned by the Bishop of *Winchester*, (as ye have heard) was burnt with *W. Moraunt*, and one named *King*, in St. *George*'s Fields, about the latter End of *May*.

The History of five Women and two Men, who were burnt at Maidstone.

I Shewed a little before, how after the universal Proclamation was set forth by the King and Queen in the Month of *February* last, the Storm of Persecution began in all Places to rise (whereof some Part also is declared before) but yet in no Place more than in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, by reason of the aforesaid Inquisitors, being now armed with Authority, but especially by reason of *Richard Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, who of their own Nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless Flock of Christ, that there was no need of any Proclamation to stir up the Coals of their burning Cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly Saint lieth slain under the Altar.

And now to return to the said Dioceſs of

Anno 1557. *Canterbury* again, in the next Month following, being the 18*th* Day of *June*, were ſeven Chriſtian and true faithful Martyrs of Chriſt burned at *Maidſtone*, whoſe Names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge of *Staplehurſt.*
Walter Appleby of *Maidſtone.*
Petronil his Wife.
Edmund Allin of *Frytenden.*
Katherine his Wife.
John Manning's Wife of *Maidſtone.*
Elizabeth a blind Maiden.

As concerning the general Articles commonly objected to them in the publick Conſiſtory, and the Order of their Condemnation, it differeth not much from the uſual Manner expreſſed before, neither did their Anſwers in Effect much differ from the other that ſuffered under the ſame Ordinary in the aforeſaid Dioceſs of *Canterbury.*

Now as touching their Anſwers and Manner of Apprehenſion, and their private Conflicts with the Adverſaries, I find no great Matter coming to my Hands, ſave only of *Edmund Allin* ſome Intimation is given me, how his Troubles came, what was his Cauſe and Anſwers before the Juſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall underſtand.

The Examination of Edmund Allin.

THIS *Allin* was a Miller of the Pariſh of *Frytenden* in *Kent*, and in a dear Year, when as many poor People were like to ſtarve, he fed them, and ſold his Corn cheaper by half than others did; and did not only that, but alſo fed them with the Food of Life, reading to them the Scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popiſh Prieſts dwelling thereabouts, by the Procurement of them, namely, of *John Taylor* Parſon of *Frytenden*, and *Thomas Hendon* Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, he was ſoon complained of to the Juſtices, and brought before Sir *John Baker* Knight; who firſt ſending for them, committed both him and his Wife to ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went over to *Calais:* Where, after he had continued ſome Time, he began to be troubled in Conſcience, and there meeting with one *John Webb*, from the ſame Pariſh of *Frytenden* (who was likewiſe fled from the Tyranny of Sir *John Baker* and Parſon *Taylor*) ſaid unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatſoever the Cauſe was; For God, ſaid he, had ſomething to do for him in *England:* And ſhortly after he returned to his Pariſh of *Frytenden*, where was the cruel Prieſt, Parſon *Taylor.*

This Parſon being informed by his Brother Sexton, that *Edmund Allin* the Miller and his Wife were returned, and were not at Maſs-time in the Church; as he was the ſame Time in the midſt of his Maſs, upon a *Sunday*, a little before the Elevation (as they term it) even almoſt at the lifting up of his *Romiſh* God, he turned him to the People in a great Rage, and commanded them with all Speed to go unto their Houſe, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them with as much Haſte as he might poſſible. Which Promiſe he well performed; for he had no ſooner made an End of *Ite, miſſa eſt*, and the Veſtments off his Back, but by and by he was at the Houſe, and there laying Hands on the ſaid *Allin*, cauſed him again to be brought to Sir *John Baker*, with a grievous Complaint of his exhort ng and reading the Scriptures to the People, and ſo he and his Wife were ſent to *Maidſtone* Priſon. Witneſſed by *Richard Fletcher* Vicar of *Crambroke*, and *John Webb* of *Frytenden.*

Mark what a holy Maſs-faying was here, and what a charitable Religion is this.

No ſooner were they in Priſon but Mr. *Baker* immediately ſent certain of his Men to their Houſe, namely, *John Dove*, *Thomas Beſt*, *Thomas Linley*, *Percival Barber*, with the aforeſaid *John Taylor* Parſon of *Frytenden*, and *Thomas Henden* Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, to take an Inventory of all the Goods that were in the Houſe. Where they found in the Bed-ſtraw a little Cheſt locked with a Padlock, wherein they found a Sackcloth Bag of Money, containing the Sum of 13 or 14*l.* partly in Gold and partly in Silver: Which Money after they had told, and put in the Bag again, like good Carvers for themſelves, they carried it away with them.

Beſides alſo they found there certain Books, as Pſalters, Bibles, and other Writings. All which Books, with the Money, were delivered to the aforeſaid Prieſt *Thomas Henden*, Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, and afterwards in the fifth Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* it was by right Law recovered from him again, as in Records remaineth to be ſeen.

Thus good *Edmund Allin* and his Wife, being maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly robbed and ſpoiled of all their Goods, were brought, as is aforeſaid, before Sir *John Baker* the Juſtice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all Mercy and Pity, asking him if thoſe were the Fruits of his Goſpel, to have Conventicles to gather People together, to make Conſpiracies to ſow Sedition and Rebellion; and thus he began to reaſon with him.

A Conference between Sir John Baker, Collins *his Chaplain, and* Edmund Allin.

Baker. WHO gave thee Authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a Prieſt? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy Licenſe.

Mart. Collins, Sir *John Baker*'s Schoolmaſter ſaid, Surely he is an arrant Heretick, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. And it may pleaſe your Honour to give me Leave to anſwer in the Cauſe of my Faith, I am perſuaded that God hath given me this Authority, as he hath given to all other Chriſtians. Why are we called Chriſtians, if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his Law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not ſo much Underſtanding? Is not Chriſt our Father? Shall not the Son follow the Father's Steps? Is not Chriſt our Maſter? And ſhall the Scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his Precepts? Is not Chriſt our Redeemer, and ſhall not we praiſe his Name, and ſerve him that hath redeemed us from Sin and Damnation? Did not Chriſt being but twelve Years of Age diſpute with the Doctors, and interpret the Prophet *Iſaiah*? and yet notwithſtanding he was neither of the Tribe of *Levi*, which were Prieſts, but of the royal Tribe

Tribe of *Judah*, neither had taken any outward Prieſthood; wherefore if we be Chriſtians we muſt do the ſame.

Collins. And it ſhall like your Honour, what a Knave is this, that compareth himſelf with Chriſt?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite Number of Hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thyſelf?

Allin. Yea that I have. *Adam* was licenſed of God, and *Abraham* was commanded to teach his Children and Poſterity, and ſo *David* teacheth in divers Pſalms: And *Solomon* alſo preached to the People, as the Book of the Preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal Felicity in this Life, but in the next. And *Noah* taught them that were diſobedient in his Days, and therefore is called *The eighth Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, in the Second Epiſtle of *Peter*. Alſo in the 11th Chapter of *Numbers*, where *Moſes* had choſen ſeventy Elders to help him to teach and rule the reſt, *Eldad* and *Medad* preached in the Tents, wherefore *Joſhua* being offended, complained to *Moſes*, that *Eldad* and *Medad* did preach without Licenſe. To whom *Moſes* anſwered, and wiſhed that all the People could do the like. Why ſhould I be long? Moſt of the Prieſts were not of the Tribe of *Levi* and *Aaron*.

Collins. Theſe are Authorities of the *Old Teſtament*, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a Fool, and knoweſt no ſchool Points. Is not the Law divided into the Law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the Ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as St. *Paul* proveth to the *Hebrews*, and to the *Coloſſians*, where he ſaith,

Col. 1. *Let no Man judge you in any part of the Sabbath-day, New Moon, or other Ceremonies, which are Figures of Things to come: For Chriſt is the Body.*

Collins. And are not the Judicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, and by *Paul* in the Firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. The Law, ſaith he, is not ſet forth for the Virtuous and Godly, but for Man-ſlayers, Perjured, Adulterers, and ſuch like.

Collins. * Thou art an Heretick. Wilt thou call the Judicials of *Moſes* again? Wilt thou have Adultery puniſhed with Death? Diſobedient Children to their Parents to be ſtoned? Wilt thou have *Legem Talionis?* But thou art an Aſs. Why ſhould I ſpeak *Latin* to thee thou erroneous Rebel? Shall we now ſmite out Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy Teeth and Tongue plucked out.

* Albeit the poſitive Law of *Moſes*'s Judicials do not bind the *Gentiles* with the ſame Neceſſity abſolutely to every Condition, as it did the *Jews*, to whom it was peculiarly given: Yet may the *Gentiles* borrow out of the ſame Law ſuch Things that ſhall be expedient for their Rule or Government, neither can they borrow any Laws better than out of *Moſes*.

Allin. If we had that Law, we ſhould neither have diſobedient Children, neither Adulterers, neither falſe Witneſs-bearers, neither Ruffians.

Baker. Maſter *Collins*, let us return to our firſt Matter. Why didſt thou teach the People, whom thou ſaidſt thou didſt feed both bodily and ſpiritually, being no Prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all Kings to rule our Affections, Prieſts to preach out the Virtues and Word of God, as *Peter* writeth, and lively Stones to give Light to others. For as out of Flint-ſtones cometh forth that which is able to ſet all the World on Fire; ſo out of Chriſtians ſhould ſpring the Beams of the Goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the World. If we muſt give a Reckoning of our Faith to every Man, and now to you demanding it, then muſt we ſtudy the Scriptures, and practiſe them. What availeth it a Man to have Meat, and will eat none; and Apparel, and will wear none? Or to have an Occupation, and to teach none; or to be a Lawyer, and utter none? Shall every Artificer be ſuffered, yea and commanded to practiſe his Faculty and Science, and the Chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not every Lawyer practiſe his Law? Is not every Chriſtian a Follower of Chriſt? Shall Ignorance, which is condemned in all Sciences, be practiſed by Chriſtians? Doth not St. *Paul* forbid any Man's Spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any Man that hath any of theſe Gifts, which he repeateth, 1 *Cor.* 14. to practiſe the ſame? Only he forbiddeth Women, but no Man. The *Jews* never forbad any. Read the *Acts* of the Apoples. And the Reſtraint was made by *Gregory* the ninth Pope of that Name, as I heard one, a learned Man, preach in King *Edward*'s Days. Anno 1557.

Collins. This Villain (and it like your Honour) is mad. By my Prieſthood I believe that he will ſay, that a Prieſt hath no more Authority than another Man. Doth not a Prieſt bind and looſe?

Allin. No, my Sin bindeth me, and my Repentance looſeth. God forgiveth Sin only, and no Prieſt. For every Chriſtian, when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelf, and when he repenteth, looſeth himſelf. And if any other be looſed from his Sin by my Exhortation, I am ſaid to looſe him; and if he perſevere in Sin, notwithſtanding my Exhortation, I am ſaid to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looſeth, and giveth the Increaſe. Therefore ſaith Chriſt, *Matth.* 18. *Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them; and whoſe ſoever Sins they forgive they are forgiven, and they retain, they are retained.* Neither hath the Pope any Keys ſave the Keys of Error; for the Key that openeth the Lock to God's Myſteries and to Salvation, is the Key of Faith and Repentance. And as I have heard learned Men reaſon, St. *Auſtin*, *Origin*, and others, are of this Opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the Stocks all the Night. Wherewith ſome that were better minded, being offended with ſuch Extremity, deſired *Allin* to keep his Conſcience to himſelf, and to follow *Baruch*'s Counſel in the Sixth Chapter. *Wherefore when ye ſee the Multitude of People worſhipping them, behind and before, ſay you in your Hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worſhipped.*

Wherewith he was perſuaded to go to hear Maſs the next Day, and ſuddenly before the Sacring went out, and conſidered in the Church-yard with himſelf, that ſuch a little Cake between the Prieſt's Fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a material Body, neither to have Soul, Life, Sinews, Bones, Fleſh, Legs, Head, Arms nor Breaſt, and lamented that he was ſeduced by the Place of *Baruch*, which his Conſcience gave him to be no Scripture, or elſe to have another Meaning: And after this he was brought again before Sir *John Baker*, who asked why he did refuſe to worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Allin brought again before Sir J. Baker.

Allin.

Anno 1557.

Allin. It is an Idol.

Collins. It is God's Body.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the Mass it is.

Allin. It is Bread.

Collins. How provest thou that?

Allin. When Christ sate at his Supper, and gave them Bread to eat.

Collins. Bread, Knave?

Allin. Yea Bread, which you call Christ's Body. Sate he still at the Table, or was he both in their Mouths, and at the Table? If he were in their Mouths, and at the Table, then had he two Bodies, or else had a fantastical Body; which is an Absurdity to say it.

Baker. Christ's Body was glorified, and might be in more Places than one.

Allin. Then he had more Bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Collins. Thou ignorant Ass, the Schoolmen say, that a glorified Body may be every where.

Allin. If his Body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last Supper; and therefore was not at the Table, and in their Mouths by your own Reason.

Collins. A glorified Body occupieth no Place.

Allin. That which occupieth no Place, is neither God, nor any Thing else: But Christ's Body, say you, occupieth no Place; therefore it is neither God, nor any Thing else. If it be nothing, then is your Religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the Person of the Father, the Person of the Son, the Person of the Holy Ghost, the humane Nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no Place, then is our Study in vain, our Faith frustrate, and our Hope without Reward.

Collins. This Rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knowest thou that it is the Scripture but by the Church? And so saith St. *Austin.*

How the Scripture is known to be Scripture.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. *Austin* saith, but I am persuaded that it is Scripture by divers Arguments: First, that the Law worketh in me my Condemnation. The Law telleth me that of myself I am damned; and this Damnation, Mr. *Collins*, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to Repentance. For as this Grief and Sorrow of Conscience, without Faith, is Desperation; so is a glorious and *Romish* Faith, without the Lamentation of a Man's Sins, Presumption.

The second is the Gospel, which is the Power and Spirit of God. *This Spirit* (saith St. *Paul*) *certifieth my Spirit that I am the Son of God, and that these are the Scriptures.*

The third are the wonderful Works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, *Rom.* 1. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and other his Works (as *David* discourseth in *Psal.* 19.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God and his Power, Majesty and Might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing disagreeing from this Prescription of Nature. And fourthly, because that the Word of God gave Authority to the Church in Paradise, saying, that the Seed of the Woman should break down the Serpent's Head. This Seed is the Gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal Life; and these Words, *The Seed of the Woman shall break the Serpent's Head*, gave Authority to the Church, and not the Church to the Word.

Baker. I heard say that you spake against Priests and Bishops.

Allin. I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially Bishops, Archdeacons and Deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's Word. If they had a hundred Pounds a-piece, then would they apply their Study; now they cannot for their Affairs.

Collins. Who will then set his Children to School?

Allin. Where there is now one set to School for that End, there would be forty; because that one Bishop's Living divided into thirty or forty Parts, would find so many as well learned Men as the Bishops be now who have all this Living, neither had *Peter* or *Paul* any such Revenue.

Baker. Let us dispatch him; he will marr all.

Collins. If every Man had a hundred Pounds as he saith, it would make more learned Men.

Baker. But our Bishops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a Common-wealth to have such Bishopricks divided, for the further Increase of Learning.

Baker. What saist thou to the Sacrament?

Allin. As I said before.

Baker. Away with him.

Then he was carried to Prison, and afterward burned. And thus much concerning the particular Story of *Edmund Allin* and his Wife: who with the five other Martyrs abovenamed, being seven, were altogether burned at *Maidstone*, the 18th of *June* 1557.

Another Story of like Cruelty, shewed upon Three Men and Four Women at Canterbury.

AMong such infinite Seas of Troubles in these dangerous Days, who can withhold from Tears to see the Rage of these pretended Catholicks, who being never satisfied with Blood to maintain their carnal Kingdom, presume so highly to violate the Law of God's Commandments, in slaying the simple poor Lambs of the glorious Congregation of *Jesus Christ*, and that for the true Testimony of a good Conscience, in confessing the immaculate Gospel of their Salvation? What Heart will not lament the murdering Mischief of these Men, who for want of Work do so wrack their Time on silly poor Women, whose Weakness the more Strength it lacketh by natural Imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed of Men that be stronger, and especially of Priests that should be charitable.

Unmerciful Cruelty of the Papists against poor Women.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath indued from above such weak Creatures with such manly Fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost Extremity of these mercileſs Persecutors: As he did before strengthen the Mother of the seven Sons in the *Macchabees*, and as he hath done since with divers other godly Women in these our Days, partly before-mentioned, and partly

ly to be mentioned hereafter, as may appear by the Martyrdom of the ſeven following, of which four were Women and three Men, burnt together at *Canterbury* the 30th Day of the ſaid Month of *June* 1557, whoſe Names are theſe:

John Fiſhcock, *Bradbridge*'s Widow,
Nicholas White, *Wilſon*'s Wife,
Nicholas Pardue, *Benden*'s Wife.
Barbara Final, Widow.

As it were too tedious particularly to proſecute the ſeveral Stories of every one of theſe Martyrs; ſo I cannot paſs over untouched the cruel and unchriſtian Handling of *Alice Benden* during her Impriſonment, according as I have received by the faithful Relation of them who were beſt acquainted with her. The Story is thus:

Roger and *Tho. Hall*, two godly Brethren of *Alice Benden*.

Alice Benden, Wife of *Edward Benden*, of the Pariſh of *Staplehurſt* in the County of *Kent*, was firſt brought before Mr. *Roberts* of *Crambroke* in the ſaid County, the 14th of *October* 1556, of whom ſhe was demanded why ſhe would not go to the Church? To which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not do ſo with a good and clear Conſcience, becauſe there was much Idolatry committed againſt the Glory of God. For which with many Mocks and Taunts ſhe was ſent to Priſon, where ſhe lay fourteen Days: For on the 20th Day of *October*, her Husband required his Neighbours, the wealthy Men of *Staplehurſt*, to write to the Biſhop of *Dover*, who had the chief Government of the tyrannical Sword in *Kent* for thoſe Days, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Wherefore the Biſhop called her before him, and asked her if ſhe would go home, and go to the Church. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, If I would have ſo done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be confeſſed by thy Pariſh-prieſt? And ſhe ſaid No, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſaid he, go thy Ways home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Whereunto ſhe anſwered nothing. But a Prieſt that ſtood by, ſaid, She ſaith ſhe will, my Lord. Wherefore he let her go, and ſhe came home forthwith.

On the *Saturday* following her Husband deſired her to go to the Church; which ſhe refuſed to do: Wherefore on the *Sunday* Fortnight after, he going to the Church, came into the Company of divers Inhabitants of the ſame Pariſh; among whom, through his fooliſh Talk and Behaviour, he procured her to be ſent to Sir *John Gilford*, who commanded her to Priſon again: Yea, and the more to utter his own Shame, they ſaid her Husband took Money of the Conſtable to carry her to Priſon, the Price of his Wife's Blood, meaning indeed to carry her to Priſon himſelf. But ſhe having much more Care of his honeſt and good Report, than he had Regard (as it is eaſy to ſee) of his own Infamy, and no leſs aſhamed of his unnatural Doings, choſe rather to commit herſelf willingly into the Hands of her Enemies, than that the World ſhould bear witneſs againſt her Husband of ſo wicked a Fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the Conſtable, deſiring him to go with her: But he anſwered that he could not; but he granted her his Boy to go with her, with whom ſhe went to Priſon, namely, the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, according to the Commandment given.

The Husband procureth the Trouble and Impriſonment of his Wife.

Where this one Thing is worthy to be noted, that while ſhe was in this Priſon, ſhe practiſed with a fellow Priſoner of hers, the Wife one *Potkin*, to live both of them on Two-pence Halfpenny a Day, to try thereby how well they could ſuſtain Penury and Hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they ſhould be removed from thence to the Biſhop's Priſon, their Livings ſhould be but three Farthings a-piece a Day, and did indeed both ſo live for fourteen Days ere ſhe was from thence removed. Anno 1557.

The ſpare Diet of *Alice Benden* in *Canterbury* Caſtle.

The 22d Day of *January* following, her Husband went again to the Biſhop, deſiring him to deliver his Wife out of Priſon: But he ſaid ſhe was an obſtinate Heretick, and would not be reformed; and therefore ſaid that he could not deliver her.

Then ſaid he, My Lord, ſhe hath a Brother whoſe Name is *Roger Hall*, who reſorteth unto her. If your Lordſhip could keep him from her, ſhe would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her Money, and perſuadeth her not to return or relent.

This Caution was no ſooner given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in Execution. For the Biſhop commanding her upon the ſame to a Priſon called *Monday*'s *Hole*, there alſo he gave a ſtrict Charge, that if at any Time her Brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

The Biſhop's Priſon deſcribed.

This Priſon was within a Court where the Prebend's Chambers were, being a Vault beneath the Ground, and being before the Window incloſed with a Pale about four Foot and an half high, and three Foot diſtant from the ſame, ſo that ſhe looking from beneath, might only ſee ſuch as ſtood at the Pale. After this, her Brother ſought often for her, with no leſs Danger of Life than Diligence. But for the unknown Situation of the Place, it being alſo but rarely uſed for a Priſon, and the Matter as cloſely kept as it was ſecretly done, he could never come to underſtand of her being there, until through God's merciful Will and unſearchable Providence, he coming thither very early in the Morning, her Keeper being then gone to the Church to ring (for he was a Bell-ringer) happened to hear her Voice, as ſhe was pouring out her ſorrowful Complaints unto God, ſaying the *Pſalms of* David: And there could he no otherwiſe relieve her, than by putting Money in a Loaf of Bread, and ſticking the ſame on a Pole, and ſo reach'd it to her; for neither with Meat nor Drink he could ſuſtain her. And this was five Weeks after her coming thither; all which Time no Creature was known to come at her more than her Keeper.

Her lying in that Priſon was only upon a little Straw between a Pair of Stocks and a Stone Wall; being allowed three Farthings a Day, that is, an Half-penny for Bread, and a Farthing for Drink, neither could ſhe get any more for her Money. Wherefore ſhe deſired to have her whole Allowance in Bread, and uſed Water for her Drink. Thus did ſhe live nine Weeks. During all which Time ſhe never changed her Apparel; whereby at laſt ſhe became a very piteous and loathſome Creature to behold.

Alice Benden kept in the Biſhop's Priſon nine Weeks with Bread and Water.

At her firſt coming into this Place ſhe did grievouſly bewail, with great Sorrow and Lamentation, and reaſoned with herſelf, why her Lord God did ſuffer her with ſo heavy Juſtice to be ſequeſtred from her loving Fellows into ſo extreme Miſery.

Anno 1557.

In theſe dolorous Mournings did ſhe continue, till on a Night as ſhe was in her ſorrowful Supplications, rehearſing this Verſe of the Pſalm? *Why art thou ſo heavy, O my Soul?* and again, *The right Hand of the moſt High can change all:* She received Comfort in the midſt of her Miſery, and after that continued very joyful till her Delivery from the ſame.

Alice Benden called before the Biſhop.

About the 25th Day of *March*, in the Year 1557, ſhe was called before the Biſhop, who demanded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and to the Church or no, promiſing her great Favour, if ſhe would be reformed and do as they did.

To whom ſhe anſwered, I am thoroughly perſuaded by the great Extremity that you have already ſhew'd me, that you are not of God, neither can your Doings be godly; and I ſee that you ſeek my utter Deſtruction; ſhewing how lame ſhe was by Hunger and Cold while ſhe lay in the diſmal Priſon, whereby ſhe was not able to move herſelf without great Pain.

Then the Biſhop deliver'd her from that filthy Hole, and ſent her to *Weſt-gate*, where being kept clean, her Skin did pill and ſcale off as if ſhe had been poiſon'd by ſome mortal Venom. Here ſhe continu'd till the latter end of *April*, when ſhe was call'd before them, and with others condemned, and committed to a Priſon call'd the *Caſtle*, where ſhe lay till the 19th Day of *June*, and then ſhe reſign'd her Life in the Flames.

When ſhe was at the Stake ſhe threw her Handkerchief to one *John Banks*, requiring him to keep it in Memory of her, and from about her Middle ſhe took a white Lace, which ſhe gave to the Keeper, deſiring him to give the ſame to her Brother *Roger Hall*, and to tell him, that it was the laſt Band that ſhe was bound with, except the Chain. A Shilling alſo of *Philip* and *Mary* ſhe took forth, which her Father had bent and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to Priſon, deſiring that her ſaid Brother ſhould with obedient Salutations render the ſame to her Father again, and ſhew him that it was the firſt Piece of Money that he ſent her after her Troubles began, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept, and now ſent to let him underſtand, that ſhe never wanted Money while ſhe was in Priſon.

Alice Benden and the others before-mention'd were burnt at the ſame Time. Being brought to the Place of Martyrdom they all undreſſed themſelves joyfully to the Fire, and being ready, they all ſeven kneeled down, and made their humble Prayers to the Lord with ſuch Zeal and Affection, as even their Enemies could not but like it. When they had made Invocation together, they aroſe and went to the Stake, where being ſoon encompaſſed with horrible Flames of Fire, they yielded their Souls and Lives glorioufly into the Hands of the Lord.

The Biſhop careth not for *Patience* and *Charity*.

This *Bradbridge*'s Wife had two Children, the one named *Patience*, the other *Charity*, and when ſhe was condemned by the Biſhop, ſhe deſired (if ſhe muſt needs be burnt) that he would take *Patience* and *Charity* (meaning her two Children) and keep them. Nay, quoth the Biſhop, by the Faith of my Body, I will meddle with neither of them.

The Troubles and Examinations of Matthew Plaiſe.

Matthew Plaiſe of the Pariſh of *Stone*, in the County of *Kent*, Weaver, and a faithful Chriſtian, being apprehended and impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, was brought to Examination in the Year 1557, before *Thornton* Biſhop of *Dover*, Archdeacon *Harpsfield*, Commiſſary *Collins*, and other Inquiſitors, in the following Manner:

Biſhop. Art thou of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and where dwelleſt thou?

Plaiſe. I am of the Pariſh of *Stone* in *Kent*, and Subject to the King and Queen of *England*.

Biſhop. Thou wert indicted by twelve Men at the Seſſions at *Aſhford* for Hereſy.

Plaiſe. That is ſooner ſaid than proved.

Biſhop. I have ſpoken the Truth, and I can prove it.

Plaiſe. I deſire to hear it, and then I'll anſwer to it.

Biſhop. No, no; you ſhall anſwer to the Article, Yea or Nay.

Plaiſe. You cannot prove it; for I was not at *Aſhford*, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my Charge: But now I perceive you go about to lay a Net to have my Blood.

Harpsfield. Peace, Peace, we do not deſire thy Blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no Heretick, (with many other flattering Words) yet thou art ſuſpected of Hereſy; and if thou wilt be content to confeſs how thou doſt believe as concerning thoſe Articles, we ſhall gladly teach thee.

Plaiſe. I do not think ſo, for I talked with one of your Doctors, and after long Talk, he would needs know how I believed in the Sacrament, and I recited unto him the Text, and becauſe I would not make my Expoſition to him upon it he would teach me nothing: Yet I pray'd him for my Inſtruction, to write his Mind, and if it were the Truth I would believe him; and this I deſired him for the Love of God, but it would not be.

Harpsfield. I dare ſwear upon a Book, that it is not ſo.

Plaiſe. Nay, I can prove it to be true.

Harpsfield. I will tell thee the Truth (and he ſtood up with a long Proceſs) I am ſure that the ſame Doctor doth believe as I do.

Plaiſe. How do you know that? ſeeing St. *Paul* doth ſay, That no Man knoweth what is in Man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: But if you knew what Chriſt meant by theſe Words, *I require Mercy and not Sacrifice*, *Matth.* 12. you would not kill Innocents.

Biſhop. I charge thee in the Name of the King and Queen and the Lord Cardinal, to anſwer Yea or Nay to the Articles.

Plaiſe. I command you in the Name of Him who ſhall come in flaming Fire with his mighty Angels to render Vengeance to the Diſobedient, and to all thoſe that believe not the Goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting Damnation, that you ſhall ſpeak nothing but the Truth grounded upon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then I will anſwer you, or elſe not.

Biſhop. Unleſs thou wilt anſwer to every Article

Article I will immediately condemn thee. (For the Bishop was very angry.)

Plaise. Well, if you do, you shall be guilty of my Blood, and prove yourself a Murderer.

Then the Archdeacon took the Articles in his Hand, and read the second Article, which was, that I was a Christian Man, and did believe in their Mother the Catholick Church, and the Determination thereof.

Plaise. I am a Christian Man indeed, and therefore you have nothing against me.

Harpsfield. What say'st thou to the Catholick Church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten Years, that this Heresy hath sprung up here in this Realm?

Plaise. No Man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the Catholick Church of Christ.

Bishop. Dost thou not believe the Creed?

Plaise. Yes verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.

Bishop. Thou dost confess that there is a Catholick Church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the King and Queen of that Church or no?

Plaise. Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine Accuser, and also my Judge, contrary to all Right. I confess Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is built upon the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the Head thereof; and as touching the King and Queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any Man's Faith but mine own: Neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.

Bishop. Is there no part of that Church here in *England?*

Plaise. Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my Charge. I will tell you where. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in his Name, there is he in the midst among them.

Then the Archdeacon stood up with his Mocks to put me out of Countenance, and said to the People that I had no Wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long Time, and that half a dozen of us should have the Truth in a Corner, and that all they should be deceived, with such like Taunts and Mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one Word. Then he read the Article of the Sacrament, and said, I did deny the real Presence to be in the Sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I said, Christ's Body was in Heaven, and no where else, and that the Bread was nothing but a Sign, Token, or Remembrance.

Plaise. You have to shew where and what my Words were. (Hereof we talked a great while.)

At last the Bishop was so angry, that he charged me in the Names of the King, Queen, and Cardinal, before the Mayor and his Brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say Yea, or Nay, he would condemn me.

Then said I, seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer?

Then the Archdeacon said I was guilty, and that I was like a Thief at the Bar, who would not confess his Fault because his Accusers were not present; with a great many more Words, and would not let me open my Mouth against him.

Then I saw whereabouts they went, granting to answer them by the Word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my Peace; and this was my Beginning, I believe that Christ took Bread, and when he had given Thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in Remembrance of me.* Anno 1557.

Harpsfield. Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

Plaise. Christ was no Dissembler, but he spake the very Truth.

Harpsfield. Thou hast very well said, we will take no Advantage of thy Words.

Then he praised me with many Words, going about to prove it his Body real and substantial, and said, Christ called himself Bread: and this to prove, when Christ said, *This is my Body*, the Bread was his Body, said he, indeed, real and substantial, not so long and so big as it hung on the Cross, as the *Capernaites* did think; but we eat it, as Man's weak Nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, This is my Body, the Bread was his Body in very deed.

Plaise. What did Christ mean by these Words, *Which is given for you?*

Harpsfield. Christ spake that by the Bread also.

Plaise. Is Christ's Body made of Bread? was Bread given for our Redemption? or was the Bread crucify'd for us, or not?

Harpsfield. No, by St. *Mary*, I say not so.

Plaise. You have said the Truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Then he stood up with a great many Words, and said, that I thought it but bare Bread still, as other Bread is; but he was sure Christ called it his Body, and then it was his Body indeed; for he would believe Christ. Christ called it his Body: *Ergo*, he made it his Body. It followeth not: For a Thing may be called, and yet no Nature changed.

When he had spoken his Pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by his Law, I said, he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the Words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the Word.

Harpsfield. What dost thou say it is?

Plaise. I do believe it was that which he gave them.

Harpsfield. What was that?

Plaise. That which he brake.

Harpsfield. What did he break?

Plaise. That which he took.

Harpsfield. What did he take?

Plaise. The Text saith, *He took Bread?*

Harpsfield. Well then, thou say'st it was but Bread that his Disciples did eat, by thy Reason.

Plaise. Thus much I say, Look, what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Harpsfield. Why, then was not that his Body which they did eat?

Plaise. It was that which he brake.

Harpsfield. Well, I perceive thy Meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but Bread still, and that he was not able to make it his Body.

Plaise. That is your Exposition upon my Mind.

Harpsfield. What didst thou receive when thou didst receive last?

Plaise. I do believe that I did eat Christ's Flesh and drink his Blood. For he saith, *My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed.*

Then he said, I had answered well, thinking to have had some Advantage over me, and

pray'd

Anno 1557. pray'd me to tell him how I did eat Christ's Flesh and drink his Blood.

Then I said, I must answer you by the Word which Christ saith, *He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me and I in him.*

Then he faced out the Matter with Sophistry, and said, I did eat Christ as that Church was in his Eye, with many such Mocks, but would not let me answer one Word.

Commissary *Collins* then asked me, if I did not remember St. *Paul*, who rebuked the *Corinthians* for their evil Behaviour, and because they made no Difference of the Lord's Body, and brought in to prove his Matter, how he called himself Bread in the Sixth of *John*. So *Paul* saith, *So oft as ye eat of this Bread*, (meaning Christ's Body) *unworthily, ye eat and drink your own Damnation, because ye make no Difference of the Lord's Body.* For thus saith Christ, *The Bread that I will give you is my Flesh.* Now it is no Bread, but it is his Flesh. And thus he alledged every Scripture false, to make up the Matter.

Plaise. I believe the Words of St. *Paul* very well, even as he hath spoken to them. For thus he saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, because he maketh no Difference of the Lord's Body.*

Collins. What is the Cause that he eateth his own Damnation?

Plaise. St. *Paul* declareth it plainly with these Words, *If ye had judged yourselves ye should not have been judged of the Lord.*

Harpsfield. I marvel that you will not say, that he called the Bread his Body, seeing *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, with many others, called it his Body.

Plaise. You have condemned them as Hereticks, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

Harpsfield. In that they said it was his Body, they said the Truth.

Plaise. Wherefore were they killed, seeing they said the Truth.

Bishop. I had all their Answers, and they did not believe as they said. For they said Christ called it his Body, but it was not his natural Body: But thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his Body or not, or else I will anger thee.

Plaise. I have answered you by the Word already, and I believe it also; therefore if you condemn me for that, my Life is not dear unto me, and I am sure you shall not escape unpunished: For God will be revenged on such Murderers.

Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take Mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my Soul might be saved; with many more Words, and desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the Truth: Beginning how Christ fed five thousand People with four Loaves, and how he turned the Water into Wine, even so Christ took Bread and blest it, and when he had done, he brake it and said, *This is my Body*, and then he commanded them to eat it: And therefore it must needs be his Body.

Plaise. I desire you to speak the Text right, or else I will not believe you.

Then Archdeacon *Harpsfield* stood up, and put off his Cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a stubborn Fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

Plaise. I ought to hold you accursed, if you teach Doctrine contrary to Christ and his Apostles.

Harpsfield. Do you believe that Christ gave that he took or not?

Plaise. I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with *Moses*'s Rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seeing that this was by *Moses* being but a Man, how much more Christ being both God and Man, took one Thing and gave to his Disciples another?

Comparison between turning *Moses*'s Rod and the Bread into Christ's Body, not alike.

Plaise. Your Comparison is nothing like, for *Moses*'s Rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very Serpent indeed; but in this Sacrament no Man can see either Quality or yet Quantity to be changed.

Bishop. Your Opinion and Faith is like unto the *Capernaites.*

Plaise. Yours is more like their Opinion than mine.

Then *Harpsfield* asked me, whether Christ took not one Thing and gave another?

Plaise. What he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and no other Answer will I make, contrary to the Word.

Then the Archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this Learning had continued this fifteen hundred Years; neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his Body.

Plaise. When *Cranmer*, who was here Bishop, was in Authority, he said, that he held the Truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his Life for his Opinion, and would you have me to believe you, because you say that you hold the Truth? And that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the Truth indeed.

Bishop. I have spoken the Truth and you will not believe.

Plaise. If you do not now speak the Truth, I am sure you have spoke the Truth; (for he had before preached Doctrine contrary to this.)

Then the rest of my Articles were read; which I answered, and in every Article he had up this breaden God. And they sent for a Candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel Hearts to have their Pleasure that Time: Blessed be his Name for evermore, *Amen.*

Then the Archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not desire a Day of the Bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn Fellow, and that it had been my Duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a Day.

Plaise. I have spoke the Truth; and therefore I will not ask him for a Day, except he would give me a Day of his own Mind.

Then the Commissary said, Dost thou not think that thou mayst be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the Days of his Life?

Plaise. Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a Man; but I was sure God's Word could not be deceived.

Then the Commissary prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, they would be glad to teach me.

Plaiſe. I will be as glad to learn as any Man.

And thus they roſe up and went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this *Matthew Plaiſe* afterwards, whether he died in Priſon, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain Knowledge.

The Hiſtory of Ten Martyrs, who were burnt in one Fire at Lewes.

IN the Town of *Lewes*, on the 22d of *June*, the ten following Perſons ſuffered in one Fire.

Richard Woodman. George Stephens. W. Mainard. Alexander Horſeman, his Servant. *Thomaſin a Wood, Mainard*'s Maid. *Margery Moris. James Moris* her Son. *Denis Burgis. Aſhdon*'s Wife. *Grove*'s Wife.

Of which Number *Richard Woodman* was the firſt, who by his Occupation was an Iron-maker dwelling in the Pariſh of *Warbleton* in the County of *Suſſex*, and Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, about the Age of 30 Years. The Occaſion of his firſt Apprehenſion was this:

There was one *Fairebanke*, who had ſome Time been a married Prieſt, and ſerved the Cure of *Warbleton*, where he had often perſuaded the People not to credit any other Doctrine but that which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in King *Edward*'s Days. And afterward in the Beginning of *Mary*'s Reign, the ſaid *Fairebanke* preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon *Richard Woodman* hearing him preach ſo contrary to himſelf, admoniſhed him of his Inconſtancy, how before Time he had taught them one Thing, and now another, and deſired him to teach them the Truth. For which Words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Tonſton*, Mr. *Culpepper* and Mr. *Roberts*, Juſtices of Peace in the County of *Suſſex*, and by them committed to the *King's-Bench*, where he continued from *June*, the ſpace almoſt of a Year and half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. *Story* into Biſhop *Bonner*'s Coal-houſe, where he remained a Month before he came to Examination.

At length, the ſame Day when Mr. *Philpot* was burned, which was the 18th of *December*, he with four other Priſoners was ſet at Liberty by Biſhop *Bonner*. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was ſought for again, and at laſt taken by Means of his Father, Brother, and other Friends, and was ſent up again to Biſhop *Bonner*, where he remained in the Coal-houſe eight Weeks. He was there ſix Times examined, and 26 Times before, ſo that his Examinations were in all 32, from his Apprehenſion to his Condemnation. And foraſmuch as the Matter is ſomething ſtrange, and will peradventure ſcarce find Credit upon my Narration, with them who deny all Things that do not pleaſe them, ye ſhall hear himſelf ſpeak and teſtify both of the Manner of his Troubles, and alſo his own Examinations, as recorded by himſelf in the following Manner:

Anno 1557.

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, *of his Apprehenſion and Impriſonment, and how he was there uſed, till he was brought before the Biſhop of* Chicheſter *at* Black-Friars *in* London, *together with his Examinations.*

GEntle Reader, you will here perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poor Lambs. Firſt, you ſhall underſtand, that ſince I was delivered out of the Biſhop of *London*'s Hands in the Year 1555, and the ſame Day that Mr. *Philpot* was burned, which was the 18th of *December*, I lay in his Coal-houſe eight Weeks lacking one Day: And before that I was a Year and a half almoſt in the *King's-Bench* after my firſt Apprehenſion, for reproving a Preacher in the Pulpit in the Pariſh of *Warbleton* where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two Seſſions before I was ſent to Priſon, and carried to two more Seſſions while I was in Priſon, twice before the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and five Times before the Commiſſioners; and then ſent to *Bonner*'s Coal-houſe, and many Times called before him, as it appeareth by my Examinations which I have wrote.

And it pleaſed God to deliver me with four more out of the Butcher's Hands, requiring nothing elſe of us but that we ſhould be honeſt Men, and Members of the true Catholick Church that was built upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the Head of the true Church; to which we all affirmed, that we were Members of the true Church, and purpoſed by God's Help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he ordered us many Times to ſpeak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praiſed, becauſe he had been ſo faithful an Aid in his Maſter the Devil's Buſineſs. For he had burnt good Mr. *Philpot* the ſame Morning, in whoſe Blood his Heart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two Days before he promiſed us that we ſhould be condemned that ſame Day that we were delivered, yea, and the Morrow after that he had delivered us, he ſought for ſome of us again, yea, and that earneſtly. He waxed dry after his great Drunkenneſs, wherefore he is like to have Blood to drink in Hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with Speed. The Lord turn all their Hearts, if it be his Will.

This have I written, chiefly to certify all People how we were delivered, becauſe many carnal Goſpellers and Papiſts have ſaid, that it was preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo delivered, becauſe they think that God is ſubject to Man, and not Man to God. For if they did they would not blaſpheme him as they do, or if they thought they ſhould give an Account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, *Daniel* out of the Lion's Den? *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, out of the burning Oven? with divers other ſuch like Examples; yea God is the ſame God that he was then. He is no older, nor leſs in Power, as ſome count him, in wondering at his Works. Now to the Matter.

After I was delivered, the Papiſts ſaid, that I had conſented to them, whereof they made themſelves glad; which was the leaſt Part of my Thought, (I praiſe God for it) as they

Falſe Surmiſes againſt R. Woodman.

Anno 1557. well perceived, and knew the contrary in a ſhort Time. For I went from Pariſh to Pariſh, and talked with them, to the Number of 13 or 14, and that of the chiefeſt in all the Country; and I angered them ſo, that they with the Commiſſioners complained on me to the Lord Chamberlain that was then to the Queen, Sir *John Gage* ſhewing him that I baptized Children, and married People, with many ſuch Lies, to bring me into their Hands again. Then the Commiſſioners ſent out certain Citations to bring me to the Court. The Lord Chamberlain had directed out three or four Warrants for me, that if I had come there I ſhould have been attached, and immediately ſent to Priſon; which was not God's Will, for I had Warning of their lying in wait for me, and went not thither, but ſent my Deputy, and he brought me Word that the Bailiffs waited for me there, but they miſſed of their Prey for that Time, whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Warrants ſent out to attach *Woodman.*

Then within three Days after, my Lord ſent three of his Men to take me, whoſe Names were *Dean*, *Jeffrey*, and *Francis*. I being at plough with my Folks, right in the Way as they were coming to my Houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all others, came and ſpake to them, asking them how they did. And they ſaid they arreſted me in the Name of the King and Queen, and that I muſt go with them to their Maſter the Lord Chamberlain. Which Words made my Fleſh to tremble and quake, being ſuddenly ſurprized. But I anſwered them that I would go with them. Yet I deſired them that they would go with me to my Houſe, that I might break my Faſt, and put on ſome other Apparel; and they ſaid I ſhould. Then I remember'd myſelf, ſaying in my Heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no Evil to my Charge. If they kill me for well doing I may think myſelf happy. I remembred how I was willing gladly before to die in that Quarrel, and ſo had continued ever ſince; and ſhould I now fear to die? God forbid; for then were all my Labour in vain.

Lord Chamberlain ſendeth to take *Woodman* at his Plough.

So by and by I was perſuaded, I praiſe God, conſidering it was but the Frailty of my Fleſh, which was loth to forego my Wife and Children, and Goods: For I ſaw nothing but preſent Death before mine Eyes. And as ſoon as I was perſuaded in my Mind to die, I had regard to nothing in this World, but I was as merry and as joyful, I praiſe God, as ever I was. This Battle laſted not a quarter of an Hour; but it was ſharper than Death itſelf for the Time it laſted.

So when I had my Breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their Warrant, thinking thereby I ſhould have ſeen wherefore I was arreſted, to the Intent I might the better anſwer for myſelf, when I came before their Maſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not their Warrant there. Which Words made me aſtoniſhed, and it was put into my Mind by God, that I need not go with them, unleſs they had their Warrant. Then ſaid I to them, that is a Wonder that you will come to take a Man without a Warrant. It ſeemeth to me that you come of your own Mind to get Thanks of your Maſter; for indeed I heard ſay, (ſaid I) that there was 4 or 5 Warrants out for me, but they were all called in again, becauſe I had certify'd my Lord and the Commiſſary, by a Letter that I had ſent to the Commiſſary's Court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my Charge, which was baptizing of Children, and marrying Folks; which I never did; for I was never a Miniſter appointed to do any ſuch Thing: Wherefore ſet your Hearts at reſt, I will not go with you, (ſaid I) unleſs you will carry me by Force, and if you will do ſo, be it at your Peril. And ſo I roſe from the Table, and ſtepped into my Chamber, meaning to go from them if I could poſſible, ſeeing God had made the Way ſo open for me. I meant to play *Peter*'s Part with them, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a Fear amongſt them, that as ſoon as I was gone into my Chamber, e're ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my Houſe.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was God's Doing to ſet me at Liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to ſpeak to them, and ſaid, If you have a Warrant, I deſire you for God's ſake to ſhew it me, and I will go with you with all my Heart: If not, I deſire you to depart in God's Peace and the King's: For ſurely I will not go along with you without the Order of the Law; for I have been too ſimple in ſuch Things already. For before I was ſent to Priſon firſt, I met the Juſtices at two Seſſions without any Warrant or Commandment, but had Word by one of their Men, and I went juſtly to them, and they ſent me to Priſon, and kept me there almoſt a Year and three Quarters, without all Right or Equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my Cauſe gently debated. And it ſeemeth ſtrange to me that I ſhould be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the Extremity of the Law.

Then one of them anſwered me, and ſaid, We have not the Warrant here, but it is at home at my Houſe; the worſt is, you can but make us fetch it. Then ſaid I, Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my Houſe before you have it, at your Venture be it. So I ſhut my Door, and went my Way out at the other Door. So they got Help to watch my Houſe, whilſt one of them fetch'd the Conſtable and many more, thinking to have found me in my Houſe, and carry'd me away with a Licenſe; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithſtanding they ſought every Corner of my Houſe, but to no Purpoſe. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it that Night again, and I kept myſelf abroad; and indeed there came ſeven of his Men and the Conſtable, and ſearched my Houſe.

And when they ſaw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their Coats, that I had ſo eſcaped them, knowing that they ſhould have a Check from their Maſter. When I heard that they had ſo ſought for me again, I perceiving that they were greedy of their Prey, came home, and my Wife told me all Things.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would ſearch all the Country for me, and the Sea Coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go over; and then I thought that they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh Home. So I told my Wife, that I would take my Lodging in a Wood near my Houſe, as indeed I did, even under a Tree, and there had my Bible, my Pen and mine Ink, and other Neceſſaries, and there I continued ſix or ſeven Weeks, my Wife bringing me Meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myſelf bleſſed

Woodman lodged ſix Weeks in a Wood.

bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the Woods for the Name of Chriſt. Then there came Word into the Country, that I was ſeen and ſpoken with in *Flanders*; whereupon they left laying in Wait for me: For they had ſought all the Country for me, and the Sea Coaſt from *Portſmouth* to *Dover*, even as God put it in my Mind they would.

So when all was huſh'd, I went abroad among our Friends and Brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into *Flanders* and in *France*? but I thought every Day ſeven Years whilſt I was there; ſo I came home again as ſoon as it was poſſible. I was there but three Weeks, before the Prieſts of *Baal* diſcover'd me, who procured out Warrants againſt me, cauſing my Houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a Week. This continued from St. *James-tide* to the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went frome Home a Fortnight or three Weeks, otherwhiles I was at home a Month or five Weeks together, living there moſt commonly and openly, about my ordinary Buſineſs, and yet all mine Enemies could lay no Hands on me, till the Hour was full come: And then by the Voice of the Country, and by manifeſt Proofs, mine own Brother as concerning the Fleſh, delivered me into their Hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

He is delivered into the Hands of his Enemies by his Brother.

For my Father and he had as much of my Effects in their Hands, as I might have 56*l.* a Year for clear. It was a Lordſhip and an Honour, and half an Honour that I had delivered into their Hands to pay my Debts, and the reſt to remain with my Wife and Children. But they had reported that it would not pay my Debts; which grieved me ſore; for it was 200*l.* better than the Debts came to; which cauſed me to ſpeak to ſome of my Friends, that they would ſpeak to them to come to ſome Reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch Money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me ſuch Writings and Writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I ſhould appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my Father and me, that I ſhould have it again, and the Day was appointed that the Reckoning ſhould be made and ſent to me the ſame Day that I was taken; my Brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould have put him out of moſt of all his Occupying that he was in; for it was all mine, in a Manner, that he occupy'd, as all the Country can, and do well know. Whereupon (as it is reported) he told one *Cardillar*, my next Neighbour, and he told ſome of Mr. *Gage*'s Men, or to Mr. *Gage* himſelf: And ſo he ſent to his Brother, and his Brother ſent twelve of his Men (he being Sheriff) in the Night before I was taken, and lay in the Buſhes near my Houſe, till about nine of the Clock, even the Hour that was appointed amongſt themſelves; for about the ſame Time they thought to have had me within my Houſe.

They had taken a Man of mine, and two of my Children that were abroad in the Land, and kept them with them till their Hour was appointed to come in; and then a little Girl, one of my Children, ſaw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, Mother, yonder cometh twenty Men. I ſitting in my Bed, and making of Shoe-thongs, heard the Words, and ſuſpecting ſtraightway that I was betray'd, I put on my Hoſe, thinking to have gone out of the Doors before they had come. My Wife being amazed at the Child's Words, looked out at the Door, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped too the Door, and barred it faſt, even as I came out of my Chamber into the Hall, and ſo barred the other. They immediately beſet the Houſe, and commanded the Doors to be opened, or they would break them in Pieces. Then I had no Shift, but either I muſt ſhew myſelf openly, or make ſome other Remedy.

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A truſty Wife to her Husband.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him who informed them I was at home, and ſaid we cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had ſought over a Window that was in the Hall (as it was known afterward) for that ſame Place I had told him of myſelf. For many Times when I came home, I would ſend for him to bear me Company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the Way into it. Then they began to ſearch anew. One looked up over the Window, and ſpied a little Loft, with three or four Cheſts, and the Way went in betwixt two of the Cheſts, but no Man could perceive it. Then he asked my Wife which was the Way into it: Here is a Place that we have not ſought yet. When ſhe thought they would ſee it by one Means or other, ſhe ſaid, the Way into it was out of a Chamber they were in even now. So ſhe ſent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no Remedy, but made the beſt ſhift for myſelf that I could. The Place was boarded over, and faſt nailed, and if I had come out that Way that I went in, I muſt needs come out among them all in the Hall. Then I had no Shift, but ſet my Shoulders to the Boards that were nailed to the Rafters to keep out the Rain, and brake them in Pieces, which made a great Noiſe; and they that were in the other Chamber, ſeeking the Way into it, heard the Noiſe, and looked out of a Window, and ſpied me, and made an Out-cry. But yet I got out and leaped down, having no Shoes on.

This belike was his Brother.

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Anno 1557. Words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred Foot; and that was but one, for all the reſt were a great Way behind. And I turn'd about haſtily to go my Way, and ſtepped upon a ſharp Cinder with one Foot, and ſaving of it I ſtepped into a great miry Hole, and fell down withal, and before I could ariſe and get away, he was come in with me. His Name was *Parker the Wild*, as he is counted in all *Suſſex*. But if I had had on my Shoes, they had been like to have gone away errandleſs, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain Ground once, to which I had not a Stone's caſt: But it was not God's Will; for if it had, I ſhould have eſcaped from them all, if there had been ten thouſand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my Shoes, and ſuch Cloaths as I had need of. Then ſaid *John Fauconer*, Now your Maſter hath deceived you. You ſaid you were an Angel, and if you had been an Angel, why did you not flee away from us? Then ſaid I, Who be they that ever heard me ſay that I was an Angel? It is not the firſt Lye by a thouſand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of Men, nor born of Women: But if they had ſaid, they had heard me ſay, That I do truſt I am a Saint, they had not ſaid amiſs. What do you think to be a Saint? Yea that I do, and am already in God's Sight, I truſt in God; for he that is not a Saint in God's Sight already, is a Devil. Therefore he that thinketh ſcorn to be a Saint, let him be a Devil. And with that Word they had brought me to mine own Door, where I met with my Father, who deſired me to remember myſelf.

To whom I anſwered, I praiſe God, I am well remembered whereabout I go. This Way was appointed of God for me to be deliver'd into the Hands of mine Enemies, but woe unto him by whom I am betray'd. It had been good for that Man, that he had never been born, if he repent not with Speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me, *For the Father ſhall be againſt the Son, and the Brother ſhall deliver the Brother to Death*, as it is this Day come to paſs. Then ſaid one, He doth accuſe his Father, a good Child indeed. I accuſe him not, but ſay my Mind; for there was no Man knew me at home, but my Father, my Brother, and one more, who I dare ſay would not hurt me for all the Good in this Town.

There was one *George Beching* that married one of my Siſters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betray'd me; and he ſaid, Brother, I would you ſhould not think that I was the Cauſe of your taking. To whom I anſwered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my Blood than he was. Then one from *Lauſe* ſaid, that I had been a Goſpeller, and ſtood from them when I was brought to a Seſſions at *Lauſe*, and he ſaid, I thought you would have been an honeſt Man when you were at *Lauſe*, and I offered *Huſſey* the Sheriff to be bound for you, that you ſhould go home to your Wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and ſaid, Be you the Pewterer? and he ſaid, Yea. Then, ſaid I, It has happened to you according to the true Proverb, as ſaith St. *Peter*, *The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that is waſhed, to wallow in the Mire*, and the End of all ſuch will be worſe than the Beginning. Then his Mouth was ſtopped, ſo that he had nothing to ſay.

A Pewterer of *Lauſe* a Turn coat.

All this Time I ſtood the outſide of my Door; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my Shoes and my Cloaths, then they put an Harneſs about my Arms made of a Dog's ſlip, which rejoiced my Heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of God. So I took my Leave of my Wife and Children, my Father and other of my Friends, never expecting to ſee them any more in this World. For it was ſo thought of all the Country, that I ſhould not live ſix Days after my Apprehenſion; for they had ſo reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unleſs God would grant it, I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: But I am ſure he will work all Things for the beſt to them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our Way, and came to *Firle* about three of the Clock. And thus much touching the Cauſes and Effect of the Troubles of *Richard Woodman*. Now let us ſee his Examinations, which follow in this Order.

The firſt Examination of Richard Woodman, *before Dr.* Chriſtopherſon *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *Dr.* Story, *Dr.* Cook, *and others.*

ON the 12th Day of *April*, in the Year of our Lord 1557, I was ſent from the Sheriffs to *London*, and afterwards on the 14th of the ſame Month I was brought before the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Story*, and Dr. *Cook*. So the Sheriff's Men deliver'd my Warrant and me to the Biſhop. Then the Biſhop asked me what my Name was. My Name (quoth I) is *Richard Woodman*.

Chicheſter. I am ſorry for you, and ſo are all the worſhipful Men of your Country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a Man of good Eſtimation of all the Country, amongſt the Poor and Rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourſelf, your Wife and Children, your Father, and other of your Friends, and be ruled. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all the Realm. Be informed, and you ſhall have the Favour of them all, as much as ever you had.

Woodman. You have charged me with many Things wherein I have never offended: As if you will give me Leave, I will ſhew you.

Chich. Yes, I pray you ſay your Mind.

Woodman. May it pleaſe you, you have charged me as though I made myſelf wiſer than all the Realm; God doth know, I ſtand to learn of every Man that will or can teach me the Truth. And whereas you ſay, I have been well eſteemed both of the Poor and Rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any juſt Offence, either to Rich or Poor. And as for my Wife and Children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my Life alſo. My Life, my Wife and my Children are all in God's Hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I truſt, according to St. *Paul*'s Words. But if I had ten thouſand Pounds of Gold, I had rather forego it all, than them if I might be in Choice, and not diſpleaſe God.

Chich. The Sheriff took Pains to come to me out of Love, which he bare to you as to himſelf;

bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the Woods for the Name of Chriſt. Then there came Word into the Country, that I was ſeen and ſpoken with in *Flanders*; whereupon they left laying in Wait for me: For they had ſought all the Country for me, and the Sea Coaſt from *Portſmouth* to *Dover*, even as God put it in my Mind they would.

So when all was huſh'd, I went abroad among our Friends and Brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into *Flanders* and in *France*? but I thought every Day ſeven Years whilſt I was there; ſo I came home again as ſoon as it was poſſible. I was there but three Weeks, before the Prieſts of *Baal* diſcover'd me, who procured out Warrants againſt me, cauſing my Houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a Week. This continued from St. *James-tide* to the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went frome Home a Fortnight or three Weeks, otherwhiles I was at home a Month or five Weeks together, living there moſt commonly and openly, about my ordinary Buſineſs, and yet all mine Enemies could lay no Hands on me, till the Hour was full come: And then by the Voice of the Country, and by manifeſt Proofs, mine own Brother as concerning the Fleſh, delivered me into their Hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

He is delivered into the Hands of his Enemies by his Brother.

For my Father and he had as much of my Effects in their Hands, as I might have 56*l.* a Year for clear. It was a Lordſhip and an Honour, and half an Honour that I had delivered into their Hands to pay my Debts, and the reſt to remain with my Wife and Children. But they had reported that it would not pay my Debts; which grieved me ſore; for it was 200*l.* better than the Debts came to; which cauſed me to ſpeak to ſome of my Friends, that they would ſpeak to them to come to ſome Reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch Money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me ſuch Writings and Writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I ſhould appoint them.

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Chicheſter. I am ſorry for you, and ſo are all the worſhipful Men of your Country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a Man of good Eſtimation of all the Country, amongſt the Poor and Rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourſelf, your Wife and Children, your Father, and other of your Friends, and be ruled. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all the Realm. Be informed, and you ſhall have the Favour of them all, as much as ever you had.

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Chich. The Sheriff took Pains to come to me out of Love, which he bare to you as to himſelf;

himself; and said you were desirous to speak with me.

Woodman. I thought it meet to appeal to mine Ordinary. For they go about to shed my Blood unrighteously. For they have laid many unjust Things to my Charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any Fault in me meet to be reformed by God's Word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my Blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your Hands, because you have taken upon you to be the Physician of our Country.

Story. Is not this a perverse Fellow, to lay to your Charge, that his Blood shall be required at your Hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to Death unjustly, that thy Blood should be required? No, if he should condemn an hundred such Hereticks as thou art. I helped to rid a good many of you: And I promise thee, I will help to rid thee too the best that I can.

Then I would have answered him, but the Bishop desired us both to give him Place.

Chich. Well, Neighbour *Woodman*, I call you Neighbour, because ye be one of my Dioceses; and you are sent to me that I should give you spiritual Counsel: For I am your spiritual Pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you.

Wood. First, I desire you to hear me a few Words. You have said, you will give me spiritual Counsel: Be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?

Chich. No, I am not sure of that.

Wood. No! be you not sure of that?

Chich. No, by St. *Mary*, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt of that.

Wood. Then you be like the Waves of the Sea, as saith St. *James*, that be tossed about with the Wind, and be unstable in all your Ways, and can look for no good Thing at the Lord's Hand: Yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spue you out of his Mouth, as saith St. *John*.

Then they were in a great Fury, especially Dr. *Story*, who said,

What a perverse Fellow is this? He hath the Devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the Devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the Pride of all such Hereticks to boast themselves.

Chich. Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. The *Jews* said to Christ, he had the Devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the Servant is not above his Master. And God forbid that I should learn of him, who confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

Chich. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chich. You boast more than ever *Paul* did, or any of the Apostles, which is great Presumption.

Wood. I boast not in myself, but in the Gift of God, as *Paul* did; for he said he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no Doubts, 1 *Cor.* 7.

Chich. It is not so, you bely the Text.

Wood. If it be not so, let me be burnt To-morrow.

Story. Thou shalt not be burned To-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six Days, I promise thee. Anno 1557.

Chich. If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand Places more.

Then one looked in a *Latin* Testament, and another in a *Grcek* Testament, and they said it was in them both, that *Paul* supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chich. Even so I hope, and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but am not sure.

Wood. If that Place be wrong translated, and so many Places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, it cannot be avoided but Offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may say, Woe unto false Translators: For cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you bely not the Translators. I believe they had the Fear of God more before their Eyes, than you report of them. And yet if that Place be wrong translated, I can prove by Places enough, that *Paul* had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's Elect have.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. *No Man can believe that* Jesus *is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost*, 1 Cor. 7. I do believe that *Jesus Christ* is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my Sins by his Death and Blood-shedding, as *Paul* and all the Apostles did; and as all faithful People ought to do; which no Man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no Damnation to them that are in *Christ Jesus*; so is there no Salvation to them that are not in *Christ Jesus. For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a cast-away*, as he saith in the same Text. And again, *We have not received the Spirit of Bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry*, Abba *Father. The same Spirit certifieth our Spirits, that we are the Sons of God.* Here are Proofs enough that *Paul* was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. *John* saith, *He that believeth not that Christ is come in the Flesh, is an* Antichrist, *and denieth both the Father and the Son:* Which is Sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this World, nor in the World to come. Besides all this, *He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him.* So it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God! what more Injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy Gift? Thus may all Men see their Blindness, and whose Servants they be, as they do declare themselves both by their Words and Deeds. Rom. 8. Gal. 4. 2 Tim. 4. 8.

Story. O my Lord, what an Heretick is this same? Why hear you him? Send him to Prison to his Fellows in the *Marshalsea*, and they shall be dispatch'd within these twelve Days.

When I heard him say so I rejoyced greatly in my Heart, desiring God, if it were his Will, to keep him in that Mind: For I looked surely to have gone to the Bishop of *London*'s Coalhouse, or *Lollard*'s-*Tower*, yea, I thought myself happy if I might have gone to *Lollard*'s-*Tower:* But it pleased God to put in their Hearts to send me to the *Marshalsea* amongst our Brethren and my old Fellow-prisoners. So merciful hath God dealt with me in easing of my Burden that I looked for.

And when they perceived that I feared not Imprison-

Anno 1557. Impriſonment, but rather rejoyced, as they well perceived, the Biſhop ſaid, Methinks he is not afraid of the Priſon.

Wood. No, I praiſe the living God.

The living God is a Point of Hereſy among the Papiſts.

Story. This is an Heretick indeed. He hath the right Terms of all Hereticks: The living God, I pray you be there dead Gods that you ſay the living God?

Wood. Be you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeak the Words that are written in the Bible?

Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible, there is no ſuch Word written in all the Bible.

Wood. Then I am much to blame if it be not ſo written. *Behold, for the Offences that you have done, you ſhall be carried away Captives by* Nebuchodonoſor *to* Babylon, *and there ye ſhall be ſeven Generations: And when you be there, you ſhall ſee Gods of Gold, of Silver, of Wood, and of Stone, borne before you and behind you upon Mens Shoulders, to caſt out a Fear among the Heathen. When you ſhall ſee all theſe Abominations, then ſay in your Heart; It is the living God that ought to be worſhipped.* Here I prove my Saying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead Gods. Alſo *David* ſaith in the *Pſalms*, *My Soul hath a Deſire and Longing to enter into the Courts of the Lord: My Heart and my Fleſh rejoice in the living God*; with divers other Places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the Truth.

Baruch 6.

Chich. I do not deny but it is written, and is the Truth, and I know it as well as you; but ſuch is the Speech of all Hereticks.

Story. My Lord, I will tell you how you ſhall know an Heretick by his Words, becauſe I have been more uſed to them than you have been; that is, they will ſay (the Lord) and (we praiſe God) and (the living God.) By theſe Words you ſhall know an Heretick.

Wood. All theſe Words are written for our Learning, and we are commanded by the Prophets to uſe them daily, as this; *The Lord's Name be praiſed from the riſing up of the Sun unto the going down of the ſame. Alſo, as many as fear the Lord, ſay always the Lord be praiſed.*

Story. My Lord, ſend him to Priſon, you ſhall do no Good with him. I will go to Church, and leave you here. This is an old Heretick. Waſt thou never before me e're now?

Wood. Yes forſooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I thought ſo; and I ſent thee to the Biſhop of *London*, and he releaſed thee, and thou promiſedſt him to be an honeſt Man, and that thou wouldſt be of the true Catholick Church, which thou haſt not fulfilled.

Wood. I promiſed him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No Man is able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my Leave, I fear you will do this Man no Good.

Chich. I would not have you to uſe ſuch Speeches as you do, as the Lord be praiſed, and the living God, with ſuch like Words. Can you not ſay as well, Our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

Wood. I marvel why you ſhould reprove me for it, ſeeing they be the Words of God. I do not refuſe to ſay, our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt follow, that I denied the Words of God, and muſt needs be an Heretick; but I do not. Wherefore I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It ſeemeth to me, that you miſtruſt that I believe not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my Meaning indeed.

Wood. I believe in the living God, if you do not ſo, then our Beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it pleaſe you to examine me upon any particular Matter, now or at any other Time, I will make Anſwer thereto by God's Help.

Chich. Though you believe in God I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can ſhew you by your Hand-writing. You have denied the Catholick Church. Wherefore he that erreth from the Church, it cannot be ſaid that his Faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the Church, from which ye have erred.

Wood. I will not deny my Hand by God's Help. For I have written nothing at any Time but the Truth. There may be Things written againſt me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: But my Hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enough that know my Hand.

Chich. Do you know it yourſelf if you ſee it?

Wood. Yea, that I do.

Then he aroſe and fetch'd a great Bundle of Writings, and opened them, and bade me come and ſee. I looked on them, and it was my Hand indeed.

Chich. How ſay you, is it not your own Writing.

Wood. Yes ſurely it is.

Chich. How ſay you to this, is not this your Hand alſo?

Wood. Yes verily is it.

Chich. Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare ſay.

Wood. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, which I had thought had been in my Houſe, but I thank God that it is here: For in this you ſhall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the Talk that was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, when I was before them five Times, and alſo before the Biſhop of *London* divers Times: And I am ſure, neither you nor they ſhall find any Words falſe therein written: And I think the Sheriff's Men, when they ſearched my Houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not ſorry for it, but am rather glad: For herein you may ſee all the Wrong that I received at their Hands, and how long I was in Priſon, and how I was toſſed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be ſo or not. I dare ſay they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to Diſpleaſure; but in very Deed all Things work for the beſt to them that fear God.

Chich. Indeed, I find no great Fault in this: but here is perillous Gear, here is Sedition. This was ſet up upon the Church-door, you know it well enough.

* *Richard Woodman's* Child being baptized by the Midwife, was brought out of the Houſe by the Papiſts and confirmed in the Church.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the Prieſt, and to others that took upon them to fetch my Child out of my * Houſe without my Leave, and uſed it at their Pleaſure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certify'd before. Wherefore my Conſcience compelled me to ſhew them my Mind in Writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their Folly.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such Gear coupled together I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own Soul and Body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his Part on you. Cast not yourself away. Remember your Wife and Children, and the Poor that lack your Occupying. Mean to follow your Vocation. Remember you are not called to be a Teacher nor a Preacher. St. *Paul* saith, *Let every Man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide.* Remember you are called to another Vocation, for God's sake walk therein. It is not your Office to do as you have done. You might do as much Good by the Report of worshipful Men, as any Man might do in all the Country by your Example, and if you would follow the Laws of the Catholick Church, it would be an Occasion to bring a great many into the true Church, that are out, as you are.

Wood. I would not that you should say, that I am out of the Church of God, for I am not, but do allow the Church of God according to his Word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true Church, that be out, by any Means that I could use, I should be very glad. For God knoweth I love all People as myself. And where you say I have been a Preacher, it is not so. I never took any such Thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for Teaching I cannot deny; for it becometh every Man to teach and instruct his Household in the Fear of God, and all others (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leaving my Vocation (as you say) I left not my Vocation in reading the Scripture: For I trust I followed my Vocation the better for it. And the greatest Cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, because the Preachers and Teachers were so changeable.

Chich. No? Did you not preach at a Fair?

Wood. No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a Fair indeed. While I was in Prison, I had Leave of the Council to go home to pay my Debts, and then I went to a Fair to sell Cattle, and there I met with divers poor Men that I had set to work, who lovingly asked me how I did, and how I could away with Imprisonment. And I shewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their Trust in him; and this they called Preaching. And since that it hath been reported that I have baptized Childten, and married Folks, which I never did; for I never was a Minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the Order of the Apostles, as God forbid I should.

Chich. I am well paid if you be faultless in these Things: For I have heard the contrary.

Wood. I have shewed you the Truth, and that no Man living shall be able to prove the contrary.

Chich. You said you do not disallow the true Catholick Church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Chich. Why do you not then go to the Church? You come not there, it is informed me.

Wood. I trust I am in the true Church every Day. But to tell you the Truth, I come not at the Church where the most do resort. For if I should, I should offend, and be offended: For the last Time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Wherefore for Conscience sake I would not come there. For I was sent to Prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleased any Way with me, for they seek my Life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your Hands, and you ought to be an House of Defence against mine Enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my Blood shall be required at your Hands. If you can find any just Cause in me worthy of Death by God's Word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God: Wherefore look to it, the Matter is weighty, deliver me not into their Hands, and think so to be discharged. Anno 1557.

Chich. I tell you the Truth, I can do little in the Matter. For I have not full Authority as yet of mine Office: But I will send for you and talk with you, if I wist I should do you any Good.

Wood. I would be glad to talk with you, and to shew you my Mind in any Thing that you shall demand of me, now, or at any other Time.

Chich. So then he desired the Sheriff's Men to tarry and dine with him; that this Man (said he) may dine with me also: For it may be he may have no great Store of Meat whither he shall go.

So we tarried to Dinner with him, and had no further Talk, neither how to prove where the true Church of God is, nor of the Sacraments, nor of any other Thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the space of two Hours or more: But he entered in Talk with me, how I understood many Scriptures, and for Bishops and Priests Marriages, and whether *Paul* had a Wife or not. To whom I answered, It is a Thing that I have little to do with, as concerning Marriages: But I am very well content to talk with you in the Matter, as far as my poor Learning will serve. So when he had talked with me of divers Scriptures, he liked my Talk well. He asked me how I said by St. *Paul*, whether he were married or not? to whom I answered, I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. I will prove it well enough by God's Help. But yet I will prove that *Paul* might have had a Wife, as well as the other Apostles had.

Chich. Why, had the Apostles Wives?

Wood. Yes, all, saving *Paul* and *Barnabas*, as I understand it. For these are *Paul*'s Words in the ninth Chapter of the first to the *Corinthians*; *Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? Are not ye my Work in the Lord? and if I be not an Apostle to others, to others, yet to you I am an Apostle: For you are the Seal of mine Apostleship in the Lord. Mine Answer to them that ask me, is this; Have we not Power to eat and to drink? either have we not Power to lead about a Sister to Wife, as well as the other Apostles have, and as the Brethren of the Lord? Either have not* Barnabas *and I Power thus to do?* So this Text proveth, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* were unmarried. But *Paul* declareth that the rest had Wives, and that they had Power likewise so to have, but they found no need thereof. But *Paul* declareth in the seventh Chapter of the first Epi-

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ſtle to the *Corinthians*, that he that hath now Power over his own Fleſh, may marry: *For it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore to avoid Fornication (ſaith he) let every Man have his Wife.* He ſaith, *Let every Man have his Wife, and every Woman her Husband.* By this Place of Scripture I underſtand, that Biſhops and Prieſts may have Wives, becauſe they are Men, rather than burn, or commit Fornication. But I think verily he that can abſtain, having Power of his own Will, doth beſt; but if he marrieth he ſinneth not.

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers Ways, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt ought not to have a Wife: But I proved by divers Scriptures both in the Old Law and in the New, that Women were at firſt made for the Help of Men, which was ſpoken generally to all Men. Wherefore (ſaid I) every Man may have a Woman and ſin not, in honeſt Matrimony, as well Biſhops and Deacons, as other Men, which you call Prieſts, if they be true Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and of that Order that Biſhops and Deacons were in *Paul*'s Time. For *Paul* declareth to *Timothy*, firſt and third, *That a Biſhop ſhould be the Husband of one Wife*, and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and how they ſhould bring up their Children, and likewiſe the Deacons. This (ſaid I) proveth more plainly, that both Biſhops and Deacons had Wives in the Apoſtles Time, which he could not deny. But then he alledged, that no Biſhop nor Prieſt might take a Wife, after he had taken upon him that Office, but if he had a Wife before he took the Office, tried meet for the Purpoſe for his Life and for his Learning, he might keep his Wife and bring up his Children according to St. *Paul*'s Meaning to *Timothy*, or elſe might they have no Wives.

Then ſaid I, I think *Paul*'s Meaning in that Place, was, that a Man that hath had two Wives might not be made a Biſhop nor a Deacon, if he had never ſo much Learning. But that Place maketh not that a Biſhop or a Deacon may not marry after they be made Biſhops and Deacons. For I am ſure that *Paul* was in the State of a Biſhop, when he ſaid, *He had Power to lead about a Siſter to Wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.* Here *Paul* declares, that it was in his Power to have a Wife, after he had the Office of a Biſhop, which was not in his Power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Thus have I ſhewed you my Mind in this Behalf, both of *Paul*, and alſo for the Marriages of Biſhops and Prieſts, as I underſtand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a Thing which I have little to do withal: But as you required me to ſay my Mind in that Matter, ſo I have done.

Chich. Marry, I am glad that you have ſaid as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that *Paul* had a Wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: But you have ſaid very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by God's Word. And if you will be contented likewiſe in other Matters, no doubt you ſhall do well: Therefore gentle goodman *Woodman* be ruled. God hath given you a good Wit. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own Soul and Body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) all the worſhipful Men in the Country, as they have reported to me.

Wood. Why, my Lord, I take God to Record (whom I truſt to ſerve) that I would be as glad to live in Reſt and Peace, as any Man in all the World, if I might. And I ſtand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any Thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's Word. And the Truth is ſo, I have talked with a dozen Prieſts at the leaſt, ſince I was delivered out of Priſon, of certain Matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any Thing that I have asked them: And therefore they have complained on me to the Sheriff, and Juſtices, making Tales and Lies on me, to turn me to Diſpleaſure, as much as in them lieth. I promiſe you, there be as many unlearned Prieſts in your Dioceſs, as in any one Dioceſs in *England* I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Chich. I promiſe you, I do much lament it myſelf: For I hear ſay no leſs, but it is true that you ſay. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot: But I will do the beſt that I can, when I come into the Country, and I will be glad to talk with you ſome other Time, when I am ſomewhat better at Eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I have been this half Year and more. Come to Dinner; our Dinner is ready. I cauſed you not to tarry for any great Chear that you ſhall have, nor would I you ſhould think that I go about to win you with my Meat: But you be welcome with all my Heart. Come ſit down.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to Dinner; and there dined with him, a Merchant Man, one of the Sheriffs Men, and I, and no more, and we had good Cheer, God be praiſed therefore. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the Dinner while: But when Dinner was done, the Biſhop ſaid,

Chich. Now call Mr. *Story*'s Man. For the Commiſſioners have committed you to Priſon: But I will ſend for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

Wood. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your Talk well. And then if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to examine me upon any particular Matter, I will ſhew you my Mind therein, by God's Grace, without Diſſimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Mr. *Story*, for I think he is a Man without Reaſon.

Chich. Well, before you go, how ſay you to the ſeven Sacraments? Let me hear what you ſay to them, that I may be the more willing to ſend for you again.

Wood. I know not ſeven Sacraments.

Chich. Then what ſhall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Wood. I know but two; one the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can juſtly prove by God's Word, that there be more than two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chich. If I prove not ſeven by God's Word, then believe me not: And ſo he bade me farewell.

Then the Sheriffs two Men, and one of Dr. *Story*'s Men, carried me to Dr. *Cook*'s Houſe, which Dr. *Cook* commanded them to carry me to the Sheriffs Priſon in *Southwark*, ſaying, he ſhall be called before us again ſhortly and all his Fellows, and we ſhall diſpatch them from troubling the Country any more. *Woodman carried to the Marſhalſea.*

And ſo I was brought to the *Marſhalſea*, where

where I now am merry (God be praiſed therefore) looking for Judgment of my Fleſh: For they intend to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God will give them Leave: But God had their Hearts in his Hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them Leave. Wherefore I commit my Cauſe to God only, and I am ſure there ſhall not one Hair of my Head periſh without my heavenly Father's Will, although I bide never ſo much Trouble. *Job* periſhed not for all his Trouble, although God gave the Devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many Ways, as God hath ſuffered his Members to trouble and try me divers and many Ways, I praiſe God. They ſhall as little prevail againſt my Faith (I have no Miſtruſt) as the Devil prevailed againſt *Job*, whatſoever they do with my Goods, Life, or Body. For he that kept *Job* in all his Trouble, neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his Elect, that whether we live or die, it ſhall be to the Praiſe and Glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's Will, and if we die, we die to the Lord's Will: So, whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, therefore bleſſed be his Name.

Wherefore, dear Brethren and Siſters, to whom this my Writing ſhall come, be of good Chear, and fear not what Man can do unto you. For they can but kill the Body; but fear him that hath Power to kill both Body and Soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good Chear. For the Sheriff, with divers other Gentlemen and Prieſts, whilſt I was at the Sheriffs Houſe, ſaid to me, that all the Hereticks in the Country hung on me, as the People did in Times paſt upon St. *Auguſtine* or St. *Ambroſe*, or ſuch like. Wherefore ſaid they, look well on it, you have a great Thing to anſwer for. To the which I anſwered; I pray God lay nothing more to my Charge, than he will do for Hereſy, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my Sins as far from me, as it is from the Eaſt to the Weſt: So that I am ſure they ſhall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call Hereſy, we ſerve God withal. And I am ſure there is no Man nor Woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their Imaginations and Thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they ſhould win a great many likewiſe; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I truſt in God, and am ſure they ſhall never by God's Grace, if it were poſſible for them to kill me ten Times. For I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a Chain by Faith, that it is impoſſible for Men to looſe us aſunder, neither for Life nor Death, I praiſe my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their full Intent and Purpoſe is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. Which Death of my Body were beſt of all for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may live for the Comfort of others, his Name be praiſed therefore: I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if Death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my Brethren in receiving of Death, but ſhall be rather an Occaſion of the ſtrengthening of their Faith, by chooſing and receiving of it, and that with Joy. For as Chriſt hath given his Life for us, ſo ought we to give our Lives for the Defence of the Goſpel, and Comfort of our Brethren. And whereas the Biſhop ſaith, he will prove ſeven Sacraments, be you out of Doubt he ſhall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other Arguments with me already. Anno 1557.

Chriſtians ought to give their Lives for Defence of the Goſpel, if called thereto.

Thus fare ye well, from the *Marſhalſea*, where I now am, as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain, God be praiſed therefore.

The ſecond Examination of Richard Woodman *before the Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *two of his Chaplains, and Dr.* Story, *on* April 27.

FIRST, I was ſent for to the *Marſhalſea* by Dr. *Story*, and was carried to his Houſe near *St. Nicholas Shambles*; and when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and ſaid he would come himſelf ſtraightway: And when we were in the Biſhop's Hall, we had not tarried long but the Biſhop ſent for me; and when I came before him I did my Duty to him.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, You are welcome; how do you now?

Woodman. Well, I praiſe God, thanking your Lordſhip for the gentle Talk that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chich. Well, goodman *Woodman*, I have ſent for you of Love and good Will, to talk with you, and would have you to tell me your Mind in a few Words. For indeed the laſt Time that I talked with you, our Talk was ſo long, that I fell into a great Drought thereby, and have been the worſe in my Body ever ſince. Wherefore I pray you ſhew me your Mind briefly in thoſe particular Matters that I ſhall demand of you according to the Promiſe that you made the laſt Time you were with me. How ſay you, will you?

Wood. Yea forſooth, I will anſwer to any Thing that you ſhall demand of me (by God's Help) as well as I can.

Chich. How ſay you by the ſeven Sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You ſaid then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? Will you deny all except two?

Wood. I ſay now as I ſaid then. You ſaid, there be ſeven Sacraments; and I ſaid I knew but two: But if you could prove ſeven by God's Word, when I came before you again I muſt needs grant them. And you ſaid, if you could not prove them by God's Word, I ſhould not believe them: And now I am come to ſee how well you can prove them.

At which Words the Biſhop and his Chaplains were moved.

Chich. By God and my Troth, I believe he thinketh I cannot prove them. How ſay you to the Sacrament of Matrimony?

Wood. Why, my Lord, St. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothy*, A Biſhop ſhould be faultleſs, and you uſe much Swearing, which is a great Fault in a Biſhop of all others, that ſhould be an Example to the Flock. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* reproved for Swearing.

Then the Biſhop and his Prieſts were in a great Rage with me, becauſe I reproved him for his Swearing.

Chich. What, I perceive this Man is worſe than he was the laſt Day: What, he taketh upon him to teach me to ſpeak, as tho' I could not tell what I had to do.

Prieſt. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a ſtout Fellow indeed as we have ſeen.

Wood.

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Wood. Yea, I am ſtout, becauſe I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my Life hold my Peace; for I ſhould bear your Sin, which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou ſee thy Brother ſin, reprove him; if he repent, thou haſt won thy Brother. But you repent it not, but rather go about to maintain the ſame. Chriſt ſaith, *He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my Commandments, and teacheth Men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven*; and you go about to teach Men ſo, ſo far as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why, my Lord, this Man is paſt Cure. I ſee no Hope in him.

Chich. No, ſo me thinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. *Story*; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his Fellows in the *Marſhalſea*, and now he is worſe than he was before. I had ſome Hope in him the other Day, but now I ſee none.

Wood. No, I praiſe God, my Faith hangeth upon no Men, but upon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: But I fear me they be the worſe for him, I know this Man of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood. Well, my Lord, look well to it: Will you deliver me to other Men to ſhed my Blood, and ſo think to waſh your Hands of me, as *Pilate* did by Chriſt? Nay you cannot be ſo diſcharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: But of my Gentleneſs I have ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your Mind in any particular Matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do ſo, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me: And I know there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich. I am not yet conſecrated: Wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of *London:* For you are now in his Dioceſs.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, is the Matter even ſo? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that Point. Ask me what you will, but I will ſhew you nothing of my Mind. I promiſe you I will not anſwer in particular Matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to others, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your Mind in the Sacraments, and if you underſtand them not aright, I would be glad with all my Heart to ſhew you my Mind how I underſtand them. For I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſelf.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and ſhew you my Mind; otherwiſe I would be loth.

Chich. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no Good, I will do you no Harm: For if I meant to do you Harm, I would lay your own Hand-writing againſt you, but I will not: Wherefore be in no Doubt of me. How ſay you to the Sacrament of Matrimony? Is it a Sacrament or no? How think you by it?

Wood. I think it is an holy Inſtitution ordained of God in Paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the World's End.

Chich. Lo, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hither. You can read *Latin* I am ſure.

Wood. Yea, I can read *Latin*, but I underſtand very little.

Chich. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that *Paul* calleth it an holy Sacrament. For theſe be the Words, *For this Cauſe ſhall a Man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall be joined to his Wife: And two ſhall be made one Fleſh:* This is a great Sacrament. Eph. 5.

Wood. I remember ſuch a Saying, but St. *Paul* calleth it not a Sacrament. But he ſaith, *It is a great Myſtery.*

Chich. Where ſaith he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in what Text it is, but I am ſure theſe be St. *Paul*'s Words, and that he calleth it not a Sacrament in all his Writings.

Chich. What, the laſt Day ye were full of Scriptures; here it is written, and there it is written? What, we can rehearſe the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be ſure it is written, it is no great Matter for the Place. Come hither, I will ſhew you the Place, I think, that you mean.

I looked, and it was written *Sacramentum.* I know it is a great Myſtery, in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

Chich. I permit it to be a Myſtery. What is a Myſtery?

Wood. A Myſtery is (as I take it) unſeen: For he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the Congregation: So the great Myſtery that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the Faith of them that be married, which is hid in Chriſt, which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the Deed which is in the Congregation, which is the outward Marriage we ſee, but the inward Marriage of the Heart we ſee not. Wherefore *Paul* calleth it a Myſtery. And therefore if it be a Sacrament, it is inviſible to us: It is not ſeen, as other Sacraments be.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible Sacrament, ſeen as the others be: For is not the Marriage ſeen? is not the Man and Woman ſeen?

Wood. My Lord, I pray you, what is a Sacrament?

Chich. It is a Sign of an holy Thing.

Wood. Methinks you have certify'd me very well. There need not be a Sign of a holy Thing, where the holy Thing is itſelf.

Then his Chaplains would have interrupted me, but I deſired my Lord I might ſay out my Mind in the Matter. So with much ado he bade me ſay what I could.

There need not be a Sign of a Thing, where the Thing is itſelf. Matrimony is an holy Thing itſelf, and is ended outwardly, and need no more Signs but themſelves: Wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament as others be.

Argument.

A Thing ſignified and a Thing ſignifying cannot be at one Time, in reſpect of itſelf, in one Subject.

Matrimony is an holy Thing itſelf, ſignify'd:

Ergo, Matrimony cannot be a Sacrament ſignifying an holy Thing.

Chich. Lo, how much you ſpeak againſt yourſelf. And for Example, I come by an Hoſier, and there hangeth a Pair of Hoſe, which be Hoſe, and be a Sign of Hoſe that be to ſell within.

The Hoſe in an Hoſier's Stall may be a Sign, ſignifying more Hoſe to be within; but it is not a ſignifying Sign of itſelf. Neither again is every Sign of another Thing to be called a Sacrament.

Prieſt. How ſay you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perilouſly, I tell you, with Sophiſtry to blind mine Eyes withal. I marvel you are not all aſhamed of it. I can anſwer that to all your Shames, if I might be juſtly heard, I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. What, you are angry methinks.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am in earneſt, I tell you, to ſee your Blindneſs and Folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is God's Word, to prove my Matter true by, and you will prove your Matter true by a Pair of Hoſe. And you can as well prove it by that, as by God's Word.

Prieſt. Why, is there nothing true but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. St. *Paul* ſaith to the *Galatians*, Chap. 1. *If an Angel come from Heaven, and preach any other Doctrine than may be proved by God's Word, hold him accurſed:* And ſo do I, I tell you plainly.

Letters written in the Book, ſpeaking properly, be one Thing: The Teſtament and Word of God is another Thing. And yet by Uſe of Speech the Book of the Teſtament is called the Teſtament, as Bread and Wine be called the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in mine Hand, if I hurl it in the Fire and burn it, have I burned God's Word, or not? I will buy a new one for ſixteen-pence.

Wood. I ſay you have burned God's Word, and I believe he that will burn a Teſtament willingly, would burn God himſelf, if he were here, if he could; for he and his Word are all one.

Then they made a great Laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on. Your Laughing will be turned to Weeping, and all ſuch Joy will be turned to Mourning, if you repent it not with Speed.

Then the Biſhop began to cloak the Prieſts Folly, ſaying, Why, if my Counting-houſe were full of Books, and if my Houſe ſhall be on Fire by Chance, and ſo burned, were God's Word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your Will: But yet if you ſhould burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be ſorry for it, you burn God's Word as well as he: For he that is not ſorry for a ſhrewd Turn, doth allow it to be good.

Chich. Follow your Vocation; you have a little Learning. *We have an Altar whereof you may not eat.* What meaneth St. *Paul* thereby?

Heb. 13.

Wood. There is no Man ſo fooliſh to eat Stones, I ſuppoſe.

Chich. What Mockers and Scorners be you, to ſay, no Man will be ſo fooliſh to eat Stones? it is a plain Mock.

Wood. Why my Lord, you ſaid I had no Learning, nor Knowledge, nor Underſtanding: Wherefore it becometh you to make Things more plain to me, and not to ask me ſuch dark Queſtions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.

Chich. I dare ſay you know what it meaneth well enough. The greateſt Fool in my Houſe will underſtand my Meaning better than you do.

There ſtood ſome of his Men at a Diſtance talking together by a Window. He called one of them by his Name.

Chich. Come hither, I ſay to thee thou ſhalt not eat of this Table. What do I mean thereby?

Chicheſter's Man. Forſooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this Table, laying his Hand there.

With this Anſwer he made all them in the Houſe to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burſt out with Laughter, and ſaid, Anno 1557.

Wood. He hath expounded the Matter almoſt as well as I.

Chich. He meaneth well enough if you would underſtand him.

Anſwer me again to make it more plain. I ſay to thee thou ſhalt not eat of this Table. What mean I thereby?

Chicheſter's Man. Forſooth you would not have me eat this Table.

Theſe Words made them all laugh. Wherewith the Biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the Anſwer proved no better, and ſaid,

Chich. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the Meat that is ſet upon this Table. How ſayſt thou, doſt thou not mean ſo?

Chicheſter's Man. Yes forſooth, my Lord, that was my Meaning indeed.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can ſay ſo too: And ſo could I have done (as little Wit as I have) if you had ſaid, *Paul* meant that no Man ſhould eat of that which was offered upon the Altar, but the Prieſts.

Chich. Yea, I perceive you underſtand the Meaning of St. *Paul* well enough, but that you liſt to cavil with me.

Wood. Why, my Lord, do you think I underſtand ſuch dark Places of the Scripture without Learning? You ſaid even now, I had no Knowledge nor Learning, wherefore I anſwered you as you judged of me.

Chich. Well, let this Matter paſs, and let us turn to the Principal again. How ſay you by the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. You mean the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chich. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſo I ſay.

Wood. You mean Chriſt to be the Altar, do you not?

Chich. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar in the Church. What is it ſo ſtrange to you?

Wood. It is ſtrange to me indeed, if you mean the Altar of Stone.

Chich. It is that Altar that I mean.

Wood. I underſtand not the Altar ſo.

Chich. No, I think ſo indeed: And that is the Cauſe that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you underſtand the Altar then?

Wood. If you will give me Leave till I have done, I will ſhew you how I underſtand the Altar, and where it is.

Chich. Yes, you ſhall have Leave to ſay your Mind, as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, *Matth.* 18. *That whereſoever two or three be gathered together in Chriſt's Name, there is he in the midſt among them: And whatſoever they ask the Father upon Earth, it ſhall be granted them in Heaven.* Agreeing to the fifth of *Matthew*, ſaying, *When thou comeſt to offer thy Gift at the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy Offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy Brother, and then offer thy Gift.* The Prieſts would have interrupted me, but the Biſhop bade them let me alone, for (ſaid he) you ſhall hear a pretty Concluſion anon.

I pray you let me make an End, quoth I, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the Matter. In theſe two Places of Scripture,

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Chich. Do you underſtand the Offering and the Altar ſo? I never heard any Man underſtand it ſo, no not *Luther* the great Heretick, that was condemned by a general Council, and his Picture burned.

Wood. If he were an Heretick, I think he underſtood it not ſo indeed; but I am ſure all Chriſtians ought to underſtand it ſo?

Chich. O what Vain-glory is in you, as tho' you underſtood all Things, and other Men nothing? Hear me; I will ſhew you the true Underſtanding both of the Altar, and the Offering on the Altar. *We have an Altar* (ſaid *Paul*, *Heb.* 13.) *that ye may not eat of.* Meaning thereby, that no Man might eat of that which was offered on the Altar, but the Prieſt. For in *Paul*'s Time all the Living that the Prieſt had, the People came and offered it on the Altar, Money or other Things: And when the People came to offer it, and then remembred that they had any Thing againſt their Brother, then they left their Offering upon the Altar, and went and were reconciled to their Brother; and they came again and offered their Gift, and the Prieſt had it. This is the true Underſtanding of the Place that you have rehearſed; wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My Lord, that was the Uſe in the old Law. Chriſt was the End of that. But indeed I perceive by *Paul*'s Words, the Sacrifice was offered in *Paul*'s Time: Yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it ſeemeth to me that you be deceived.

Chich. Who ſhall be Judges betwixt us in this Matter?

Wood. The 12th of *John* declareth who ſhall be Judge in the laſt Day.

Chich. You mean the Word ſhall judge the Word, how can that be?

Wood. St. *Peter* ſaith, *The Scripture hath no private Interpretation*; but one Scripture muſt be underſtood by another.

Chich. You will underſtand it one Way, and I will underſtand it another Way; and who ſhall be Judge betwixt us then?

Wood. The true Church of God is able to diſcuſs all Doubts: To whom I refer it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you will ſay ſo indeed.

Wood. My Lord, I never meant otherwiſe.

Chich. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. What do you now offer upon the Altar?

Chich. We offer up in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Chriſt to pacify the Wrath of God the Father; and therewith they all put off their Caps to the abominable Idol.

Wood. St. *Paul* ſaith to the *Hebrews*, in the 10*th* Chapter, *We are ſanctified by offering of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt upon the Croſs once for all:* And every Prieſt is daily miniſtring, and oftentimes offereth one Manner of Offering, which can never take away Sins; and that is the Offering that you uſe to offer. As far as I can ſee, you be Prieſts after the Order of *Aaron*, that offered up Sacrifice for their own Sins, and the Sins of the People.

Chich. Nay, *Aaron*'s Sacrifice was with Blood which ſignifieth the Death of Chriſt, the which was ended upon the Croſs by his Blood-ſhedding; but we are Prieſts after the Order of *Melchiſedech*, which offereth Bread to the King in Remembrance, and ſignifieth the giving of Chriſt's Body in Bread and Wine at the laſt Supper, which he gave to his Diſciples, and commanded it to be uſed to the End of the World. This is the Sacrifice that we offer, according to his Word.

Wood. I think you have made the Matter very plain to me, that as Chriſt was the End of all Sacrifices, ſo was he the Beginning of the Sacraments, willing them to be uſed in Remembrance of him, to the World's End.

Chich. What in Remembrance of him, and not himſelf, as his Word ſaith, *Take, eat, this is my Body*; it is not the Sign only, but the Thing itſelf. How ſay you? is it not his Body, after the Words are ſpoken by the Prieſt? how ſay you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will anſwer me to one Sacrament, I will anſwer you to another.

Chich. Yes I am very well content with that.

Wood. If you ſay the Words of Baptiſm over the Water, and there be no Child there, is there true Baptiſm?

Chich. No, there muſt be the Water, the Word and the Child, and then it is Baptiſm.

Wood. Very well. Then if a Child be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, is it not trnly baptized?

Chich. No: the Child muſt be baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, or elſe it is not truly baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacraments; may there?

Chich. No, ſaid the Biſhop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will anſwer to you, if it pleaſe you.

Chich. Well, how ſay you, *Take, eat, this is my Body*; is it not Chriſt's Body, as ſoon as the Words be ſaid?

Wood. My Lord, I will anſwer you by your

The Word, Water and Child make Baptiſm. So the Word, Bread, and the Receiver, make the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.

own Words, that you anſwered me, which is true; the Water, the Word, and the Child, all theſe together make Baptiſm; the Bread, Wine, and the Word make the Sacrament; and the Eater, eating in true Faith, maketh it his Body. Here I prove it is not Chriſt's Body, but to the faithful Receiver. For he ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

He called it not his Body before eating, but after eating. And St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Believe and thou haſt eaten. And St. *John* ſaith, *He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:* Wherefore it is impoſſible to dwell in God, and to eat his Body, without a true Faith.

Prieſt. Then the Faith of the Receiver maketh it his Body; and not his Word, by your Saying. I pray you what did *Judas* eat?

Wood. Judas did eat the Sacrament of Chriſt, and the Devil withal.

Prieſt. He eat the Body of Chriſt unworthily, as St. *Paul* ſaith.

Wood. Nay, St. *Paul* ſaith no ſuch Thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating of his Body unworthily, but of the Sacrament unworthily. For he ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, becauſe he maketh no Difference of the Lord's Body*; and not becauſe he eateth the Lord's Body. If *Judas* had eat Chriſt's Body, it muſt needs follow, that *Judas* is ſaved. For Chriſt ſaith in the 6th of *John. Whoſoever eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life, and I will raiſe him up again at the laſt Day.*

Prieſt. My Lord, this Man is an Interpreter after his own Mind.

Chich. I ſee it is but Folly to talk with you; it is but loſt Labour. How ſay you? do you not believe that after the Words be ſaid, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but the very Body of Chriſt really? make me a plain Anſwer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct Anſwer, how I believe of the true Sacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt truly miniſtred, believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered Death for me, and that I ſhall be ſaved from my Sins by his Blood-ſhedding, and ſo receive the Sacrament in that Remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by Faith: This is my Belief.

Chich. Why, then it is no Body without Faith, God's Word is of no Force, as you count it?

Wood. My Lord, I have told you my Mind without Diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures: And if you will do ſo, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of Ways, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I have ſaid, your ſelf.

Then they made a great Laughing, and ſaid, this is an Heretick indeed, it is Time he was burned. Which Words moved my Spirit, and I ſaid to them, Judge not, leſt you be judged. For as you judge me, you ſhall be judged yourſelves. For that you call Hereſy, I ſerve God truly with, as you all ſhall well know, when you ſhall be in Hell, and have Blood to drink, and ſhall be compelled to ſay for Pain, This was the Man that we jeſted on, and whoſe Talk we thought Fooliſhneſs, and his End to be without Honour: But now we may ſee how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are puniſhed. Theſe Words ſhall you ſay, being in Hell, if you repent not with Speed, if you conſent to the Shedding of my Blood: Wherefore look to it, I give you Counſel. Anno 1557.

Prieſt. What, you are angry, methinks. Now I will ſay more to you than I thought to have done. You were at *Baxill* a Twelvemonth ago, and ſent for the Parſon, and talked with him in the Church-yard, and would not go into the Church; for you ſaid it was the Idol's Temple. Yea, I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the King's-Bench to you, and you ſaid many ſtout Words to him.

Wood. That I ſaid, I ſaid: And where you ſaid I was angry, I take God to my Record, I am not, but am zealous in the Truth, and ſpeak out of the Spirit of God with Chearfulneſs.

Prieſt. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough: Think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe ſurely that I have the Spirit of God, I praiſe God for it; and you be Deceivers, Mockers, and Scorners before God, and be the Children of Hell, all the Sort of you, as far as I can ſee. And therewith came in Dr. *Story*, pointing at me with his Finger, ſpeaking to the Biſhop in *Latin*, ſaying, at length,

Story. I can ſay nothing to him, but he is an Heretick. I have heard you talk this Hour and a Half, and can hear no Reaſon in him.

Wood. Judge not leaſt you be judged: For as you judge, you ſhall be judged yourſelf.

Story. What, be you a Preaching? you ſhall preach at a Stake ſhortly with your Fellows. My Lord, trouble yourſelf no more with him.

With theſe Words, one brought Word that the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* was come to dine with the Biſhop, and many other Gentlemen and Women. Then there was ruſhing away with Speed to meet him.

Then ſaid Dr. *Story* to my Keeper, Carry him to the *Marſhalſea* again, keep him cloſe, and let no Body come to ſpeak with him.

And ſo they departed. Then one of the Prieſts began to flatter me, and ſaid, For God's Sake remember yourſelf. God hath given you a good Wit: You have read the Scriptures well, and have borne them well in Memory. It were great Pity you ſhould do amiſs.

Wood. What a Flatterer be you, to ſay my Wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well? and but even now you ſaid I was an Heretick and deſpiſed me. If I be an Heretick, I can have no good Wit, as you have confeſſed. But I think your own Conſcience doth accuſe you. God give you Grace to repent, if it be his Will.

Prieſt. I call it a good Wit, becauſe you are expert in all Queſtions.

Wood. You may call it a wicked Wit, if it agree not with God's Word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come Strangers. So we departed, and I came again to the *Marſhalſea* with my Keeper.

The

Anno 1557.

The third Examination of Mr. Woodman *(copied with his own Hand) before Dr.* Langdale, *Chaplain to my Lord* Montague, *and Mr.* James Gage, *at my Lord* Mountague's *Houſe near St.* Mary Overy's *in* Southwark, May 12. 1557.

THE 12*th* of *May* the Marſhal came to the *Marſhalſea*, and ſent for me to ſpeak with him. When I came before him and had done my Duty, he asked my Name, and what Countryman I was; I ſhewed him both. Then he asked me when I was Abroad in the City. To whom I anſwered, if it ſhall pleaſe your Maſterſhip I was Abroad in the City on *Monday* was ſevennight.

Marſhal. What made you Abroad?

Wood. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* ſent for me to talk with me at his Houſe near *St. Nicholas Shambles.*

Marſhal. Were you abroad no otherwiſe than ſo?

Wood. No forſooth: I was never abroad ſince I was ſent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unleſs they ſend for me.

Marſhal. This is a marvellous Matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeven Years, as I was for you within theſe three Days. It is reported that you were abroad in the City at certain Taverns, and ſpake ſeditious Words both in the Taverns and Streets as you went.

Wood. Sir, the Truth is, I was in never a Houſe or Tavern while I was abroad, but in the Biſhop's Houſe, as my Keeper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtify: Nor did I ever talk with any Man in the Streets as I came, but with my Keeper, except one Man indeed, of the Pariſh of *Framfield* in *Suſſex*, where Mr. *James Gage* dwelleth. His Name is *Robert Smith*, being one of my greateſt Enemies; who ſtood in a Wain as we came by, and was unlading of Cheeſe but a little Way from the *Marſhalſea.* Indeed I bade him God ſpeed, and asked him how he did: And he ſaid, well, he thanked me. And he asked me how I did: And I ſaid, well, I praiſe God; and that was all the Talk that we had. And theſe Words were ſpoken as I came by him: I promiſe you, Sir, I ſtood not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my Keeper can tell: And I think theſe Words were not ſeditious Words, but might be ſpoken well enough, I think, or elſe it were very ſtrait.

Marſh. Then is it to be thought, that that Man reported otherwiſe than it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Well, make you ready: For you muſt go forth ſtraitway, where you ſhall be examined of that and of other Things, where you ſhall anſwer for yourſelf. Go make haſte, for I will tarry till you be ready.

So I departed, and went to my Fellow-priſoners, and took my Leave of them, deſiring them to pray for me, for I expected to ſee them no more. I did ſuppoſe I ſhould have gone before the Council, becauſe the Marſhal ſaid, he would tarry for me himſelf: And eſpecially becauſe he ſaid, it was reported that I had ſpoken ſeditious Words, it made me imagine they had contrived falſe Things againſt me to bring me to my End. I remembered what Chriſt ſaid, *The Servant is not above his Lord.* Seeing the *Jews* brought falſe Witneſs againſt Chriſt, I thought they would do much more, or at leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them, which made me think the worſt. But I was ſure that all the World could not juſtly accuſe me of any ſuch Thing, the Conſideration of which made me merry and joyful, being confident withal, that they could do no more againſt me than God would permit. I took my Leave of my Fellow-priſoners, and went to the Marſhal in the Porter's Lodge, and he delivered me to one of his own Men, and one of my Lord *Mountague*'s Men, and bade me go with them: And they carry'd me to my Lord *Mountague*'s Place in *Southwark*, not far from St. *Mary Overy*'s, and brought me into a Chamber in my Lord *Mountague*'s Houſe; and there was one Dr. *Langdale*, Chaplain to my Lord. My Keepers ſaid to the Doctor, This is the Man that we went for.

Lang. Is your Name *Woodman?*

Wood. Yea, forſooth, that is my Name.

Then he began with a great Circumſtance, and ſaid, I am ſorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your own Conceit, diſpleaſing your Father and others, judging that all the Realm doth Evil, ſaving a few that doth as you do: What think you of them that died long ago, your Grandfather, with their Fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that uſe the ſame that they did throughout all *Chriſtendom*, unleſs it be in *Germany*, and here in *England* a few Years, and in *Denmark*; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are ſure this is the Truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your Father is an honeſt Man, and one of my Pariſh, and hath wept to me divers Times becauſe you would not be ruled: And he loveth you well, and ſo doth all the Country, both Rich and Poor, if it were not for thoſe evil Opinions that you hold; (with many ſuch like Tales of *Robin Hood.*)

Wood. I pray you give me Leave to ſpeak a few Words to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your Mind.

Wood. You have told a great long Tale, as it were againſt me (as you think) ſaying, I hold this and that; I judge my Father and my Grandfather, and almoſt all the World, without it be a few that be of our Sect. But I judge no Man. But the 12th of *John* declareth, who it is that judgeth, and ſhall judge in the laſt Day. The Father ſhall not bear the Son's Offences, nor the Son the Father's Offences: But that Soul that ſinneth ſhall die, as ſaith the Prophet. And again, We may not follow a Multitude to do Evil, as ſaith the Prophet: For the moſt go the wrong Way. And Chriſt ſaith in the 12th of *Luke*, that his Flock is a little Flock. Here be Places enow to diſcharge me, altho' I do not as the moſt do. But can any Man ſay that I do not as I ought to do: Where be my Accuſers?

To do as moſt Men do, and to do as a Man ought to do, are two Things.

Lang. What, you be full of Scriptures methinks, and call your Accuſers as though you were afraid to utter your Mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me, for I mean no more Hurt to you than I do to myſelf, I take God to be my Record.

Wood. I cannot tell; it is hard truſting to fair Words. When a Man cannot truſt his Father nor Brother, nor others that have been

his familiar Friends, but they deceive him, a Man may lawfully follow the Example of Chriſt towards them that he never ſaw before, ſaying, *Be as wiſe as Serpents, and as innocent as Doves. Beware of Men, for they go about to betray you.* And it maketh me much to ſuſpect you, becauſe you blame me for anſwering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take Advantage of me, if I ſhould ſpeak mine own Words. Wherefore I will take as good Heed as I can, becauſe I have been deceived already by them I truſted moſt. Wherefore blame me not though I anſwer circumſpectly. It ſhall not be ſaid, by God's Help, that I will run wilfully into mine Enemies Hands, and yet I praiſe God my Life is not dear to myſelf, but it is dear with God: Wherefore I will do the uttermoſt that I can to keep it.

Lang. You be afraid where no Fear is, for I was deſired by Maſter Sheriff and his Brother, and other Friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were deſirous to talk with me, and now you make the Matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were ſent to Priſon for nothing: For you call for your Accuſers, as though there were no Man to accuſe you. But if there were no Man to accuſe you, your own Hand-writing did accuſe you enough, that you ſet upon the Church-door (if you remember it) and other Letters that you let fall abroad, ſome at one Place and ſome at another. Wherefore you need not call for your Accuſers. Your own Hand will accuſe you, I warrant you; it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred Pounds there were ſo much againſt me.

Wood. I will not deny mine own Hand; for it cannot be eaſily counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a Letter to the Prieſt, and others of the Pariſh, declaring their Folly and Preſumption, to come into my Houſe without my Love or Leave, and brought out my Child, and uſed it at their Pleaſure: Which moved me to write my Mind unto them: And becauſe I could not tell how to convey it to them, I ſet it on the Church-door: Which Letter my Lord of *Chicheſter* hath; for he ſhewed it me when I was before him: Wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their Reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will anſwer to it by the Help of God, to all their Shames that I wrote it to. And as for any other Letters, I wrote none, as you ſaid I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt Neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will anſwer them with Chriſt's Words, in the 18th of *Matthew*, *Woe unto themſelves, becauſe they gave me the Occaſion.*

And whereas you ſaid, I was deſired to ſpeak with you, and that Maſter Sheriff and his Brother, and other of my Friends willed you to talk with me, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were ſent to Priſon for nothing: the Truth is, I know no more wherefore I am ſent to Priſon, than the leaſt Child in this Town knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not Maſter Sheriff to ſpeak with you; but indeed he deſired me that I would ſpeak with you, and utter my Faith to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talk with you at the firſt. For I remembred not that you were the Parſon at *Buxted*; wherefore I ſaid to him, I would not utter my Faith to any but to the Biſhop. I ſaid, he is mine Ordinary: Wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. *Peter* in the firſt Epiſtle, the third Chapter, to render Account of my Hope that I have in God, to him that hath Authority; wherefore I will talk with none in that Matter, but with him. Wherefore ſend me to him if you will, or elſe there ſhall no Man know my Faith I tell you plainly. Anno 1557.

Theſe Words then made the Sheriff angry, and he went his Way; and when he was gone from me, I remembred that it was you that he would have me to talk with, and then I remembred that I had made the Promiſe to my Father and goodman *Day* of *Veſield*, not paſt a fortnight before I was taken, that whenſoever you came into the Country, I would ſpeak with you by God's Help, becauſe they praiſed you ſo much, that you were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

So all theſe Things called to Remembrance, I deſired my Keeper, which was the Sheriff's Man, to ſhew his Maſter, that I would fain ſpeak with him; for I had remembred Things that were not in my Mind before, when I ſpake to him. So he went to his Maſter, and ſhewed him the Matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my Mind, and what Promiſe I had made; and he ſaid, he would ſend for you on the Morrow, as he did, and the Meſſenger brought Word you could not come; you preached before the Queen, he ſaid. Whereupon the Sheriff came up himſelf, and ſpake to the Biſhop that he ſhould come down, but he was ſick. So when he came home again, he ſent me to the Biſhop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am ſure he can find no Fault in me, if he ſay juſtly; and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to Priſon; for I was not guilty of that which was laid to my Charge, that I had baptized Children, the which I never did, as God knoweth; wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

This Biſhop was Dr. *Chriſtopherſon.*

Lang. Indeed it hath been reported, that you have chriſtned Children; and that you chriſtned your own Child; but ſince I heard ſay, you would not have the Child chriſtned, which is a damnable Way, if you deny Baptiſm: And they ſaid, your Child was not chriſtned in a Fortnight or three Weeks after it was born, and the chiefeſt of the Pariſh were fain to fetch it out of your Houſe againſt your Will. Wherefore you wrote railing Words againſt the Prieſt and them for their good Will: The which declareth that you allow not baptizing of Children. And if the Child had died it had been damned, becauſe it was not chriſtned, and you ſhould have been damned, becauſe you were the Hindrance thereof.

Wood. What abominable Lies have you told? be you not aſhamed to ſpeak ſuch Words as you have done? Firſt you ſay, I chriſtned mine own Child, and by and by you ſaid, I denied baptizing of Children, and that my Child was a Fortnight or three Weeks old before it was baptized. What abominable Lies be theſe? I neither baptized my Child myſelf, neither held againſt the baptizing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it; for it was baptized as ſoon as it was born, and I was glad thereof; therefore you be to blame to report of me.

Lang.

Anno 1557.

Lang. I pray you, who baptized it? ſome Unthrift of your providing.

Wood. Nay, ſurely, the Midwife baptized it.

Lang. But it was your Mind that it ſhould be ſo.

Wood. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt twenty Miles, nor heard that my Wife was brought to Bed four Days after the Child was chriſtned. But it was not like to live: and therefore the Midwife baptized it.

Lang. Would you have had it to Church to have been chriſtned, if it had not been chriſtned?

Wood. That is no Matter what I would have done. I am ſure you cannot deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the Midwife do it, and I hold not againſt the Doing of it, neither did I it myſelf, as you ſaid I did.

Lang. Wherefore were you diſpleaſed with them that carry'd it to Church?

Wood. Firſt tell me whether the Child were not truly baptized by the Midwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truly baptized, if ſhe baptized it in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Wood. Yes, that I am ſure ſhe did, and you grant that was ſufficient: And the Cauſe that I blamed them for, was becauſe they did more to it than need was, by your own Saying. Yea, they fetch'd it out of my Houſe without my Leave: which was not well done.

Lang. They had it to Church to confirm what was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his Will. But let that Matter paſs. But I would you ſhould not ſay, that I hold againſt baptizing of Children; for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be moſt neceſſary, if it be truly uſed. But methought you ſpake Words even now that were uncomely to be ſpoken; if a Child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward Sign of Baptiſm?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. Go, ſaith Chriſt, *and baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and he that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: and he that believeth not ſhall be damned.* Theſe be the Words of Chriſt, which are my Warrant.

Woed. Then by your ſaying, Baptiſm bringeth Faith, and all that be baptized in Water ſhall be ſaved; ſhall they? how ſay you?

Lang. Yea, that they ſhall; if they die before they come to Diſcretion, they ſhall be ſaved every one of them; and all that be not baptized ſhall be damned every one of them.

Wood. Then my Spirit was moved with him to reprove him ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt Scriptures freſh in my Mind againſt his Saying. Then ſaid I:

O Lord God! how dare you ſpeak ſuch Blaſphemy againſt God and his Word, as you do? How dare you for your Life take upon you to preach, and teach the People, and underſtand not what you ſay? For I proteſt before God you underſtand not the Scriptures, but as far as natural Reaſon can comprehend. For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeak as you do.

Lang. Wherein have I ſpoken amiſs; take heed, you have a Toy in your Head will make you deſpair: I dare ſay you cannot tell what you ſay. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Wood. Becauſe you blaſpheme God; and as for deſpairing, take heed to yourſelf. For I cannot ſee but you be out of your Wits already; and as for me, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you have ſaid; which ſhall turn to your Shame, if you will talk by the Scriptures with me.

So when he perceived that I ſpake earneſtly and challenged him to talk by the Word, his Colour began to change, and his Fleſh began to tremble and quake. And I ſaid:

Prove your Sayings true, if you can; for I will prove them falſe by God's Help. You ſaid, All Children, or others, that be not baptized with Water, ſhall be damned. I dare not ſay ſo for all the Good in the World. And you brought in the Saying of Chriſt for your Warrant. In *Mark* 16, it is written, *Whoſo believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; which Words be very true: *And whoſo believeth not, ſhall be damned.* Which Words be very true alſo. He ſays, *He that believeth not, ſhall be damned.* Yea, St. *John* ſaith, *He that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not.* But neither of theſe two Scriptures, nor any other Scripture in all the *New Teſtament* ſaith, That he that is not baptized ſhall be damned, or is damned already. *But if he believe not, he ſhall be damned, and is damned already*, as is aforeſaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my Charge, that I was an *Anabaptiſt*. But I would give him no Place to ſpeak, but ſaid:

Let me make an End, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall have as much to do, by God's Help, with this Matter, as ever you had to anſwer Thing in your Life. You know (I am ſure) it is no Manners to pluck a Tale out of a Man's Mouth, nor is it the Order of reaſoning, as you know that better than I can tell you. Then Dr. *Langdale* bade me ſay on.

Woodman. My Saying was, that they that believe not ſhall be damned, and be damned alread. But I dare not ſay for all the Goods under Heaven, that all they that receive no material Baptiſm by Water ſhall be damned, as you have ſaid: Yet I would you ſhould not gather of theſe Words, that I deny Baptiſm, as you were about to lay to my Charge, before ever I had half told out my Tale. But I would not have you, nor any Man ſo raſh in Judgment, to condemn the Thing that they are not able to prove by the Word, and to make it ſeem to the Simple, that the outward Waſhing of Water were the Cauſe of Faith.

Faith, not Baptiſm ſaveth.

Not lack of Baptiſm, but lack of Faith condemneth.

Lang. Why, is it not ſo? will you deny it? How ſay you? will you deny it? I ſay, the Child hath no Faith before it is baptized; and therefore the baptizing bringeth Faith. How ſay you to it? make me a plain Anſwer to this Queſtion.

Wood. Now I perceive you go about nothing elſe, but to take Advantage of my Words. But by God's Help, I will anſwer you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your Sayings untrue. And yet I will not ſpeak mine own Words, but the Words of the Holy Ghoſt, out of the Mouth of the Prophets and Apoſtles; and then ask them whether they will deny it.

You ſaid, that Faith cometh by Baptiſm, had by the Uſe of material Water. I muſt be ſo bold to ask you where *Jacob* was baptized before he had Faith. St. *Paul* ſaith in the ninth

Chapter to the *Romans*, *Before ever the Children were born, before ever they had done either good or bad, that the Purpose of God, which is by Election, might stand, not by the Reason of Works, but by the Grace of the Caller, the elder shall serve the younger.* Jacob *have I loved, and* Esau *have I hated.* How think you, had this Child Faith before he were born, or no? answer to this if you can.

Dr. *Langdale's* Argument. Children dying without Baptism may be saved.

Lang. What: you speak of the old Law. *Jacob* was not christened, but circumcised. I speak of Baptism, and you are gone from baptizing to the Time of Circumcision; answer me to the baptizing. And methink by your Talk, you deny original Sin, and free Will, by the Words that you brought in of St. *Paul.*

Ergo Children have no original Sin.

For if Children can be saved without Baptism, then it must needs follow, that Children have no original Sin, which is put away in baptizing. But I think you know not what original Sin is, nor free Will neither.

Wood. Yes, I praise God (I think) I can tell them all better than you can. First I pray you what free Will hath Man to do good of himself? tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other Questions that you have objected against me.

Absurd Doctrine.

Lang. I say, that all Men have as much free Will now, as *Adam* had before his Fall.

Answer.

Wood. I pray you how prove you that?

The Righteousness by *Jesus Christ* cometh upon all Men, not in taking away Imperfections of Nature, but in not imputing the Imperfections of Man to Damnation.

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as Sin entered into the World, and by the Means of one that sinned, all Men became Sinners, which was by *Adam*; so by the Obedience of one Man, Righteousness came upon all Men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their Fall, which was by *Jesus Christ*, *Rom.* 5.

Wood. O Lord, what an Overthrow have you given yourself here in original Sin, and yet cannot see it? For in proving that we have free Will, you have denied quite original Sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the Death of Christ, as *Adam* was before his Fall, and I am sure that *Adam* had no original Sin before his Fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore *Paul* complained thrice to God, to take away the Sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, *My Grace is sufficient for thee.*

These Words with divers others, prove original Sin in us; but not that it shall hurt God's elect People, but that his Grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one Place, it is not without Baptism; and in another Place, you put it away quite by the Death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the Matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are baptized in the Blood of Christ that he shed on the Cross, and in the Water that he sweat for Pain, and putting away of our Sins at his Death. And yet I say with *David* in the 51st *Psalm*, *In Sin was I born, and in Sin hath my Mother conceived me:* But in no such Sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by Faith, as St. *John* saith, Chap. 3. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the Prophet, *Psal.* 23. *Because the Lord imputeth not my Sin*, and not because I have no Sin; but because God hath not imputed my Sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free Mercy he hath saved us. Where is now your free Will become that you speak of? If we have free Will, then our Salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God; which is great Blasphemy against God and his Word.

Perfect Doctrine.

Anno 1557.

For St. *James* saith, Chap. 1. *Every good and perfect Gift cometh from above, from the Father of Light, with whom is no Variableness, neither is he changed into Darkness. Of his own Will he begat us. For the Wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the Sound thereof,* (as saith St. *John*, Chap. 3.) *but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: Even so is it with every one that is born of God.* For St. *Paul* saith, *Phil.* 2. *It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good Pleasure.* Seeing then that every good and perfect Gift cometh from above and lighteneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both to will and to do, methinks all the rest of our own Will is little worth, or naught at all, unless it be Wickedness. So methinks here be Places enow to prove that a Man hath no free Will to do Good of himself; with an hundred Places more that I could recite, if Time did serve. And as for original Sin, I think I have declared my Mind therein, how it remaineth in Man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the Word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my Saying of *Jacob* and *Esau*, that I brought in to prove that Faith was before Baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) *Jacob* was not baptized. If you will give me Leave, you shall hear what I can say therein: For methinks you think my Talk long. This I said, because I saw he was sore offended at my Sayings.

Lang. Say what you can; for it availeth me to say nothing to you. For I was desired to send for you, to teach you, and there will no Words of mine take Place in you; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer such Things as you lay to my Charge: And I spake not mine own Mind, but the Mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the Prophets and Apostles. Will you give me Leave to answer briefly in this Matter, that you may report to others what I hold? And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught Advantage at my Words.

First, if you remember, you said, that if my Child had died without Baptism, if I had been the Cause that it had not been baptized, the Child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?

Children dying without Baptism are not therefore damned, speaking absolutely. Children bear not the Offences of their Fathers.

Lang. Yea that you should.

Wood. That is most untrue. For the Prophet saith, *The Father shall not bear the Child's Offences, nor the Child the Father's: But the Soul that sinneth shall die.* What could the Child have done withal, if it had died without Baptism? the Child could not do withal. How say you to this? And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old Law, to prove that Faith is before Baptism, is not disagreeable to the Word. For Circumcision was a Figure of Baptism. And that I may bring to prove Baptism by, as well as St. *Peter* did: For he brought in *Noah*'s Flood, which was a long Time before *Jacob* and *Esau*, to prove Baptism, saying, *While the Ark was preparing, wherein few (that is to say) eight Souls were saved by Water, like as Baptism also now saveth us, not in the putting away of the Filth of the Flesh, but there is a good Conscience consenting to God.*

Here

Anno 1557.

Here *Peter* proveth, that Water had not ſaved *Noah* and the other ſeven, no more than it ſaved all the reſt, if it had not been for their Faith, which Faith now ſaveth us; not in putting away the filthy Soil of the Fleſh, by the waſhing of the Water, but by a good Conſcience conſenting unto God.

But you ſaid, If they be baptized with the Water, if they die before they come to Years of Diſcretion, they be all ſaved; which St. *Peter* is clean againſt, unleſs you grant that Children have Faith before they be baptized.

Now I ask you what Conſent of Conſcience the Children have, being Infants. For you ſay, they believe not before they be baptized: *Ergo*, they conſent not to be baptized, becauſe they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none ſhall be ſaved, although they be baptized. I would fain ſee how you can anſwer this.

Lang. You are the moſt perverſe Man that ever I knew. You know not what you ſay. The Children are baptized in their * Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, and that is the good Conſcience that St. *Peter* ſpeaketh of: and the Chriſtening is the keeping of the Law that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither is Circumciſion any thing worth, nor Uncircumciſion any thing worth, but the keeping of the Law is all together.* Like as the Circumciſion was the keeping of the old Law, ſo is Baptiſm the keeping of the new Law.

* Nay rather in the Faith of their Parents. Neither is it the Faith of the Godfathers and Godmothers that ſanctifieth the Child, but their Diligence may help him in ſeeing him catechiſed.

Wood. Ah, I thought if you would talk with me, you ſhould be fain to bring in the old Law to maintain your Sayings by (for all that you refuſed it) when I brought it in. But yet it ſerveth not for your Purpoſe, ſo much as you think for: For here you have confeſſed, that neither Circumciſion availeth, nor Uncircumciſion; which you yourſelf have coupled with Baptiſm, proving that neither of them prevaileth, but keeping of the Law is altogether: Which Law is kept (you ſay) by the outward Signs; which is nothing ſo: for *Abraham* believed God, and that was counted to him for Righteouſneſs, and this was before he was circumciſed. So the Children believe before they be either circumciſed or baptized, according to my firſt Saying of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, *Jacob I loved, but Eſau I hated.* Theſe Words declare, that *Jacob* had Faith in his Mother's Womb: And *John Baptiſt* was ſanctified in his Mother's Womb, and therefore it was counted to them for Righteouſneſs: And I am ſure, if they had died before they had either received Circumciſion or Baptiſm as concerning the outward Deed, they ſhould have been ſaved. For God's Gifts and Callings are ſuch, that he cannot repent of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and change. For you ſay, keeping of the outward Law is all together; but a bad Excuſe is as good as none at all. And where you ſaid, the Children be baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, they being all Unbelievers, in what Faith is that Child baptized then? In none at all, by your own Saying. Which Words made him ſtamp and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few Believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into Judgment againſt the People. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unleſs they be of your Mind. Then indeed Chriſt's Flock was a very little Flock.

Wood. Indeed theſe be Chriſt's Words in the 12th of *Luke*, which we may ſee to be very true. Yea, you ſaid, if there were not one amongſt three, that were very few. But there is not one among three hundred, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeek their Neighbours Goods and Lives as there be.

Lang. Is the Flock of Chriſt ſuch a little Flock as you ſpeak of? You may call it a great Flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty Queſtion, I promiſe you, it is that you ask me: As though I did make myſelf equal with God.

No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch Advantage of my Words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you look. I am ſure that I ſhould enter into Judgment.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeeing you be ſo cunning.

Wood. You ſhall ſee my Judgment in it by and by. Firſt the Prophet ſaith, *Follow not a Multitude to do Evil, for they muſt go the wrong Way.* For the moſt go the wrong Way. There is one Point to know them.

Then Chriſt ſaith in the 7th of *Matthew*, *Broad is the Way, and wide is the Gate that leadeth into Deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and ſtraight is the Gate, and narrow is the Way that leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it.* And in the 12th of *Luke*, it is written (which Words were ſpoken of Chriſt) *Come you little Flock, it is my Father's Will to give you a Kingdom.* The third Point is this, in the 3d of *Mark*, and 2d of *Matthew*, *You* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhall know the Tree by the Fruits. A good Tree bringeth forth good Fruits, and a bad Tree bringeth forth bad Fruits*; ſo by the Fruits I know them: For every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruit, muſt be hewn down, and caſt into the Fire (into Hell I think Chriſt meant) and your Fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four Ways, that the People who ſhall be ſaved is but a ſmall Company in compariſon of the reſt. But if that be not enough, for the Proof thereof, I have twenty Ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your Purpoſe.

Lang. What a naughty Man are you? you would make the moſt patient Man in the World angry with you. I think your Talk is nothing but Pride and Vain-glory, with Frumps and Mocks, and deſpiſing and judging of Men. It is Time ſuch a Fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole Country. I think he is bleſt of God that took you: for you are not fit to be in a Common-wealth.

With divers other ſuch like Words that I cannot recite, they came out ſo thick, with ſtamping and chafing, as though he had been out of his Wits. I held my Peace until he had made an End of his Talk, and then I ſpake.

Wherein have I ſaid amiſs? or have I not anſwered you unto every Queſtion that you have demanded of me? What Fault can you find in one Word that I have ſaid? I dare ſay you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus againſt me, having no Cauſe ſo to do.

Lang. No, no, you have not anſwered me to Original Sin, you deny Original Sin.

With theſe Words Mr. *James Gage* came in at the Door; and I think he ſtood at the Door

a good while before he came in, and that Dr. *Langdale* ſaw him: For his Face was toward the Door, and my Face was from it.

Gage. Ah *Woodman*, methink Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes Sir, methink we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt, Sir, he is the naughtieſt Man that ever I talk'd with in all my Life: for he will have his own Way in all Things.

Gage. Woodman leave that Pride. Do not truſt too much to your own Wit. Hearken to this Man, this is a learned Man, I tell you. He is known to be learned; for elſe he ſhould not be allowed to preach before the Queen's Majeſty; and I dare ſay, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will not do himſelf: And I dare ſay, he will not go to the Devil to bring thee thither. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor? Thou mighteſt think us mad, if we would hurt ourſelves to hurt thee. No I promiſe thee, my Brother, neither I, nor any Gentleman in the Country, I think of my Conſcience, but would thou ſhouldſt do as well as their own Bodies and Souls, as a great many of them have ſaid to thy Face whilſt thou waſt at my Brother's, and which thou canſt not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can ſay no otherwiſe but I was gently treated at your Brother's, both with Meat and Drink, and gentle Words, both by you and him, and divers other Gentlemen: And I am ſure neither you nor they can ſay, that you found me unreaſonable at any Time. For I ſaid, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, as God knoweth: And here Mr. Doctor (I think) can ſay no otherwiſe; for I dare ſay he can find no Fault in the Talk that we have had.

Lang. No marry, I can find nothing elſe in you. I promiſe you, Mr. *Gage*, if you had been here, you would have ſaid ſo yourſelf. He took me up indeed, and ſaid, he marvelled how I durſt preach. For he ſaid, I underſtood not the Scripture, but as far as natural Reaſon comprehended; as though he underſtood all, and I nothing. With divers other ſuch like Words he made a great Complaint to him of me, and ſaid to Mr. *James Gage*, he would make you believe that I could find no Fault in him. Yes, I underſtand, he denies Original Sin.

Gage. Yea, doth he ſo? by St. *Mary* that is a great Matter: *Woodman*, leave your Pride. That Pride will come to Naught. Can ye live without Sin?

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will ſoon lie on me behind my Back, when he will not ſtick to lie before my Face.

He ſaith, I denied Original Sin; and it was he himſelf, as I will let you be Judge in the Matter. For, as he went about to prove, that Man hath Free-will, he ſaid, we were ſet as free by the Death of Chriſt, as *Adam* was before his Fall: Which Words prove plainly, that we have no Original Sin. And I took him withal, and ſaid, Had *Adam* Original Sin before his Fall? And then he could not tell what to ſay, but cavilled with Words, and ſaid he meant not ſo: And therefore I marvel he is not aſhamed to make ſuch Lies to my Face. Theſe Words made them both aſtoniſhed.

Gage. Mr. Doctor, he ſaid even now you could find no Fault in all his Talk. I will bid you ask him a Queſtion, and I will warrant you, you will find Fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the Sacrament of the Altar. *I* think he will make but a bad Account thereof. Anno 1557.

Wood. Yes, I will make Account good enough of that, by God's Help.

Lang. Well, how ſay you to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. I ſay, I know no ſuch Sacrament, unleſs Chriſt be the Altar that you mean.

Gage. Lo! I told you, you ſhould ſoon find Fault in him, if you came to that Point with him. You ſhould have begun with that firſt, and never have talked with him about other Things. What? know you not the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. No ſure, I know no ſuch, unleſs Chriſt be the Altar that you mean; for Chriſt is the Altar of all Goodneſs. And if you mean Chriſt to be the Altar of the Sacrament you ſpeak of, you ſhall ſoon hear my Mind and Belief therein.

Lang. Well, we mean Chriſt to be the Altar. Say your Mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almoſt Dinner-time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before Dinner.

Wood. Yes, you ſhall ſoon hear my Mind therein by God's Help. I do believe, that whenſoever I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, being truly miniſtred according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, I believing that Chriſt was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and that he was crucified on the Croſs, and ſhed his Blood for the Remiſſion of my Sins, and ſo take and eat the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that Remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by Faith. This is my Belief of the Sacrament, which no Man is able to diſprove.

Gage. By St. *Mary*, I can find no Fault in this. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor?

Lang. Sir, you ſee not ſo much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted, that the faithful Receiver receiveth the Body of Chriſt, God and Man, yet he hath not granted that it is the Body of Chriſt before it be received, as you ſhall ſee by and by, I warrant you, by his own Words. How ſay you? Is it the Body of Chriſt as ſoon as the Words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, or not? For theſe Words will try him more than all the reſt.

Wood. Doth the Word ſay that it is his Body before it is received? if it do, I will ſay ſo too.

Gage. Why? then we ſhall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the Word.

Wood. Yes indeed, that I will; God forbid elſe.

Gage. Why? the Word ſaith it is his Body before it is eaten.

Wood. Thoſe Words would I fain hear; but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? that you ſhall ſee preſently (ſays he to Mr. *Gage*) and then turned to the 22d of *Luke*, and there he read, *When Supper was done, Chriſt took Bread, gave Thanks, and brake it, and gave to his Diſciples, and ſaid; Take, eat, this is my Body:* Then they ſpake both at once, Here he ſaith it is his Body.

Wood. Mr. *Gage*, I do not deny that he called it his Body, but not before eating, as I ſaid before; wherefore I pray you mark the Words. Chriſt ſaid, *Take, eat*; I pray you

Anno 1557. Sir, mark these Words that he said, *Take and eat*, and then he said, *it was his Body*. So you see, eating goeth before. For he said, *Eat, this is my Body*. So according to the very Word, I do believe it is his Body. Which Words made them both astonished.

Lang. Why, then by your saying, *Judas* eat not the Body of Christ. How say you, did he not?

Wood. Nay, I ask you. Did he?

Lang. I ask you.

Wood. And I ask you.

Lang. And I ask you.

Wood. Marry I ask you: And I bid you answer if you dare for your Life; for whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own Soul. For Mr. *Gage*, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own Soul and Body; and it lamenteth my Heart to see how you be deceived with them; they be Deceivers all the sort of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove *Judas* to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no Body before it be received in Faith, as you shall well perceive, by God's Help, if he dare answer the Question.

Gage. Yes, I dare say he dareth. What, you need not to threaten him so.

Wood. Then let him answer if he can.

Then he said he knew what I would say to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the Question.

Lang. Mr. *Gage*, I will tell you in your Ear what Words he will answer me, before I speak to him.

Then he told Mr. *Gage* a Tale in his Ear, and said; I have told Mr. *Gage* what you will say.

Gage. Yea, and I will speak the Truth for both Parties.

Wood. Well, how say you? Did *Judas* eat the Body of Christ, or not?

Lang. Yea, I say *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ.

The Papists hold that *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ.

Wood. Then it must needs follow, that *Judas* hath everlasting Life: For Christ saith in the 6th of *John*, *Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life, and I will raise him up at the last Day*. If *Judas* did eat Christ's Body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, and then is *Judas* saved by Christ's own Words. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's Body, or else that *Judas* is saved.

Argument Whosoever eateth the Flesh of Christ, hath everlasting Life. *John* 6. *Judas* did eat the Flesh of Christ: *Ergo*, *Judas* hath everlasting Life.

Gage. Surely these be the very Words that Master Doctor told me in mine Ear that you would say to him.

Wood. Well, let us see how well he can avoid this Argument.

Lang. *Judas* is damned, and yet he eat the Body of Christ; but he eat it unworthily: And therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where find you that *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ unworthily?

Lang. They be St. *Paul*'s Words, 1 *Cor.* 11.

Wood. Master *Gage*, I desire you for God's sake mark my Words well what I say. If St. *Paul* speak any such Words there, or in any other Place; if there be any such Words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any Man eat the Body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest Man that ever you heard speak with Tongue. But indeed, these be the Words of St. *Paul*, *Whoso eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, because he maketh no Difference of the Lord's Body*; that is, because he presumeth to eat the Sacrament of the Lord's Body without Faith, making no Difference betwixt the Sacrament and other Bread and Drink. And that is St. *Paul*'s Meaning, and not that any Man doth or can eat the Body of Christ * unworthily. For whoso eateth the Body of Christ, hath everlasting Life, as is aforesaid in the Sixth of *John*; with these Words one came for them to Dinner in all haste.

* Christ speaketh of eating his Flesh simply, without any Determination of Unworthiness: that is, simply whosoever believeth in Christ, he shall be saved, neither is any Unworthiness in believing in Christ.

Gage. I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this Talk, but we shall have another Day well enough.

Lang. Nay, Master *Gage*, I will never talk with him more; for he is the most unreasonable Man that ever I talked with in all my Life.

Then Mr. *Gage* put off his Cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he said, we will seek all the Means possible to make him an honest Man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: For if it had not been for me and my Brother, he had been burnt before this.

Lang. Sir, for your sake, and for my Master your Brother's sake, and for his Father's sake, and other of his Friends sakes, that have spoken to me many Times with weeping Tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no Love nor Favour that I bear to him, I tell you the Truth.

Note well the Working of this Man's Charity, to do for a Man more at Request, than for any Compassion of the Party.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what Master Doctor saith: When will you come again?

Wood. Even when you will send for me. For I am a Prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it will cost me Money, and I have none to give: But if you send for me, it will cost me none.

Gage. Well, I will send for you on *Friday* or *Saturday* at farthest; for To-morrow I must ride out of Town; and I would fain hear your Talk.

Wood. Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our Talk always, and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the Word of God shall be my Warrant.

So Mr. *Gage* took his Leave, and went away to his Lodging, which was right in my way to the Prison; and when he came without my Lord *Mountague*'s Gates, there we met with one *Hood* of *Bursted*, a Smith.

Then said Mr. *Gage*: *Woodman*, I had forgot one Thing, that *Hood* hath brought me in Remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the Tale was told me. *Hood*, did not you hear when *Smith* of *Framfield* told me that he saw *Woodman* abroad in the City at Liberty.

Hood. Yea forsooth, that I did.

Gage. Yea surely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterwards again, that you had Leave of the Keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the Streets, as you went up and down.

Wood. Indeed so the Marshal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to Prison, but when I was sent for; and indeed the same Time I was abroad with my Keeper, coming from the Bishop, and as I was coming, even not far from the *Marshalsea* I saw goodman *Smith* stand in a Wain unload-

ing of Cheeſe, and I asked him how he did, even as I went by, and never ſtaid for the Matter, and thereupon it did ariſe. So I departed from them, with my Keeper to the *Marſhalſea* again, where now I am merry, I praiſe God, as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain.

The fourth Examination of Richard Woodman, *before the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and a certain Doctor, with divers other Prieſts and Gentlemen,* May 27, 1557.

Wood. I Was brought from the *Marſhalſea* to the ſaid Biſhops and Prieſts, ſitting in St. *George*'s Church in *Southwark*, by one of the Marſhal's Men, and one of the Sheriff's Men. When I came before them, and had done my Duty to them as nigh as I could, then ſaid the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*,

What is your Name?

Wood. My Name is *Richard Woodman*, forſooth.

Winch. Ah! *Woodman!* you were taken and apprehended for Hereſy about three Years ago, and were ſent to Priſon in the *King's-Bench*, and there remained a long Time. Mine old Lord of *Chicheſter*, being a learned famous Man, well known in this Realm of *England*, and almoſt throughout all *Chriſtendom*, I think came to Priſon to you, and there, and at other Places, called you before him divers Times, travelling with you, and perſuading you many Times (becauſe he was your Ordinary) to pluck you from your Hereſies that you held, but he could by no Means advertiſe you.

The old Biſhop of *Chicheſter* was Dr. *Day*.

Whereupon you were delivered to the Commiſſioners, and they could do no Good with you neither. Then they ſent you unto my Lord of *London*. My Lord of *London* calling you before him divers Times, Means was made to him by your Friends, that you might be releaſed. My Lord having a good Hope in you, that you would become an honeſt Man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in Times paſt, yea and of yourſelf promiſing him, that you would go home and recant the Hereſies which you held, deliver'd you; ſending alſo a Letter of your Recantation to the Commiſſary, that he ſhould ſee it done. But as ſoon as you were out of his Hands, you were as bad as ever, and would never fulfil your Promiſe, but have hid yourſelf in the Woods, Buſhes, Dens, and Caves, and thus have you continued ever ſince, till it was now of late. Then the Sheriff of that County (being a worſhipful Man) hearing thereof, ſent certain of his Men, and took you in a Wood, and ſo carry'd you to his Houſe. I cannot tell his Name. What is your Sheriff's Name?

Wood. Forſooth, his Name is Sir *Edward Gage*.

Biſhop. Well, you were apprehended for Hereſy, and being at Maſter *Gage*'s three Weeks or more, ye were gently treated there, he and other Gentlemen perſuading you divers Times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* that now is. The Sheriff, like a worſhipful Man, ſent you to him, and he hath travelled with you, and others alſo, and can do no Good with you, whereupon we have ſent for you. Anon 1557.

Wood. Then I ſpake to him: For I thought he would be long before he would make an end. I thought he was a Year in telling of thoſe Lies againſt me there already. Yea, I kept Silence from good Words, but it was great Pain and Grief to me (as *David* ſaid.) At length the Fire was ſo kindled in my Heart, that I could not chuſe but ſpeak with my Tongue; for I feared leſt any of the Company ſhould have departed before I had anſwered to his Lies, and ſo the Goſpel ſlandered by my long Silence. So I ſaid, My Lord, I pray you let me now anſwer for myſelf, for it is Time.

Biſhop. I permit you to anſwer to theſe Things that I have ſaid.

Wood. I thank God for that, and I think myſelf happy (as *Paul* ſaid when he was brought before King *Agrippa*) that I may this Day anſwer for myſelf. My Lord, I promiſe you there is never a Word of your Sayings true that you have alledged againſt me.

Biſhop. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never ſaw you before this Day; but I am ſure it is not all Lies that I have ſaid, as you report.

Wood. Yes, my Lord, there is never a true Word of that you have ſaid. And further, where you ſaid you never ſaw me before this Day, you have both heard me and ſeen me before this Day, I dare ſay.

Biſhop. I think I heard you indeed on *Sunday*, where you played the malapert Fellow; but I cannot tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the Woods by the Sheriff's Men?

Wood. No, I was taken near my Houſe, I being in my Houſe when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Biſhop. Were you not three Weeks at the Sheriff's?

Wood. Yes that I was, juſt a Month, and was gently treated by him; I can ſay no otherwiſe; for I had Meat and Drink enough, and fair Words.

Biſhop. It is not all Lies then, as it chanced. For I ſpake but of three Weeks, and you confeſs a Month yourſelf.

Wood. Yet your Tale is never the truer for that: For you ſaid, I was there three Weeks for Hereſy, which is not ſo; for I was not apprehended for Hereſy at the firſt, neither did mine old Lord of *Chicheſter* travel with me to pull me from Hereſy, as you ſaid; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the Commiſſioners, nor to the Biſhop of *London* for Hereſy, neither was I delivered to him for any ſuch Thing, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſaid I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many Lies, being a Biſhop, that ſhould be an Example to others.

Biſhop. Lo, what an arrogant Heretick he is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own Hand, denieth God.

Wood. My Lord, judge not leſt you be judged yourſelf: For as you have judged me, you ſhall be judged, if you repent not: And if I have ſet my Hand to any Recantation, let it be ſeen to my Shame before this Audience; for I will never deny mine own Hand, by God's Help.

Biſhop.

Anno 1557.

Biſhop. It is not here now, but I think it may be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Wood. By my Lord of *London*; for he dealt like a good Man with me in that Matter for which I was ſent to Priſon. For it was upon the Breach of a Statute, as Maſter Sheriff here can tell. For he was Sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was toſſed up and down from Seſſions to Seſſions; and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to Priſon again.

Then my Lord of *Chicheſter* being mine Ordinary, and I being his Tenant, came to me, to perſuade me to conſent to them, and to find myſelf in Fault, when I was in none: To which I would not agree; but I deſired that he would ſee me releaſed of my Wrong; but he ſaid he could not; but willed me or my Friends to ſpeak to the Commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporal Matter: And when I came before them, they ſent me to my Lord of *London*, and my Lord of *London* was certify'd by the Hands of almoſt thirty Men, both Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the Chief in all the Country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the Matter that I was ſent to Priſon for: Whereupon he delivered me, not requiring me to recant Hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: Nor do I know for what I was ſent to Priſon, no more than any Man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my Work.

Biſhop No? why then did you appeal to my Lord of *Chicheſter*, if it were not for Hereſy?

Wood. Becauſe there was laid to my Charge that I had baptized Children, and married Folks, which I never did, for I was no where Miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinary, to clear myſelf thereof, which I have done. Wherefore if any Man have any thing againſt me, let them ſpeak; for I came not hither to accuſe myſelf, neither will I.

Biſhop. Maſter Sheriff, can you tell upon what Breach of Statute he was ſent to Priſon firſt?

Sheriff. Yea forſooth, my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will give me Leave, I will ſhew you the whole Matter.

Biſhop. Nay, Maſter Sheriff, I pray you tell the Matter, ſeeing you know it.

The Sheriff. My Lord, it was for ſpeaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

Biſhop. Ah, like enough, that he would not ſtick to reprove a Curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned himſelf to ſpeak to me in the Pulpit on *Sunday?* he played the impudent Fellow with me; and therefore it was no great Marvel though he played that Part with another.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other Cauſe, but to purge ourſelves of thoſe Hereſies that you laid to our Charge. For theſe were your Words; good People, theſe Men that be brought before us, being here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the Holy Ghoſt to be God (pointing to us with your left Hand) which might ſeem to the whole Audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourſelves thereof, we ſpake, and ſaid we held no ſuch Thing. And you ſaid you would cut out our Tongues. But I am ſure you have no ſuch Law.

Biſhop. Yes that we have, if you blaſpheme, and as it chanced, I found ſuch amongſt you.

Wood. Indeed after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged ourſelves.

Biſhop. But I pray you, how can you purge yourſelf for ſpeaking to the Curate, that it is not Hereſy?

Wood. Forſooth theſe be the Words of the Statute; whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queen's Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Seſſions, there (being ſorry for the ſame) to be releaſed upon his good Behaviour one whole Year. But I had not ſo offended as it was well proved; for he that I ſpake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his Wife. Wherefore it is not lawful for him to preach by your own Law; and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I ſpake to him.

Biſhop. I am glad I perceive this Man ſpeaketh againſt Prieſts Marriages; he is not contented with Prieſts that have Wives. He is an honeſter Man than I took him for, Maſter Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not Prieſts Marriages.

Wood. Then I would have anſwered to his Saying, but he would in no wiſe hear me, but bade the Sheriff have me away. So the Sheriff took me by the Hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeak, but going out of the Chancel-door, I ſaid; I would ſhew him the whole Matter, if he would have given me Leave, but ſeeing he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my Wife and Children, and keep them, as my bounden Duty is, by the Help of God. So I was ſent to the *Marſhalſea* again, where I now am merry, I praiſe God therefore, as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our Brethren that heard our Talk, that the Biſhop ſaid when I was gone, that they would take me whilſt I was ſomewhat good. Which Words ſeemed to many of the People that were there, that I ſpake againſt Prieſts Marriages, but I did not, but did only anſwer to ſuch Queſtions as he asked me, as you ſhall perceive well by the Words, if you mark them, which Words were theſe:

How can you purge yourſelf from Hereſy, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, ſaid the Biſhop? meaning thereby, I think, to have taken Advantage of my Words; but it was not God's Will that he ſhould at that Time. For I anſwered him by the Words of the Statute, which Words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queen's Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three Months Impriſonment. But I prove that this Man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own Law) becauſe he had not put away his Wife. For their Law is, that no Prieſt may ſay Maſs, nor preach with the Maſs, but he muſt firſt be ſeparated from his Wife. That is, becauſe honeſt Marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to underſtand, that I did

did not reprove this Prieſt becauſe he had a Wife, but becauſe he taught falſe Doctrine, which grieved my Soul, becauſe he had been a fervent Preacher againſt the Maſs, and all the Idolatry thereof ſeven Years before, and then came and held with it again; for which Cauſe I reproved him in the Pulpit: And the Words that I ſpake to him are written in divers of my Examinations at my firſt Impriſonment. But in very deed, I knew not of the Statute when I reproved him. But becauſe I was ſent to Priſon upon the Breach of it, I bought a Statute Book, and when I had peruſed it, I perceived I had not offended by their own Law; and therefore ſtill when I was called to anſwer, I anſwered them with their own Law. But yet they kept me in Priſon a Year and almoſt three Quarters before I was releaſed. I was at mine Anſwer for that eighteen Times. If any think I do not allow Biſhops and Prieſts Marriages, let them look in my firſt Examination before the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* that now is during this my Impriſonment, and there they ſhall find what I have ſaid in the Matter. The Truth is, I looked to be condemned with my Brother that ſame Day: But we may all ſee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the Time is full come, I truſt in God I ſhall run that joyful Race that my Brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the Hands of God, who is the Preſerver, Defender, and Keeper of all his Elect for evermore, *Amen.*

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman *before the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *Dr.* Langdale, *a fat Prieſt, and others whoſe Names I know not, at St.* Mary Overy's *Church in* Southwark, June 15. 1557.

Wincheſter. WOodman, you were before us the laſt Day, and would not be known in any wiſe that you were ſent to Priſon for Hereſy, and called for your Accuſers, and ſtood ſtoutly in defending of your ſelf, and in your departing I had thought you had ſpoke againſt Prieſts Marriages, thinking by your Words we ſhould have found you an honeſt Man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told ſuch a fair Tale for yourſelf, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your Charge: For you ſaid it was all Lies that I told againſt you; but ſince I have proved the contrary, as here is your own Hand to ſhew. By which I have proved, that you reproved not the Prieſt for lacking of Authority, and becauſe he had not put away his Wife, but becauſe you liked not his Preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproved him becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary ſince.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of Authority, or becauſe I liked not his Preaching, but I told you wherefore I was firſt ſent to Priſon. For you ſaid it was for Hereſy, and made a long Tale againſt me. And indeed I told you that there was never a Word of your Sayings true, but were all Lies, as they were indeed. For I never was ſent to Priſon for Hereſy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take Heaven and Earth to witneſs; but I told you I was ſent to Priſon upon the Breach of a Statute, which was for ſpeaking to a Prieſt in the Pulpit, and for that Cauſe the Juſtices of that Country thought that I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would have had me bound to my good Behaviour, and becauſe I refuſed it they ſent me to Priſon. And theſe be the Words of the Statute, as I told you the laſt Day. *If any Man do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queen's Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that then every Party that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter-ſeſſions, and there being ſorry for the ſame, and alſo bound for his good Behaviour one whole Year, to be releaſed, or elſe to remain to Priſon again.* Anno 1557.

And when I was in Priſon I bought a Statute-book, which when I had peruſed over, I found by the Words thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, as the Biſhop of *London* was certify'd by the Hands of almoſt thirty of the chief Men in the Country. For he had not put away his Wife, and therefore the Statute took no Place on me, as I told you the other Day. Wherefore my Lord of *London*, ſeeing me have ſo much Wrong, did like a good Man to me in that Matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this Matter, you bad the Sheriff take me away; you ſaid you were glad I held againſt Prieſts Marriages, becauſe I anſwered to the Queſtion you asked me.

Fat Prieſt. My Lord, do you not hear what he ſaith by my Lord of *London?* He ſaith he is a good Man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing elſe.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every Man ſay as he findeth; he did juſtly to me in that Matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any Thing elſe, as you ſay, he ſhall anſwer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other Matters.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? how liked you his Preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no Matter how I liked it. Howſoever I liked it, I offended not the Statute. Wherefore you have nothing to ſay to me for that I am ſure.

Biſhop. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own Hand-writing. I am ſure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy Work indeed, which by God's Help I will never deny, nor ever yet did.

Biſhop. And here is good Gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it: Theſe be the Words before the Commiſſioners. How ſay you? do not you believe as ſoon as the Words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, that there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but only the very Body of Chriſt, both Fleſh and Blood, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary?* Theſe were the Words of the Commiſſioners.

And then thou ſaidſt, thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe than the Scripture ſaith. I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the Body of Chriſt before it is received by Faith, bringing in the 22d of *Luke*, ſaying, Chriſt ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* So I cannot prove it is his Body before it be eaten. Then ſaid the Commiſ-

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ſioners, Did not *Judas* eat Chriſt's Body? And if you can prove that *Judas* is ſaved (ſaid you) I muſt grant that he eat his Body. For Chriſt ſaith in the Sixth of *John*, *Whoſo eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt Day*; which Words prove, ſaid you, that if *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt, he muſt needs be ſaved. How ſay you now? Did *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt or not?

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch Words of me in his Dioceſs, to condemn me with. Though I ſhould confound him never ſo much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I anſwered and ſaid:

I will anſwer you to no ſuch Thing, for I am none of your Dioceſs; wherefore I will not anſwer to you.

Biſhop. Thou art within my Dioceſs, and thou haſt offended within my Dioceſs; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your Dioceſs, I have not offended in your Dioceſs; if I have, ſhew me wherein.

Biſhop. Marry here is thine own Hand-writing, which thou affirmedſt in my Dioceſs.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own Hand-writing; but that does not prove that I have offended in your Dioceſs; for that doth but declare what Talk there was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, which you have nothing to do withal.

Biſhop. No, hold him a Book, and thou ſhalt ſwear whether thou holdeſt now or not, and whether thou didſt not write it in my Dioceſs, as I think thou didſt; lay thy Hand on the Book.

Wood. I will not be ſworn for you; for I am not of your Dioceſs; and therefore you have nothing to do with me: And as for the writing of the ſame, I never wrote a Word of it in your Dioceſs.

Lang. No, did you not? my Lord, let me ſee; I will find where you wrote it.

Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was ſent for out of the *King's-Bench* to come before the Commiſſioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may ſee it was in the *King's-Bench*, which is in your Dioceſs.

Wood. Although I was fetch'd out of the *King's-Bench*, that proveth not that I wrote it there; nor did I, I promiſe you truly.

The fat Prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not ſo much Service as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: for I perceive you go about to ſhed my Blood.

Biſhop. It is no Matter where it was written, it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall hear more of it. Here the Commiſſioners asked you, whether *Judas* did eat any more than bare Bread, and you anſwered that he eat more than bare Bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away back to the *King's-Bench* again, and asked you nothing more, for which Cauſe (as you have written here) you had a Hell burning in your Conſcience. For you had thought they would have ſent a Diſcharge to the *King's-Bench*, and ſolet me go (ſaid you) and regiſter my Name in their Books, that I had granted that *Judas* did eat the Body of Chriſt, and ſo the Goſpel ſhould have been ſlandered by me. For which Cauſe I was in ſuch Caſe, I could ſcarcely eat, drink, or ſleep for that Space, as all my Fellow-priſoners can teſtify. If all you, I ſay, that go to the Church of *Satan*, and there hear the deteſtable Doctrine that they ſpit and ſpue out in their Churches and Pulpits, to the great Diſhonour of God, if all you, I ſay, that come there, had ſuch a Hell burning in your Conſcience for the Time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my Conſcience more plainly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your Writing; is it not? how ſay you?

Wood. I do not deny but it was mine own Deed.

Biſhop. And I pray you, where is there ſuch Spitting and Spuing out falſe Doctrine as you ſpeak of?

Wood. In the Synagogue of Satan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe Doctrine.

Biſhop. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge yourſelf; I came not hither to be a Judge.

Biſhop. Well, here you have affirmed, that *Judas* (your Maſter) eat more than Bread, but yet he eat not the Body of Chriſt, as you have declared by your Words. For you had a Hell burning in your Conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the Commiſſioners underſtood by your Words, that *Judas* had eaten the Body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſaid, he eat more than bare Bread. Therefore thou hadſt a great ſort of Devils in thee; for in Hell be many Devils: And therefore the Devil and *Judas* is thy Maſter, by thine own Words.

Wood. Nay, I defy *Judas* and the Devil, and his Servants; for they be your Maſters, and you ſerve them, for any thing that I can ſee, I tell you Truth.

Biſhop. Nay, they be thy Maſters. For the Devil is Maſter where Hell is, and thou ſaidſt thou hadſt a burning Hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canſt avoid it, but that the Devil was in thee by thine own Saying?

The Biſhop's Argument:

The Devil is Maſter in Hell.
Woodman **felt a burning Hell in his Conſcience: *Ergo*, the Devil was *Woodman*'s Maſter.**

Anſwer.

Hell is taken in Scripture two Ways; either for the Place where damned Spirits and Souls be tormented for ever out of this Life; or elſe for God's Correction and Anguiſh of the Soul in this Life, which ſometimes is felt ſo ſharp, that it is reſembled to Hell itſelf: As where we read, *The Lord bringeth to Hell, and bringeth out again*, &c. Tob. 13. *The Paint of Hell have found me*, &c. Pſal. 114.

Wood. The Hell that I had, was the loving Correction of God towards me, to call me to Repentance, that I ſhould not offend God and his People in leaving Things ſo dark, as I left that. For which Cauſe my Conſcience bear me Record, I had not done well, as at all Times I have felt the Sting of it, when I have broken the Commandments of God by any Means, as all God's People do, I dare ſay, and it is the Loving-kindneſs of God towards them, to drive them to Repentance. But it is to be thought, that your Conſcience is never troubled, how wickedly ſoever you do. For if it were, it ſhould not be ſo ſtrange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whoſe Servant you be.

Biſhop. What a naughty Fellow is this? This is ſuch a perverſe Villain as I never talked with in all my Life. Hold him a Book, I will make him ſwear to anſwer directly to ſuch Things as I will demand of him; and if he will not anſwer, I will condemn him.

Wood. Call you me a Fellow? I am ſuch a Fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to Hell, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my Blood, and you ſhall have Blood to drink, as ſaith St. *John* in his *Revelation*, Chap. 9. and being in Hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for Pain of Conſcience, This is the Man that we have had in Deriſion, and thought his Life Madneſs, and his End to be without Honour; but now we may ſee how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſee in Hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you ſhall find in the fifth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*; and therefore take heed what you do, I give you Counſel.

Biſhop. Wiſdom! what ſpeakeſt thou of Wiſdom? thou never hadſt it; for thou art as very a Fool as ever I heard ſpeak.

Wood. Do you not know, that the fooliſh Things of this World muſt confound the wiſe Things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a Fool at your Hands.

Biſhop. Nay, thou art none of thoſe Fools; thou art an obſtinate Fool, and an Heretick. Lay Hand on the Book, and anſwer to ſuch Things as I will lay againſt thee.

Wood. I will lay Hand on the Book for none of you all. You be not my Biſhop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with you. This Man is without Law, he careth not for the King nor Queen, I dare ſay; for he will not obey their Laws. Let me ſee the King's Commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the King and Queen's Majeſty no worſe than I do, if it pleaſed God: You would not do as you do then.

Biſhop. Hold him a Book, he is a rank Heretick. Thou ſhalt anſwer to ſuch Things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take Heaven and Earth to record I am no Heretick, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to Priſon, no more than any Man here can tell; and therewith I looked round about on the People, and ſaid to the Biſhop, If you have any juſt Cauſe againſt me worthy of Death, lay it againſt me, and let me have it; for I refuſe not to die (I praiſe God) for the Truths ſake, if I had ten Lives. If you have no Cauſe, let me go home, I pray you, to my Wife and Children to ſee them kept, and other poor People that I would ſet to work by the Help of God. I have ſet to work an hundred Perſons before this, all the Year together, and was unjuſtly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his Will.

Biſhop. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for Help? but I would ſee any Man ſhew thee a chearful Countenance, and eſpecially you that be of my Dioceſs. If any Man of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the Hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a chearful Countenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be received in again, till you have done open Penance; and therefore beware of it.

Wood. I look for no Help of Men, for God is on my Side, I praiſe him for it; and therefore I need not to care who be againſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the *Marſhalſea*, where I am now merry (I praiſe God therefore) as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain. But for want of Time, I have left out much of our Talk; but this is the chiefeſt of it. Anno 1557.

The ſixth and laſt Examination of *Richard Woodman*, written with his own Hand.

BE it known unto all Men by this preſent Writing, that I Richard Woodman, *ſometime of the Pariſh of* Warbleton, *in the County of* Suſſex, *was condemned for God's everlaſting Truth,* July 16, 1557, *by the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *in the Church of St.* Mary Overy's *in* Southwark, *there ſitting with him the ſame Time the Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *Dr.* Langdale, *Mr.* Roper, *with a fat-headed Prieſt, I cannot tell his Name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedding of my Blood, upon this Occaſion, as hereafter followeth.*

I affirmed, that Judas *received the Sacrament with a Sop and the Devil withal; and becauſe I would not be ſworn upon a Book, to anſwer directly to ſuch Articles as he would declare to me; and becauſe I would not believe that there remained neither Bread nor Wine after the Words of Conſecration, and that the Body of Chriſt could not be received of any but of the Faithful: For theſe Articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the Help of God.*

Firſt, the Biſhop ſaid when I came before him.

Biſhop. You were before us on *Monday* laſt, and there you affirmed certain Hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I held no Hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Biſhop. No? did you not affirm, that *Judas* received Bread? which is an Hereſy, unleſs you tell what more than Bread.

Wood. Is it Hereſy to ſay, *Judas* received no more than Bread? I ſaid he received more than bare Bread, for he received the ſame Sacrament that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lord's Death, and becauſe he preſumed to eat without Faith, he eat the Devil withal, as the Words of Chriſt declare; after he eat the Sop, the Devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.

Biſhop. Hold him a Book. I would have you anſwer directly, whether *Judas* did eat the Body of Chriſt or no.

Wood. I will anſwer no more, for I am not of your Dioceſs; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. No? you be in my Dioceſs, and you be of my Dioceſs, becauſe you have offended in my Dioceſs.

Wood. I am not of your Dioceſs, although I am in your Dioceſs; and I was brought into your Dioceſs againſt my Will: And I have not offended in your Dioceſs, if I have, tell me wherein.

Biſhop. Here is your own Hand-writing, which is Hereſy. Theſe be the Words, *I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the Body of Chriſt to any before it is received in Faith.* How ſay you? is not this your own Hand-writing?

Wood. Yea, I do not deny but it is my own Hand-writing; but when, or where was it written, or where were the Words ſpoken?

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Biſhop. Before the Commiſſioners, and here is one of them; Maſter *Roper*, the Words were ſpoken before you; were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed they were, *Woodman*, I am ſure you will not deny them; for you have written the Words even as you ſpake them.

Woodman. No, Sir, indeed I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and am glad that you have ſeen it. For you may ſee by that whether I lie, or not.

Roper. Indeed the Words be written Word for Word as you ſpake them.

Biſhop. Well, here you affirm that it is your own Deed. How ſay you now? will you be ſorry for it, and become an honeſt Man?

Wood. My Lord, I truſt no Man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt Man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my Charge, knowing that my Lord of *London* diſcharged me of all Matters that were laid againſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

Biſhop. You were releaſed, and it might happen, it was not laid to your Charge then; therefore we lay it to your Charge now, becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an Heretick: And we may call you before us, and examine you upon your Faith upon Suſpicion.

Wood. Indeed St. *Peter* willeth me to render an Account of my Hope that I have in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my Biſhop to hear me.

Chich. Yes I pray you let us hear it.

Wood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things viſible and inviſible, and in one Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* my Saviour, very God and very Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter of all God's elect People, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholick Church, and all the Sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendred an Account of my Hope that I have of my Salvation.

Biſhop. And how believe you in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? And with that they all put off their Caps.

Wood. I pray you be contented, for I will not anſwer to any more Queſtions; for I perceive you go about to ſhed my Blood.

Biſhop. No? hold him a Book. If he refuſe to ſwear; he is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhall be excommunicated.

Woodman. I will not ſwear for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an Oath; for you laid Hereſies to my Charge in yonder Pulpit, which you are not able to prove; wherefore you be not meet to take an Oath of any Man. And as for me, I am not of your Dioceſs, nor will have any Thing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with thee, and I ſay that thou art a ſtrong Heretick.

Wood. Yea, all Truth is Hereſy with you; but I am content to ſhew you my Mind, how I believe on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, without flattering. For that you look for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myſelf of it. I will not meddle with any other Man's Belief on it.

Harpsfield. Why? I am ſure all Men's Faith ought to be alike.

Wood. Yea, I grant you ſo, that all true Chriſtians Faith ought to be alike. But I will anſwer for myſelf.

Harpsfield. Well, let us hear what you ſay to it.

Wood. I do believe, that when I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, if it be truly miniſtred according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, I coming in Faith, as I truſt in God I will, whenſoever I come to receive it, I believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered Death for the Remiſſion of my Sins, and that I ſhall be ſaved by his Death and Blood-ſhedding, and to receive the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that Remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by Faith, this is my Belief on the Sacrament.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying, Myſtically by Faith!

Fat Prieſt. What a Fool thou art, Myſtically by Faith! thou canſt not tell what myſtical is.

Wood. If I be a Fool, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch Fools of this World to confound ſuch wiſe Things as you are.

Fat Prieſt. I pray thee, what is myſtically?

Wood. I take myſtically to be the Faith that is in us, that the World ſeeth not, but God only.

Biſhop. He cannot tell what he ſaith. Anſwer to the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it be not the Body of Chriſt before it be received, and whether it be not the Body of Chriſt to whomſoever receiveth it? Tell me, or elſe I will excommunicate thee.

Wood. I have ſaid as much as I will ſay; excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your Dioceſs. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* is mine Ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my Blood, that it may be required at his Hands.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

Wood. No indeed, your Kine bring forth nothing but Cow-calves, as it now happeneth; meaning thereby he had not his Bulls from *Rome*.

Then they were all in a great Rage with me, and called me all to nought, and ſaid I was out of my Wits, becauſe I ſpake fervently to every Man's Queſtion; all which I cannot remember, but I ſaid;

So *Feſtus* ſaid to *Paul*, when he ſpake the Words of Soberneſs and Truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourſelves. You will go to Hell all the ſort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with Speed.

Wood. Then my Keeper, and the Sheriff's Deputy *Fuller*, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſaid, I pray you let me alone; I muſt anſwer for my Life.

Then there was much ado that I ſhould keep Silence, and ſo I held my Peace. Then ſpake the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, ſaying; We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to ſave thy Soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To ſave my Soul? nay, you cannot ſave my Soul. My Soul is ſaved already, I praiſe God. There can no Man ſave my Soul, but *Jeſus Chriſt*; and he it is that hath ſaved my Soul before the Foundation of the World was laid.

Fat Prieſt. What an Hereſy is that, my Lord! here is an Hereſy. He ſaith his Soul was ſaved before the Foundation of the World were

were laid. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayſt. Was thy Soul ſaved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the Truth. Look in the firſt of the *Epheſians*, and there you ſhall find it, where *Paul* ſaith, Chap. 1. *Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all manner of ſpiritual Bleſſings in heavenly Things, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us in himſelf before the Foundation of the World was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without Blame before him thro' Love, and thereto were we predeſtinated.* Theſe be the Words of *Paul*, and I believe they be moſt true. And therefore it is my Faith, in and by *Jeſus Chriſt*, that ſaveth, and not you or any Man elſe.

Fat Prieſt. What! Faith without Works! St. *James* ſaith, Faith without Works is dead, and we have free Will to do good Works.

Wood. I would not have you think, that I diſallow good Works. For a good Faith cannot be without good Works. Yet not of our ſelves, but it is the Gift of God, as ſaith St. *Paul* to the *Philippians*, Chap. 2. *It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, even of his good Pleaſure.*

Biſhop. Make an end; anſwer to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; he is made your Ordinary by my Lord Cardinal, and he hath Authority to examine you of your Faith upon a Book, to anſwer to ſuch Articles as he will lay to you: And I pray you refuſe it not; for the Danger is great if you do. Wherefore we deſire you to ſhew yourſelf a Subject in this Matter.

Then they ſpake all, and ſaid; Lo, my Lord deſireth you gently to anſwer to him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an Oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the Biſhop's Office, until he is conſecrated.

Wood. I know not ſo much. If you will give me Time to learn the Truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you ſay) I will tell you my Mind in any Thing that he ſhall demand of me without any flattering.

Prieſt. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore anſwer to him.

Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you be Turn-coats and Changelings, and be wavering minded, as St. *James* ſaith; you be neither hot nor cold, as St. *John* ſaith, therefore God will ſpue you out of his Mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Woodman challengeth his Judges to be all Turncoats and Changlings.

Biſhop. What? be we Turn-coats and Changelings, what meaneſt thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in King *Edward*'s Time you taught the Doctrine that was ſet forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you Turn-coats and Changelings, as I may well enough. Which Words made the moſt part of them to quake.

Biſhop. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Biſhop. I was in the *Tower*, as the Lieutenant will bear me Record.

Wood. If you were in the *Tower*, it was not therefore, I dare ſay, it was for ſome other Matter.

Then they all took Heart of Grace, and ſaid; My Lord, he comes to examine you, we think; if he will not anſwer to the Articles, you had beſt excommunicate him.

Biſhop. He is the naughtieſt varlet Heretick that ever I knew, I will read the Sentence againſt him. Anno 1557.

Then they ſpake all at once, and I anſwered them as faſt as I could. But I cannot remember all, the Words came out ſo thick, I ſpared them not, I praiſe God therefore; for I ſpake freely.

Then they that ſtood by rebuked me, and ſaid; You cannot tell to whom you ſpeak I think.

Wood. No? think you ſo? they be but Men. I am ſure I have ſpoken to as good as they be. And better than they will ever be, for any Thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with Speed.

Biſhop. Give Ear; for I will read Sentence againſt you.

Wood. Will you ſo? wherefore will you? you have no juſt Cauſe to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in Hell, if you repent not: And I praiſe God, I am not afraid to die for God's Sake, if I had a hundred Lives.

Biſhop. For God's Sake? nay, for the Devil's ſake. Thou ſay'ſt thou art not afraid to die; no more was *Judas* that hanged himſelf, as thou wilt kill thyſelf wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Wood. Nay, I defy the Devil, *Judas* and all their Members. And *Judas* Fleſh was not afraid, but his Spirit and Conſcience was afraid, and there deſpaired and hung himſelf. But I praiſe God, I feel no Lothſomeneſs in my Fleſh to die, but a joyful Conſcience, and a willing Mind thereto. Wherefore my Fleſh is ſubdued to it, I praiſe God; and therefore I am not afraid of Death.

Chich. Woodman, for God's Sake be ruled. You know what you ſaid to me at my Houſe. I could ſay more, if I would.

Wood. Say what you can; the moſt Fault that you found in me was, becauſe I praiſed the living God, and becauſe I ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord; which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you have any Grace; for I told you where the Words were written.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? will you confeſs that *Judas* received the Body of Chriſt unworthily? tell me plainly.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this Audience, in all the Bible, that any Man ever eat the Body of Chriſt unworthily, then I will be with you in all Things that you will demand of me; of which Matter I deſire all this People to be witneſs. No Man can receive the Body of Chriſt unworthily.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? then we ſhall agree well enough. St. *Paul* ſaith ſo.

Wood. I pray you where ſaith he ſo? rehearſe the Words.

Prieſt. In the eleventh Chapter of the firſt to the *Corinthians* he ſaith; *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, becauſe he makes no Difference of the Lord's Body.*

Wood. Do theſe Words prove that *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt unworthily? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contented. Then ſaid I, theſe be the Words even that you ſaid: Good People hearken well to them, *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily:* He ſaith not, Whoſo eateth of this Body unworthily, or drinketh of this Blood unworthily: but he ſaith; *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily* (which

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is the Sacrament) *eateth and drinketh his own Damnation*, becauſe he maketh no Difference between the Sacrament which repreſenteth the Lord's Body, and other Bread and Drink. Here (good People) you may all ſee they are not able to prove their Sayings true. Therefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

Biſhop. Thou art a rank Heretick indeed. Art thou an Expounder? Now I will read Sentence againſt thee.

Wood. Judge not leſt you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be yourſelf. Then he read the Sentence. Why, ſaid I, will you read the Sentence againſt me, and cannot tell wherefore:

Biſhop. Thou art an Heretick, and therefore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Wood. I am no Heretick, I take Heaven and Earth to witneſs, I defy all Hereticks, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you Grace to repent all, if it be his Will; and ſo he read forth the Sentence in *Latin*, but what he ſaid, God knoweth, and not I. God be Judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my Mind to them, but they cried, Away, away with him. So I was carried to the *Marſhalſea* again, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe God; and I praiſe God moſt heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſo high Dignity, as to bear Rebuke for his Name's Sake; his Name be praiſed therefore, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

After theſe Examinations between *Richard Woodman* and the Biſhops, he was judged by Sentence of Condemnation, and deprived of his Life; with whom alſo was burned nine others, five Men and four Women; namely, *George Stevens*, *William Maynard*, *Alexander Hoſman* his Servant, *Thomaſine a Wood* his Maid, *Margery Moris*, *James Moris* her Son, *Denis Burgis*, *Aſhdowne*'s Wife, *Grove*'s Wife.

Theſe Perſons above-named were put to death at *Lewes* the 22d of *June*.

The Condemnation of Mr. Richard Luſh.

IN the Regiſters of *Gilbert*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, I find a Certificate made to King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, of one *Richard Luſh*, there condemned and given to the ſecular Power, to be burned for the Cauſe of Hereſy, whoſe Affirmations in the ſaid Certificate be expreſſed in Tenour and Effect, as follows:

1. For denying the Verity of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. *Item*, For denying auricular Confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt.

3. *Item*, For affirming only to be three Sacraments; to wit, of Baptiſm, of the Supper, and of Matrimony.

4. *Item*, For refuſing to call the Lord's Supper by the Name of the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. *Item*, For denying Purgatory, and that Prayer and Alms profit not the dead Body.

6. *Item*, That Images are not to be ſuffered in the Church, and that all that kneel to Images at the Church, be Idolaters.

7. *Item*, That they which were burnt of late for Religion, died God's Servants and good Martyrs.

8. *Item*, For condemning the ſingle Life of Prieſts, and other Votaries.

9. *Item*, For denying the univerſal and catholick Church, meaning belike the Church of *Rome*.

For theſe Aſſertions, as there are expreſſed, he was condemned and committed to the Sheriffs, and alſo a Certificate directed by the Biſhops aforeſaid, to the King and Queen.

A Note of John Hullier, *Miniſter and Martyr, burned at* Cambridge.

CONcerning the Story of *John Hullier*, Martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full Declaration of the Death and Martyrdom of that good Man, becauſe the Story is before but imperfectly touched; for the more perfecting thereof, I thought thereunto to add that which ſince hath come to my Hand, as followeth.

Firſt, *John Hullier* was brought up at *Eaton College*, and after, according to the Foundation of that Houſe, he was elected Scholar in *King's College*, where alſo not tarrying full three Years of Probation, before he was Fellow of the College, he after ſome Time was one of the ten Conducts in the *King's College*, which was *Anno* 1539. Then at length, in Proceſs of Time, he came to be Curate of *Babram*, three Miles from *Cambridge*, and went afterwards to *Lynn*; where he, having divers Conflicts with the Papiſts, was from thence carried to *Ely*, to Dr. *Thurlby*, then Biſhop there; who after divers Examinations, ſent him to *Cambridge* Caſtle, where he remained but awhile.

From thence he was conveyed to the Town Priſon, commonly called the *Tolbooth*, lying there almoſt a Quarter of a Year, while at length he was cited to appear at *Great St. Mary*'s on *Palm-Sunday* Eve, before divers Doctors, both Divines and Lawyers, amongſt whom was chiefeſt Dr. *Shaxton*, Dr. *Young*, Dr. *Sedgewike*, Dr. *Scot*, and others. Where after Examination, becauſe he would not recant, he was firſt condemned, the Sentence being read by Dr. *Fuller*.

Then conſequently he was degraded after their Popiſh Manner, with ſcraping Crown and Hands. When they had degraded him, he ſaid chearfully, This is the joyfulleſt Day that ever I ſaw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this Paltry.

In the mean time, whilſt it was doing, one ſtanding by, asked *Hullier*, what Book he had in his Hand. Who anſwered, a Teſtament. Whereat this Man in a Rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the ſecular Powers, *Braſey* being Mayor, who carrying him to Priſon again, took from him all his Books, Writings, and Papers.

On *Maundy Thurſday* coming to the Stake, he exhorted the People to pray for him, and after holding his Peace, and praying to himſelf, one ſpake to him, ſaying, The Lord ſtrengthen thee. Whereat a Serjeant, named

Briefly, ſtayed and bade him hold his Tongue, or elſe he ſhould repent it.

Nevertheleſs *Hullier* anſwered and ſaid, Friend, I truſt that as God hath hitherto begun, ſo alſo he will ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his Work upon me. I am bidden to a *Maundy*, whither I truſt to go, and there to be ſhortly. God hath laid the Foundation, as I by his Aid will end it.

Then going to a Stool (prepared for him to ſit on) to have his Hoſe plucked off, he deſired the People to pray for him again, and alſo to bear witneſs that he died in the right Faith, and that he would ſeal it with his Blood, certifying them, that he died in a juſt Cauſe, and for the Teſtimony of the Verity and Truth, and that there was no other Rock but *Jeſus Chriſt* to build upon, under whoſe Banner he fought, and whoſe Soldier he was; and yet ſpeaking, he turned himſelf toward the Eaſt, and exhorted the People there likewiſe.

George Boys, *Henry Barley*, and one *Gray*, all three Arch-prieſts of *Trinity-College Cambridge*, ſtood on a Bank hard by. This *Boyes* was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity that Year. To whom Mr. *Gray* ſpake, ſaying, Hear ye not Maſter Proctor, what Blaſphemy this Fellow uttereth? ſurely it is ill done to ſuffer him.

At whoſe Words, this *Boyes* ſpake with a loud Voice, Mr. Mayor, what mean ye? if ye ſuffer him thus to take Liberty, I tell ye, the Council ſhall hear of it, and we take you not to be the Queen's Friend. He is a pernicious Perſon, and may do more Harm than you are aware of. Whereat ſimple *Hullier*, as meek as a Lamb, taking the Matter very patiently, made no Anſwer, but made himſelf ready, uttering his Prayer. Which done, he went meekly himſelf to the Stake, and with Chains being bound, was beſet with Reed and Wood, ſtanding in a Pitch Barrel, and the Fire being ſet to, not marking the Wind, it blew the Flame to his Back. Then he feeling it, began earneſtly to call upon God. Nevertheleſs his Friends perceiving the Fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the Serjeants to turn it, and fire it to that Place where the Wind might blow it to his Face.

That done, there was a Parcel of Books which were caſt into the Fire, and by Chance a Communion-book fell between his Hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read ſo long till the Force of the Flame and Smoak cauſed him that he could ſee no more; and then he fell again to Prayer, holding his Hands up to Heaven, and the Book betwixt his Arms next his Heart thanking God for ſending him it: And at that Time the Day being very fair and hot, yet the Wind was ſomewhat up, and it cauſed the Fire to be the fiercer, and when all the People thought he had been dead, he ſuddenly uttered theſe Words; *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, dying very meekly.

The Place where he was burned, is called *Jeſus Green*, not far from *Jeſus-College*. *Seagar* gave him certain Gunpowder, but little to the Purpoſe; for he was dead before it took fire. All the People prayed for him, and many a Tear was ſhed for him. Which the Papiſts ſeeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned Man, it could profit him nothing: Nevertheleſs they continued praying; whereat the Papiſts fell into ſuch a Rage that they menaced them with terrible Threatnings to ward. His Fleſh being conſumed, his Bones ſtood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the People, ſome took what they could get of him, as Pieces of Bones. One had his Heart, which was diſtributed ſo far as it would go; one took the Scalp and looked for the Tongue, but it was conſumed except the very Root. Anno 1557.

Simon Miller *and* Elizabeth Cooper *burnt at* Norwich.

IN the Month of *July* next followed the Martyrdom of *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper*. This *Simon* dwelling in the Town of *Lynn*, a pious and zealous Man in the Knowledge of the Lord and his Truth, deteſting and abhorring the contrary enforced Religion then ſet forth, came from *Lynn* to *Norwich*, where he ſtanding in the Preſs and hearing of the People, began to ask them, as they came out of the Church from their Popiſh Service, where he might go to have the Communion. At which, divers marvelled to hear and ſee his Boldneſs, one that was an evil diſpoſed Papiſt, hearing the ſame, ſaid, that if he would needs go to a Communion, he would go bring him thither where he ſhould be ſped of his Purpoſe. Whereupon he was brought to the Chancellor of *Norwich* (whoſe Name was *Dunning*) who after a few Words, and ſmall Talk paſſed with this Examinate, committed him to ward.

In the mean while as he was in Examination, he had in his Shoe, his Confeſſion, written in a certain Paper, whereof a Piece appearing above his Shoe, was ſpied and taken out. The Chancellor asking if he would ſtand to the Confeſſion of the ſame Faith therein contained, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Whereupon, as is ſaid, he was committed. Thus the ſaid *Simon* being in the Biſhop's Houſe, under Cuſtody of the Keeper there called Maſter *Felow*, how it happened is not certain, whether by Gentleneſs of the Keeper (who was ſomewhat gentle that ways) or by Leave given of the Biſhop, or elſe whether he had condeſcended on Purpoſe to their Articles, he was diſmiſſed, and went home to his Houſe at *Lynn*, where he continued a certain Space, while he had diſpoſed and ſet all Things in order.

That done, he returned again to the Biſhop's Houſe to his Priſon and Keeper, till the Time at length, he conſtantly abiding in his profeſſed Purpoſe, and Defence of God's Truth, was by the ſaid Biſhop and his Chancellor, condemned and committed to the Fire about the thirteenth Day of *July*.

With this *Simon Miller* alſo was burnt one *Elizabeth Cooper* (as is aforeſaid) a Pewterer's Wife, dwelling in St. *Andrew*'s Pariſh in *Norwich*, where ſhe had before recanted, and being unquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the laſt ſhe came into the ſaid St. *Andrew*'s Church, the People being at their Popiſh Service, and there ſtanding in the ſame, ſaid ſhe revoked her Recantation before made in that Place, and was heartily ſorry that ever ſhe did it, willing the People not to be deceived,

Anno 1557. deceived, neither to take her Doings before for an Example, &c. Theſe or ſuch like Words ſhe ſpake in the Church.

Then cried one *Bacon* of the ſaid Pariſh, laying his Arms abroad, ſaying, Mr. Sheriff, will you ſuffer this? and repeating the ſame, urged him to go from the Church to her Houſe, at whoſe Knocking ſhe came down, and was taken and ſent to Priſon.

The Sheriff (named Mr. *Thomas Sutton*) and ſhe had before been Servants together in one Houſe: And for the Friendſhip he bare unto her, and more for the Goſpel's Sake, he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by thoſe other Perſons before-mentioned, much againſt his own Conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

This good Woman being condemned with *Simon Miller* to be burnt at the Stake, when the Fire came to her, ſhe a little ſhrunk thereat, with a Voice crying, ah! When the ſaid *Simon Miller* heard the ſame, he put his Hand behind him towards her, and deſired her to be ſtrong and of good Chear: For good Siſter (ſaid he) we ſhall have a joyful and ſweet Supper. At which ſhe being, as it ſeemed, thereby ſtrengthened, ſtood as ſtill and quiet, as one moſt glad to finiſh that good Work, which ſhe before had ſo happily begun. And thus ſhe and her Companion joyfully ended their Lives, committing their Souls into the Hands of Almighty God.

The Martyrdom of five Men and five Women at Colcheſter, *five in the Forenoon, and five in the Afternoon.*

AS it is no new Thing in thoſe whom we call Prelates and Prieſts of the Church, to be Raiſers up of Perſecution againſt Chriſt and his poor Flock: So it is much to be lamented, that noble Perſons, and Men of Honour and Worſhip, ſhould be made ſuch Miniſters, to ſerve the Deſires of theſe Tyrants, as is now common, as well in the ſorrowful Reign of the late Queen *Mary*, as namely in this preſent Story is to be remarked.

And firſt thou remembreſt, gentle Reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were ſent up Priſoners together from *Colcheſter* to *London*, by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Darcy*, Mr. *Tyrrel* of St. *Oſithes*, and other Commiſſioners and Juſtices, *&c.* which twenty-two, as aforeſaid, through a gentle Submiſſion put to them, were afterwards releaſed and ſet at Liberty.

In the Number of theſe aforeſaid twenty-two, was one *William Munt* of *Muchbentley* in *Eſſex*, Husbandman, with *Alice* his Wife, and *Roſe Allin*, Maid, Daughter to the ſaid *Alice Munt*; who coming home again to their Houſe at *Muchbentley* aforeſaid, refrained themſelves from the unſavoury Service of the Popiſh Church, and frequented the Company of good Men and Women, who gave themſelves diligently to Reading and calling upon the Name of God through Chriſt: Whereby they ſo fretted the wicked Prieſt of the Town, called Sir *Thomas Tye*, and others like unto him, that laying their Heads together, they made a Supplication to the Lord *Darcy*, in the Name of the whole Pariſh: The Subſtance whereof is as followeth:

A Supplication to the Lord *Darcy*, and by him delivered to Sir *John Kingſton* Prieſt and Commiſſary.

PLeaſeth your honourable Lordſhip to be advertiſed, that we confeſs whilſt your good Lordſhip lay here in the Country, the People were ſtayed in good Order, to our great Comfort: But ſince your Lordſhip's Departure, they have made Digreſſion from good Order in ſome Places, and namely in the Pariſh of Muchbentley, *by reaſon of three ſeditious Perſons,* William Munt *and his Wife, and* Roſe *her Daughter, who by their colourable Submiſſion (as it doth appear) were diſmiſs'd and ſent down from the Biſhop of* London; *and ſince their coming home they have not only in their own Perſons ſhewed manifeſt Signs and Tokens of Diſobedience, in not coming to the Church, nor yet obſerving other good Orders, but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly have ſeduced many from coming to the Church, and from obeying all other good Orders; mocking alſo thoſe that frequent the Church, and calling them Church-owls, and blaſphemouſly calling the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar a blind God, with divers ſuch like Blaſphemies. In Conſideration whereof, may it pleaſe your Honour, (for the Love of God, and for the tender Zeal your good Lordſhip beareth to Juſtice, and the common Peace and Quietneſs of the King and Queen's Majeſty's loving Subjects) to award out your Warrant for the ſaid* William Munt, *his Wife, and* Roſe *her Daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordſhip, we truſt the reſt will fear to offend (their Ringleaders of Sedition being apprehended) to the Quietneſs of their obedient Subjects.*

Your daily Orators, the Pariſhioners of *Muchbently, Thomas Tye* Prieſt, *John Carter, Thomas Candler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris, John Richard,* with others.

This being done, the ſaid Sir *Thomas Tye* bethought with himſelf where the perſecuted did reſort: For in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, for a Twelve-month and more he came not to the Church, but frequented the Company of godly Men and Women, who abſtained from the ſame, and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good Conſcience, but the Sequel ſhewed him to be a falſe Brother.

Now (as I ſaid) he partly knowing the Places of Refuge for honeſt Men, did further enquire of other Men about the ſame: And being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his Purpoſe, immediately about the Time the Supplication above ſpecified was exhibited to the ſaid Lord *Darcy*, wrote a Letter ſecretly to Biſhop *Bonner*, wherein he maketh his Account how he had beſtowed his Time, and complained of divers honeſt Men, among which was the ſaid *William Munt* and his Company: The Tenor of which Letter here followeth.

A Letter from Sir *Thomas Tye*, Prieſt, to Biſhop *Bonner*.

RIght Honourable Lord, after my bounden Duty done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignify

nify unto your Lordſhip the State of our Parts concerning Religion. And firſt ſince the coming down of the twenty-two rank Hereticks diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſort of Schiſmaticks were never ſo bold ſince the King and Queen's Majeſty's Reign, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbentley *where your Lordſhip is Patron of the Church, ſince* William Munt, *and* Alice *his Wife, with* Roſe Allin *her Daughter came home, they do not only abſent themſelves from the Church and Service of God, but do daily allure many others away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew Signs and Tokens of Obedience.*

They aſſemble together upon the Sabbath-day in the Time of divine Service, ſometimes in one Houſe, ſometimes in another, and there keep their private Conventicles and Schools of Hereſy. The Jurates ſay, the Lord's Commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their Oath. The Queſt-men in your Archdeacon's Viſitation alledged, that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your Officers ſay, namely Mr. Boſwel, *that the Council ſent them not home without a great Conſideration. I pray God ſome of your Officers prove not Favourers of Hereticks. The Rebels are ſtout in the Town of* Colcheſter.

The Miniſters of the Church are hem'd at in the open Streets, and called Knaves. The bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is blaſphemed and railed upon in every Houſe and Tavern. Prayer and faſting is not regarded. Seditious Talks and News are rife both in Town and Country, in as ample and large Manner, as though no honourable Lords and Commiſſioners had been ſent for Reformation thereof. The Occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of John Love *of* Colcheſter Heath *(a perverſe Place) which* John Love *was twice indicted of Hereſy, and thereupon fled with his Wife and Houſhold, and his Goods ſeized within the Town of* Colcheſter, *to the King and Queen's Majeſty's Uſe. Nevertheleſs the ſaid* John *is come home again, and nothing ſaid or done to him. Whereupon the Hereticks are wonderfully encouraged, to the great Diſcomfort of good and Catholick People, which daily pray to God for the Profit, Unity, and Reſtoration of his Church again: Which Thing ſhall come the ſooner to paſs, through the Travel and Pains of ſuch honourable Lords and reverend Fathers as your Lordſhip is, unto whom I wiſh long Life and Continuance, with Increaſe of much Honour.* From *Colcheſter, December* 18.

Your humble Bedeſman, *Tho. Tye*, Prieſt.

When this wicked Prieſt had thus wrought his Malice againſt the People of God, within a while after the Storm began to ariſe againſt thoſe poor perſecuted *William Munt* and his Company, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelves from the Heat thereof. And continuing ſo a little Space, at laſt, the ſeventh Day of *March* 1557, being the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, and by two of the Clock in the Morning one Mr. *Edmund Tyrrel* (who came of the Houſe of thoſe *Tyrrels* which murdered King *Edward* V, and his Brother) took with him the Bailiff of the Hundred called *William Samuel*, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, and the two Conſtables of *Muchbentley* aforeſaid, named *John Baker* and *William Harris*, with many others; and beſetting the Houſe of the ſaid *William Munt* round about, called to them at length to open the Door: which being done, Mr. *Tyrrel* with ſome of his Company went into the Chamber where the ſaid Father *Munt* and his Wife lay, willing them to riſe: For, ſaid he, you muſt go with us to *Colcheſter-caſtle*. Mother *Munt* hearing that, being very ſick, Anno 1557. deſired that her Daughter might fetch her ſome Drink; for ſhe was (ſhe ſaid) very ill at eaſe.

Then he gave her Leave and bade her go. So her Daughter the aforenamed *Roſe Allin*, Maid, took a ſtone Pot in one Hand, and a Candle in the other, and went to draw Drink for her Mother: And as ſhe came back again thorough the Houſe, *Tyrrel* met her, and willed her to give her Father and Mother good Counſel, and adviſe them to be better Catholick People.

Diſcourſe between *E. Tyrrel* and *Roſe Allin.*

Roſe. Sir, they have a better Inſtructer than me. For the Holy Ghoſt doth teach them, I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to err.

Tyrr. Why, ſaid Mr. *Tyrrel*, art thou ſtill in that Mind, thou naughty Houſewife? marry it is Time to look upon ſuch Hereticks indeed.

Roſe. Sir, with which you call Hereſy, do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you truth.

Tyrr. Then I perceive you will burn, Goſſip, with the reſt, for Companies Sake.

Roſe. No, Sir, not for Companies ſake, but for Chriſt's Sake, if ſo I be compelled, and I hope in his Mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrr. So he turning to his Company, ſaid, Sirs, this Goſſip will burn: What do you think of her? why truly, Sir, ſaith one, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Tyrrel burneth *Roſe Allin's* Hand.

Then that cruel *Tyrrel*, taking the Candle from her, held her Wriſt, and the burning Candle under her Hand, burning Croſs-ways over the Back thereof, ſo long, till the very Sinews crack'd aſunder. Witneſs hereof, *William Chandler*, then dwelling at *Muchbentley*, who was there preſent and ſaw it. Alſo Mrs. *Bright* of *Rumford*, with *Ann Starkey* her Maid, to whom *Roſe Allin* alſo declared the ſame; and the ſaid Mrs. *Bright* alſo miniſtred Salve for the curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her Houſe at *Rumford*, going up towards *London* with other Priſoners.

In which Time of his Tyranny, he ſaid often to her, Why Whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young Whore, wilt thou not cry? To which ſhe always anſwered, that ſhe thanked God ſhe had no Cauſe, but rather to rejoyce. But ſhe ſaid, he had more Cauſe to weep than ſhe, if he conſidered the Matter well. In the End, when the Sinews (as I ſaid) brake, that all the Houſe heard them, he then thruſt her violently from him, ſaying, A ſtrong Whore, thou ſhameleſs Beaſt, thou beaſtly Whore, *&c.* with ſuch like vile Words. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his Rage for the Time, at laſt ſaid, Sir, have ye done what ye will do? He ſaid, yea, and if thou think not well of it, then mend it.

The Patience of the Faithful.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you Repentance, if it be his Will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the Feet, and burn the Head alſo: For he that ſet you on work, ſhall pay you your Wages one Day, I warrant you: And ſo went and carried her Mother Drink as ſhe was commanded. Likewiſe, after ſearching of the Houſe for more Company, at laſt they found one *John Thurſton* and *Margaret* his Wife, whom they alſo carried with the reſt to *Colcheſter* Caſtle immediately.

The Burning of Woodman, Stevens, Mainard, Hosman, Wood M. & L: Morris. Burges Ashdon & Groves *at Lewes*

The Burning of Rose Allins *Hand by* Edmund Tyrill

E. Mosley fec.

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Anno 1557. And this ſaid *Roſe Allin*, being Priſoner, told a Friend of hers this cruel Act of the ſaid *Tyrrel*; and ſhewing him the Manner thereof, ſhe ſaid, while my own Hand was a burning, I having a Pot in my other Hand, might have ſtruck him on the Face with it, if I had a Mind, for no Man held my Hand to hinder me therefrom. But I thank God, ſaid ſhe, with all my Heart, I did it not.

Alſo being asked of another; how ſhe could abide the painful burning of her Hand, ſhe ſaid, at firſt it was ſome Grief to her; but afterwards, the longer ſhe burned, the leſs ſhe felt, or well near none at all.

And becauſe Mr. *Tyrrel* ſhall not go alone in this kind of Cruelty, you ſhall hear another like Example of a blind Harper's Hand, burnt by Biſhop *Bonner*, as is teſtified by the Relation of *Valentine Dingley*, ſometime Gentleman to the ſaid Biſhop, who declared before credible Witneſs, as followeth: How the ſaid Biſhop *Bonner*, having this blind Harper before him, ſpake thus unto him, That ſuch blind Abjects, which follow a ſort of heretical Preachers, when they come to the feeling of the Fire, will be the firſt that will fly from it.

To whom the blind Man anſwered, that if every Joint of him were to be burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord he ſhould not fly. Then *Bonner* ſignifying privily to certain of his Men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burning Coal; which Coal being put into the poor Man's Hand, they cloſed it faſt again, which burned his Hand moſt pitiouſly. Amongſt the Doers thereof was the ſaid Mr. *Valentine Dingley*, Witneſs and Reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in *Titus Livius*, of the Story of King *Porſenna*, who after the burning of the right Hand of *Marcus Scevola*, who came purpoſely to kill him, being only contented therewith, ſent him home to *Rome* again. But thus to burn the Hands of poor Men and Women, who never meant any Harm to them, and not contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole Bodies without any juſt Cauſe, we find no Example of ſuch barbarous Tyranny, neither in *Titus Livius*, nor in any other Story among the Heathen.

But to return to our *Colcheſter* Martyrs again. With the ſaid *William Munt* and his Family, was joyned alſo in the ſame Priſon at *Colcheſter*, another faithful Brother, named *John Johnſon*, alias *Aliker*, of *Thorpe* in the County of *Eſſex* Labourer, 34 Years of Age, having no Wife alive, but three young Children, who was alſo indicted with them of Hereſy, and ſo all theſe four lay together in *Colcheſter* Caſtle.

The other ſix Priſoners lay in *Mote-hall* in the ſaid Town of *Colcheſter*, whoſe Names were,

1. *William Bongeor*, of the Pariſh of St. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter*, Glaſier, of the Age of 60 Years.

2. *Thomas Benold* of *Colcheſter*, Tallow-chandler.

3. *W. Purcas* of *Bocking* in *Eſſex*, Fuller, of the Age of 20 Years.

4. *Agnes Silverſide*, alias *Smith*, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, Widow, of the Age of 40 Years.

5. *Helen Ewring*, the Wife of *John Ewring*, Miller, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, of the Age of 45 Years or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two Priſoners mentioned before, ſent up in Bands from *Colcheſter* to *London*, and after being delivered with the reſt, repaired home to *Colcheſter* again to her Husband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enjoy'd her Liberty not very long: For ſhortly after her Return, one *Robert Maynard* then Bayliff of *Colcheſter*, met with her, who eſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, and bade her welcome home from *London*. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered again, and ſaid, That it was but a *Judas* Kiſs: For in the End, quoth ſhe, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to paſs: For immediately after that Diſcourſe ſhe was apprehended by him, and was lodg'd with the reſt in the Town-priſon (as is aforeſaid) called the *Mote-hall*.

6. The ſixth of this Company was *Elizabeth Folks*, a young Maid, and Servant in *Colcheſter*, of the Age of twenty Years. Theſe ſix were impriſoned in the Town Priſon of *Colcheſter*, called *Mote-Hall*, as the other four beforementioned were in the Caſtle.

Divers Examinations theſe good Men had at ſundry Times before divers Juſtices, Prieſts, and Officers, as Mr. *Roper*, *John Kingſton*, Commiſſary, *John Boſwell*, Prieſt, and *Bonner*'s Scribe, and ſeveral others, in the Preſence of the two Bailiffs of *Colcheſter*, *Robert Brown* and *Robert Maynard*, with divers other Juſtices both of the Town and Country, and a great many other Gentlemen: At which Time and Place, and before the ſaid Perſons, they had Sentence of Condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the real Preſence of the Sacrament in their Altar. The Effect of their Words therein, was as follows:

Firſt, The Priſoners in Mote-Hall.

WILLIAM Bongeor, of the Pariſh of St. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter*, Glazier, ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was Bread, is Bread, and ſo remaineth Bread; and that the Conſecration made it not more holy, but rather the worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their Popiſh Doctrine: And ſo had Sentence read againſt him.

Thomas Benold, of *Colcheſter*, Tallow-chandler, affirmed to the like Effect as *William Bongeor* did: And ſo had Sentence alſo read againſt him.

W. Purcas of *Bocking* ſaid, that when he received the Sacrament, he received Bread in an holy Uſe, that preacheth the Remembrance of Chriſt dying for him. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their Popiſh Matters: And ſo alſo had Sentence read againſt him.

Agnes Silverſide, alias *Smith*, ſaid, that ſhe loved no Conſecration; for the Bread and Wine ſhe ſaid, was made rather worſe thereby than better. This good old Woman anſwered them with ſuch ſound Judgment and Boldneſs, to every Thing they asked her, that it rejoyced the Hearts of many, and eſpecially to ſee the Patience of ſuch a reverend old Age, againſt the Taunts and Checks of her Enemies. To this ſhe alſo ſtood, and had Sentence read againſt her in like Manner.

Helen Ewring anſwered to the like Effect, as the others did, utterly denying all the Laws ſet forth by the Pope, with her whole Heart. Againſt her alſo was Sentence read.

Elizabeth Folks, the young Maiden, being examined whether ſhe believed the Preſence of Chriſt's Body to be in the Sacrament ſubſtantially

ſtantially and really, or no; anſwered, that ſhe believed that it was a ſubſtantial Lye, and a real Lye. At which Words, the Prieſts and others were very angry, and asked her again, whether after the Conſecration there remained not the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. To which ſhe anſwered, that before Conſecration and after, it is but Bread; and the Man that bleſſeth without God's Word, is curſed and abominable by the Word, *&c.* Then they examined her about Confeſſion to the Prieſt, of going to Church to hear Maſs, of the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, &c. To all which ſhe anſwered, that, by the Grace of God, ſhe would neither uſe nor frequent any of them all, but utterly deteſt and abhor them from the Bottom of her Heart, and all ſuch Trumpery.

Then they read the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her; at which, Dr. *Chadſey* wept, that the Tears trickled down his Cheeks. So the Sentence being read, ſhe kneeled down on her Knees, lifting up her Hands and Eyes unto Heaven, with fervent Prayer and audible Voice praiſing God, that ever ſhe was born to ſee that moſt bleſſed Day, that the Lord would count her worthy to ſuffer for the Teſtimony of Chriſt: And Lord, ſaid ſhe, if it be thy Will, forgive them that have done this againſt me, for they know not what they do. Then riſing up, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the Bench to Repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to Priſon, as *Robert Maynard* the Bailiff, and ſuch like; which *Maynard* commonly, when he ſate in Judgment upon Life and Death, would ſit ſleeping on the Bench oftentimes, ſo careful was his Mind on his Office.

The Priſoners in Colcheſter *Caſtle.*

William Munt of *Muchbentley* in *Eſſex*, of the Age of 61 Years, ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an abominable Idol, and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of their Popiſh Proceedings, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring his Curſe upon him, and therefore for fear of his Vengeance he durſt not do it. This good Father was examined of many Things, but God be thanked he ſtood to the Truth, and in the End thereof had Sentence of Condemnation read againſt him.

John Johnſon of *Thorp* in *Eſſex*, Widower, 34 Years of Age, was examined as the reſt, and made Anſwer in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſts counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody Sentence, as they had done the reſt before. This *J. Johnſon* affirmed, that in the receiving of the Sacrament according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, he receiveth the Body of Chriſt ſpiritually, *&c.*

Alice Munt, the Wife of the ſaid *William Munt*, 41 Years of Age, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in Effect as her Husband did, and was therefore alſo condemned.

Roſe Allin, Maid, Daughter of the ſaid *Alice Munt*, of the Age of 20 Years, being examined of auricular Confeſſion, going to the Church to hear Maſs, of the Popiſh ſeven Sacraments, *&c.* anſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtank in the Face of God, and ſhe durſt not have to do with them for her Life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſaid) any Member of theirs; for they were the Members of *Antichriſt*, and ſo ſhould have, if they repented not, the Reward of *Antichriſt*. Being asked further what ſhe could ſay of the See of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whether ſhe would obey his Authority or no: She anſwered boldly that ſhe was none of his. As for his See (ſaid ſhe) it is for Crows, Kites, Owls and Ravens to ſwim in, ſuch as you be: For by the Grace of God I ſhall not ſwim in that See while I live, neither will I have any Thing to do therewith. Then they read the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, and ſent her to Priſon again unto the reſt, where ſhe ſung with great Joy, to the Wonder of many. Anno 1557.

Thus theſe poor condemned Lambs, being delivered into the Hands of the ſecular Power, were all ſent to the Priſon from whence they came, where they remained with much Joy and great Comfort, ever looking and expecting the happy Day of their Diſſolution. In which Time the cruel Papiſts left not their miſchievous Attempts againſt them, although they would ſeem now to have no more to do with them. For bloody *Bonner*, whoſe Throat never cried ho, ſhortly after got a Writ for the burning of the aforeſaid Perſons; and to ſhew the more Diligence in his Cauſe, he ſent a truſty Man of his, named *Edward Coſin*, down with it, and with him alſo his Letter, for the Furtherance of the Matter, the next Month after the Condemnation.

The Writ being thus received by the ſaid Bailiffs, and they having then no Leiſure thereabouts, appointed the Day of the Execution thereof, to be the ſecond Day of *Auguſt* next following. And becauſe the faithful Souls were in two ſeveral Priſons, as the Caſtle was for the Country, and *Mote-hall* for the Town: Therefore it was agreed among them, that they in *Mote-hall* ſhould be burnt in the Forenoon, and thoſe at the Caſtle, by the Sheriff of the Shire, in the Afternoon.

The ſecond Day of *Auguſt* 1557, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the Clock in the Morning, was brought from *Mote-hall* unto a Plat of Ground, hard by the Town-wall of *Colcheſter* on the out-ſide, *William Bongeor*, *William Purcas*, *Thomas Benold*, *Agnes Silverſide* alias *Smith*, *Helen Ewring* and *Elizabeth Folks* before-mentioned, who being there, and all Things prepared for their Martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble Prayers to God, but not in ſuch Manner as they would, for the cruel Tyrants would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Mr. *Clere* ſhewed himſelf very extream unto them. When they made their Prayers, they aroſe, and made themſelves ready for the Fire: And *Elizabeth Folks*, when ſhe had plucked off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother (who came and kiſs'd her at the Stake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the Wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to give it. Therefore taking the ſaid Petticoat in her Hand, ſhe threw it away from her, ſaying, *Farewel all the World*, *farewel Faith*, *farewel Hope*; and ſo taking the Stake in her Hand, ſaid, *Welcome Love*, &c. Now ſhe being at the Stake, and one of the Officers nailing the Chain about her, in the ſtriking of the Staple, he miſs'd the Place, and gave her a great Stroke with the Hammer on the Shoulder-bone: At which, ſhe turning her Head, lifted up her Eyes to the Lord, and ſmilingly praying, gave her ſelf to exhorting the People again.

When they were all nailed to the Stakes, and the Fire about them, they clapped their

Anno 1557. Hands for Joy in the Fire, that the Standers-by, (which were by Eſtimation thouſands) almoſt all cried, *The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his Mercies upon them*, with ſuch like Words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their Souls and Bodies into the Lord's Hand, for the Teſtimony of his Truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the ſame in the like Quarrel, for his Mercies Sake, *Amen.*

In like Manner, the ſaid Day in the Afternoon, was brought forth into the Caſtle-yard, to a Place appointed for the ſame, *William Munt*, *John Johnſon*, *Alice Munt* and *Roſe Allin* aforeſaid: Who after they had made their Prayers, were joyfully tied to the Stakes, calling upon the Name of God, and earneſtly exhorting the People to flee from Idolatry, ſuffered Martyrdom with ſuch Triumph and Joy, that the People did no leſs ſhout thereat to ſee it, than at the others that were burnt the ſame Day in the Morning.

Thus theſe ten Perſons happily ended their Lives for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel. God grant we may well ſpend our Years and Days likewiſe to his Glory. *Amen.*

The Hiſtory of George Eagles, *otherwiſe called* Trudge-over.

AMong other Martyrs of ſingular Virtue and Conſtancy, one *George Eagles* deſerveth much to be commended, for that he having little or no Learning, moſt manfully ſerved and fought under the Banner of Chriſt's Church. For oftentimes the Will and Pleaſure of God is, to beautify and adorn his Kingdom with the weak and ſimple Inſtruments of this World; ſuch as *Amos* was in the *Old Teſtament*, who with many others of obſcure and unknown Names, were called from the Herds and Folds to the Honour of Prophets; as likewiſe we read of the Apoſtles, who were called from the Fiſherman's Craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this *George Eagles* is not to be deſpiſed for his mean Occupation, whom Chriſt hath called thence to ſet forth his Goſpel. We ought rather to glorify God the more, who by his Grace, inſpired him with the Gift of Preaching, and Conſtancy of ſuffering: Who, after he had uſed the Occupation of a Taylor, for ſome Time, being eloquent and of good Utterance, gave and applied himſelf to the Service of Chriſt's Church.

Which Man, as before in thoſe moſt clear Days of King *Edward* VI. he had not unfruitfully ſhewed and preached the Power and Force of the Lord, ſo afterwards in the tempeſtuous Time and Fall of the Church he expreſſed and uttered his Mind with Courage. For he, wandring abroad into far Countries, where he could find any of his Brethren, did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this Town, and ſometime abiding in that certain Months together, as Occaſion ſerved, lodging ſometimes in the Country, and ſometimes for Fear living in Fields and Woods, who, for his immoderate and unreaſonable going abroad, was called *Trudge-over.*

His Diet was ſo ſpare and ſlender, that he uſed, almoſt for the Space of three Years, to drink nothing but Water, whereunto he was compelled through Neceſſity in the Time of Perſecution: But when he perceived that by God's Providence his Body proved well enough with this Diet, he thought beſt to inure himſelf to it againſt all Neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſt's Church in this Sort, by going about and preaching the Goſpel a Year or two, eſpecially in *Colcheſter* and the Places thereabout, that privy Enemy which envieth always the Salvation and bleſſed Eſtate of the Good, laid wait by all Means poſſible for him, ſo that there were divers Spies ſent out, who had in Commandment, whereſoever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead.

But when this their Attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain (the ſaid *Eagles* with his Brethren keeping in cloſe, and hiding themſelves in ſecret Places, as in Barns, Thickets, Holes, *&c.*) his Adverſaries went about another Way to compaſs this their Enterpriſe of taking him.

For in the Queen's Name a grievous Edict was proclaimed throughout four Shires, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Kent* and *Norfolk*, promiſing the Perſon that took him twenty Pounds for his Pains; doubtleſs a worthy Hire to entice any *Jew* to Treachery. For being inflamed with greedy Deſire of the Money, they deviſed and invented all Ways poſſible to be enriched with the Hurt and Deſtruction of this poor Man.

At length it came to paſs, that he being ſeen at *Colcheſter* upon *Mary Magdalen*'s Day, at which Time they kept a Fair in the Town, would have been taken by his Adverſaries, if he had not ſpeedily conveyed himſelf away, a great Multitude purſuing after, and ſeeking diligently for him. Who firſt hid himſelf in a Grove, and afterwards in a Corn-field hard by, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the Violence of his Enemies, inſomuch as they were all, except one, paſt hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their Way.

This one, having more Subtilty in his Head than the reſt, would not depart thence with his Fellows, but climbed up into a high Tree, and there to view and eſpy if he might ſee *Eagles* any where ſtir or move. The poor Man thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no Noiſe abroad, roſe up on his Knees, and lifting up his Hand, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his Head was above the Corn, or becauſe his Voice was heard, the Lurker perceiving his deſired Prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and ſuddenly laying Hands on him, brought him as a Priſoner to *Colcheſter*. Notwithſtanding the greedy and *Judas* Knave, which had ſo much promiſed him, was fain to be contented with a very ſmall Reward, and glad to take that too, leſt he ſhould have had nothing at all.

George Eagles being thus taken, was committed to Priſon at *Colcheſter*, and from thence within four Days after conveyed to *Chelmsford*, where he abode all that Night in devout Prayer. The next Day he was carried to *London* to the Biſhop or the Council, and there remained a certain Time, and then was brought down to *Chelmsford* to the Seſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of Treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled Companies together, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm

Realm in that Caſe provided. For it was ordained a little before, to avoid Sedition, that if Men ſhould flock ſecretly together, above the Number of ſix, they ſhould be attached of Treaſon.

And albeit it was well known, that *George Eagles* did never any Thing ſeditiouſly againſt the Queen, yet to cloak an honeſt Matter withal, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the People, they turned Religion into a civil Offence and Crime, and though he defended his Cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full Declaration of his Religion, or Faith before the Judges; yet could he not bring it to paſs by any Means, but that he muſt needs be indicted (as is ſaid) of Treaſon; whoſe Indictment did run much after this Faſhion.

George Eagles Indictment.

George Eagles, *thou art indicted by the Name of* George Eagles, *otherwiſe* Trudge-over *the* Word, *for that thou didſt ſuch a Day make thy Prayer that God ſhould turn Queen* Mary's *Heart, or elſe take her away.*

He denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed, he prayed that God would turn her Heart in his Prayer. Well, notwithſtanding he was condemned for a Traitor, although the Meaning thereof was for Religion.

This being done, he was carried to the Sign of the *Crown* in *Chelmsford*, and being there, one *Richard Potto* the elder, an Innholder, dwelling at the Sign of the *Cock* in the ſame Town, did much trouble him, in perſuading him to confeſs he had offended the Queen in his Prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her Forgiveneſs.

To whom he ſaid, he had not offended her Grace in that Behalf. So in proceſs of Time, he was laid upon a Sledge, with an Hurdle on it, and drawn to the Place of Execution, being faſt bound, having in his Hand a Pſalm-book, of which he read very devoutly all the Way with a loud Voice, till he came there: And being on the Ladder the aforeſaid *Potto* did much trouble him with the Matter aforeſaid, but the Sheriff commanded *Potto* to hold his Peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his Confeſſion, and ſtood very conſtant ſtill; then he was turned off the Ladder. But after he had hanged a ſmall Space, having a great Check with the Halter, immediately one of the Bailiffs cut the Halter aſunder, and he fell to the Ground being ſtill alive, although much amazed with the Check he had off the Ladder.

Then one *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford*, a Bailiff, cut him open, and pluck'd his Heart out of his Body. The Body being divided into four Parts, and his Bowels burnt, was brought to the aforeſaid *Swallow*'s Door, and there laid upon the Fiſh-ſtalls before his Door, till they had made ready a Horſe to carry his Quarters, one to *Colcheſter*, and the reſt to *Harwich*, *Chelmsford* and St. *Rouſes*. His Head was ſet up at *Chelmsford* on the Market-croſs on a long Pole, and there ſtood till the Wind blew it down, and lying certain Days in the Street tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in the Churchyard in the Night.

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The Examination of Richard Craſhfield *of* Wymundham.

ABout this Time ſuffered at *Norwich*, a godly Man, named *Richard Craſhfield*, whoſe Examinations before the Chancellor, named *Dunning*, as he penned them with his own Hand, ſo have we faithfully recorded the ſame.

How ſay you Sirrah, ſaid the Chancellor, to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Then ſaid I, what Ceremonies?

He ſaid unto me, Do you not believe that all the Ceremonies of the Church were good and godly?

My Anſwer was, I do believe ſo many as are grounded in the Teſtimony of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Tuſh, ſaid he, do you believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was.

Then, ſaid he, Do you not believe that Chriſt took Bread, gave Thanks, brake it, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body*?

Yes verily, ſaid I, and even as Chriſt did ſpeak, ſo did he perform the Work.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Do you not believe this, that after the Words ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body, Fleſh, and Blood? How ſay you, do you not believe this? ſpeak Man.

I do believe that Chriſt's Body was broken for me upon the Croſs, and his Blood ſhed for my Redemption, whereof the Bread and Wine is a perpetual Memory, the Pledge of his Mercy, the Ring and Seal of his Promiſe, and a perpetual Memory for the Faithful unto the End of the World. So then I was commanded into Priſon until the next Day.

Another Examination of *Richard Craſhfield*.

THE Day following I was brought forth. Then the Chancellor ſaid unto me, *Richard*, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded than you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the Words that we had before, ſaid, Are not theſe your Words? Whereunto I anſwered, Yes.

Then ſaid he, How ſay you, can you not find in your Heart, when you come to the Church, to kneel down before the Rood, and make your Prayer?

I anſwered and ſaid, No; rehearſing the Commandment of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſaid, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an Image to be made?

I anſwered what Image?

He ſaid, the brazen Serpent.

I ſaid, yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken down.

Then Doctor *Bridges* ſaid, wherefore did God command the Seraphins and Cherubims to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, but how ſay you to this; can you find in your Heart to fall down before the Picture of Chriſt, which is the Rood?

I ſaid, no, I fear the Curſe of God: for it is

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written, that God curſed his Hands that make them, yea and the Hands that make the Tools wherewith they are carved.

Then Doctor *Bridges* raged and ſaid, liſt now what a Piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to ſerve his Purpoſe, for he will not allow but where he liſteth.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, how ſay you to Confeſſion to the Prieſt? When were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſs myſelf daily unto the eternal God, whom I moſt grievouſly offend.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, Do you not then take Confeſſion to the Prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, no; but rather wicked.

Then the Chancellor, ſaid, how ſay you by yonder Gear, yonder Singing and yonder Playing on the Organs? is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceive no Godlineſs in it.

Then he ſaid, why is it not written in the Pſalms, that we ſhould praiſe God with Hymns and ſpiritual Songs?

I ſaid, yes, ſpiritual Songs muſt be had: But yonder is of the Fleſh, and of the Spirit of Error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, why, is it not written my Houſe is an Houſe of Prayer?

Iſaiah 56. *Luke* 10.

I ſaid, yes. It is written alſo, that you have made my Houſe of Prayer a Den of Thieves.

With that the Chancellor looked and ſaid, have we?

I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I commanded to ward.

Another Examination of *Richard Craſhfield.*

The *Thurſday* next following, was Doctor *Bridges* ſent to me to examine me of my Faith. And he ſaid, Country-man, my Lord Biſhop (for Love he would have you ſaved) hath ſent me unto you, becauſe To-morrow is your Day appointed: Therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you ſhould declare unto me your Faith. For To-morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.

I anſwered and ſaid, hath my Lord ſent you?

It is not you, to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my Mind.

Then he ſaid to me, I pray you ſhew me your Mind concerning the Sacrament of the Altar.

I anſwered, Are you ignorant what I have ſaid?

He ſaid, no; for it was well written, except you believe, ſaith he, as the Church hath taught, you are damned both Body and Soul.

I anſwered and ſaid, judge not, leſt you be judged; condemn not, leſt you be condemned.

And he ſaid, lo, we ſhall have a Traytor as well as an Heretick; for he will diſallow the King's Judgment.

I ſaid, no; I do not diſallow the King's Judgment, but yours I do diſallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this Judgment?

He anſwered and ſaid, by the Church; for the Church hath Power to ſave and condemn: For if you be condemned by the Church, be ye ſure that you be damned both Body and Soul.

Then I anſwered, if you have this Power, I am ſore deceived. For I believe that Chriſt ſhall be our Judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the Pain.

Then he ſaid, ſtand nearer Country-Man: Why ſtand ye ſo far off?

I ſaid, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he ſaid, did not Chriſt ſay, is not my Fleſh Meat, and my Blood Drink indeed?

I ſaid, to whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe Words?

He ſaid, to his Diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the Text) ſaid, whereat did Chriſt's Diſciples murmur inwardly?

He ſaid, no; they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels (ſaith he) for the Diſciples were ſatisfied with theſe Words.

I ſaid, did not Chriſt ſay thus, as he taught at *Capernaum*, whereas his Diſciples murmured, ſaying, this is an hard Saying, who can abide the Hearing of it? *Jeſus* perceiving their Thoughts, ſaid, doth this offend you?

Then he raged and ſaid, oh, thou wreſteſt the Text for thine own Purpoſe: For the Diſciples did never murmur, but the Unbelievers as thou art.

I ſaid, Yes; but I perceive you know not the Text.

Then he ſaid with much Rage, I will lay my Head thereon it is not ſo.

Then I ſaid, I have done with you.

To which he ſaid, What ſhall I tell my Lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your Errand ſhall be ſooner done, ſaid I. And ſo he departed.

Another Examination of *R. Craſhfield.*

Then on *Friday* I was brought forth to receive Judgment, when the Chancellor ſaid unto me, Are you a new Man, or are you not?

I anſwered, I truſt I am a new Man born of God.

God give Grace you be ſo, ſaid he. So he rehearſed all my Examination and ſaid, How ſay you, are not theſe your Words?

I ſaid, Yes; I will not deny them.

Then he ſaid to Dr. *Pere*, ſtanding by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many fair flattering Words, ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* How ſay you to this? Do you not believe that it is Chriſt's Body? Speak.

I ſaid, Have you not my Mind, why do you trouble me?

He ſaid, What did Chriſt give you? was it Bread, or was it not?

I ſaid, Chriſt took Bread, and gave Thanks, and gave it, and they took Bread, and did eat. And St. *Paul* maketh it more manifeſt, where he ſaith, *So oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's Death until he come.* St. *Paul* ſaith not here as you ſay; for he ſaith, *So oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread:* He doth not ſay Body. 1 *Cor.* 10.

So they intending that I ſhould go no further in the Text, ſaid, Tuſh, you go about the Buſh. Anſwer me to the firſt Queſtion: Let us make an End of that.

What ſay you to the Bread that Chriſt gave? Let me have your Mind in it.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my Mind in it.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, No; we will have your Mind in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my Mind in it.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, No; we will have your Mind more plainly: For we intend not to have many Words with you.

I ſaid, My Faith is fully grounded and eſtabliſhed, that *Chriſt Jeſus*, the *Eaſter* Lamb, hath offered his bleſſed Body a Sacrifice to God the Father, the Price of my Redemption. For by that only Sacrifice are all the Faithful

ſanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our Redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily Oblations.

Then Dr. *Bridges* ſtarted up and ſaid, Truth, your Words are true indeed: You take well the literal Senſe: But this you muſt underſtand, that like as you ſaid that Chriſt offered his Body upon the Croſs, which was a bloody Sacrifice and a viſible Sacrifice: So likewiſe we daily offer the ſelf-ſame Body that was offered upon the Croſs, but not bloody and viſible, but inviſible, unto God the Father.

Do you offer Chriſt's Body, I ſaid? Why then Chriſt's Sacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when all Men ſhall be Liars.

Then he ſaid, Thou ſhalt not fear him that hath Power to kill the Body: But thou ſhalt fear him that hath Power to kill both Body and Soul.

I anſwered and ſaid, It is not ſo. But the Text is thus, *Thou ſhalt not fear them that have Power to kill the Body, and then have done what they can. But thou ſhalt fear him that hath Power to kill both Body and Soul, and caſt them both into Hell-fire, and not them.*

He anſwered and ſaid, Yes: For it is the Church.

I anſwered, Why, Chriſt ſaith, *I give my Life for the Redemption of the World. No Man taketh my Life from me* (ſaith he) *but I give it of my own Power, and ſo I have Power to take it again.* Therefore Chriſt the Son of God did offer his Body once for all. And if you will preſume to offer his Body daily, then your Power is above Chriſt's Power. With that he was angry, and ſaid, What, ſhall we have Doctrine? ye are not hereto appointed.

Then the Chancellor ſtood up and ſaid, Will ye turn from this wicked Error, and be an Example of Goodneſs, as you have been an Example of Evil (for by your wicked reading you have perſuaded ſimple Women to be in this Error) and ye ſhall have Mercy.

And I ſaid, it is of God that I do crave Mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, when were you at your Pariſh-church? you have ſtood excommunicate theſe two Years and more: Wherefore you are condemned. And ſo I was condemned.

The Martyrdom of *R. Craſhfield.*

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the Examination of this pious young Man, ſet forth and written with his own Hand, who, ſoon after his Condemnation, was brought to the Stake by the Sheriffs and Officers, where with much Patience and Conſtancy he entred his Martyrdom. At whoſe burning, one *Thomas Carman* was apprehended, whoſe Story hereafter followeth in its Order and Place.

Mr. *Frier* and *George Eagles* Siſter burned at *Colcheſter.*

About the ſame Time one named *Fryer*, with a Woman accompanying him, who was the Siſter of *George Eagles*, ſuffered the like Martyrdom by the unrighteous Papiſts, whoſe Tyranny the Lord of his Mercy abate and cut ſhort, turning that Generation, if it be his Will, to a better Mind.

Anno 1557.

The Apprehenſion and Death of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, *the Wife of* Thomas Lewes, *of* Manceter.

MIſtreſs *Joyce Lewes*, a Gentlewoman born, was firſt married to one *Appleby*, and afterwards to *Thomas Lewes* of *Manceter*. In the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Time ſhe went to Church and heard Maſs as others did, but when ſhe heard of the burning of that moſt godly and learned Martyr *Laurence Saunders*, who ſuffered in *Coventry*, ſhe began to take more Heed to the Matter, and enquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhe knew feared God, the Cauſe of his Death: And when ſhe perceived it was becauſe he refuſed to receive the Maſs, ſhe began to be troubled in Conſcience, and waxed very unquiet. And becauſe her Houſe was even hard by Mr. *John Glover*'s Houſe, of whom Mention was made before, a Man of bleſſed Memory, and a ſingular Example of his unfeigned Godlineſs and manifold Troubles which he ſuffered for the Goſpel, ſhe did oftentimes reſort to him, and deſired him to tell her the Faults that were in the Maſs, and other Things that at that Time were urged as neceſſary to Salvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet Mind, and alſo the Deſire ſhe had to know the Truth, did moſt diligently inſtruct her in the Way of the Lord, proving unto her out of God's holy Word, that the Maſs, with all other popiſh Inventions, were odious in God's Sight; and beſides this, reproved her, for that ſhe delighted in the Vanities of this World ſo much. By which godly Counſel, ſhe began to grow weary of the World, and thoroughly ſorrowful for her Sins, being inflamed with the Love of God, and deſirous to ſerve him according to his Word, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe Things which diſpleaſed him. And becauſe ſhe had learned the Maſs to be evil and abominable, ſhe began to hate it. And when at a Time ſhe was compelled by the Furiouſneſs of her Husband to come to the Church, at the ſame Time when the holy Water was caſt, ſhe turned her Back towards it. Whereupon ſhe was accuſed before the Biſhop for deſpiſing of their Sacramentals.

Immediately, a Citation was ſent for her to her Husband's Houſe, to appear before the Biſhop. The Sumner that brought the Citation delivered it to her Husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with Anger, willed the Sumner to take the Citation with him again, or elſe he would make him to eat it. The Sumner refuſed to take it again, for he thought no Man durſt have been ſo bold to trouble him. But in the End *Lewes* compelled the ſaid Sumner to eat the Citation indeed, by ſetting a Dagger to his Heart; and when he had eaten it, he cauſed him to drink it, and ſo ſent him away. But immediately after, the ſaid *Lewes* with his Wife were commanded to appear before the Biſhop, where the ſaid *Lewes* by and by ſubmitted himſelf, and deſiring the Biſhop to be good to him, excuſing himſelf after the beſt Faſhion he could. Whereupon the Biſhop was content to receive his Submiſſion, with Condition that his Wife ſhould ſubmit herſelf alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly told the Biſhop, that by

Anno 1557. by refuſing of the holy Water ſhe had neither offended God, nor any part of his Laws. At which Words the Biſhop being grievouſly offended, yet becauſe ſhe was a Gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gave her one Month's Reſpite, binding her Husband in an hundred Pound to bring her again unto him at the Month's end, and ſo they were both let go.

When they came to their own Houſe, the ſaid Mrs. *Joyce Lewes* gave herſelf to moſt diligent Prayer, and invocating of the Name of God, reſorting continually to the abovenamed Man of God, Maſter *John Glover*, who did moſt diligently inſtruct her with God's Word, willing her in any Caſe not to meddle with that Matter in reſpect of Vain-glory, or to get herſelf a Name, ſhewing her the great Dangers ſhe was like to caſt herſelf in, if ſhe ſhould meddle in God's Matter otherwiſe than Chriſt doth teach.

When the Month was now almoſt expired, and the Time at hand that ſhe ſhould be brought before the ſaid Biſhop, her Husband being adviſed by the ſaid Mr. *John Glover* and others, not to carry her to the Biſhop, but to ſeek ſome Ways to ſave her, or if the worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfeit ſo much Money, rather than to caſt his own Wife into the Fire: He anſwered, he would not looſe or forfeit any Thing for her Sake; and ſo, like a Murderer of his own Wife, he carried her to the bloody Biſhop where ſhe was examined, and found more ſtout, than ſhe was before Death was threatned. And to begin withal, ſhe was ſent to ſuch a ſtinking Priſon, that a certain Maid, who was appointed to keep her Company, did ſwoon in the ſame Priſon.

Being thus kept in Priſon, and oftentimes examined, at length ſhe was brought in Judgment, and pronounced an Heretick worthy to be burned. When the Biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe would not come to the Maſs, and receive the Sacraments and Sacramentals of the Holy Ghoſt: ſhe anſwered, *Becauſe I find not theſe Things in God's Word which you ſo urge and magnify, as Things moſt needful for Men's Salvation. If theſe Things were in the Word of God commanded, I would with all my Heart, receive, eſteem, and believe them.* The Biſhop anſwered, *If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning Matters of Religion, thou art in a damnable Caſe.* At which Words ſhe was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the Biſhop, that his Words were ungodly and wicked.

After her Condemnation, ſhe continued a whole Twelvemonth in Priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the Sheriff, that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to Death in his Time, as he affirmed; for which Things, after her Death, he was ſore troubled and in Danger of his Life. All that Time ſhe was in Priſon, her Behaviour was ſuch both in Words and Deeds, that all they, that had any Spark of Godlineſs and Honeſty, did greatly lament her Caſe, that ſhe ſhould be put to Death.

Now when the Time drew near which God had appointed for her Deliverance, the Writ *De comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from *London*, ſhe deſired ſome of her Friends to come to her, with whom when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behave herſelf, that her Death might be more glorious to the Name of God, comfortable to his People, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable to the Enemies of God. *As for Death* (ſaid ſhe) *I do not greatly paſs: When I behold the amiable Countenance of Chriſt my dear Saviour, the ugly Face of Death doth not greatly trouble me.* In which Time alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably out of God's Word, of God's Election and Reprobation.

In the Evening before her Suffering, two of the Prieſts of the Cloſe of *Litchfield*, came to the Under-ſheriff's Houſe where ſhe lay, and ſent Word to her by the Sheriff, that they were come to her Confeſſion; for they would be ſorry ſhe ſhould die without. She ſent them Word again, ſhe had made her Confeſſion to Chriſt her Saviour, at whoſe Hands ſhe was ſure to have Forgiveneſs of her Sins. As concerning the Cauſe for which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no Cauſe to confeſs that, but rather to give moſt humble Praiſe to God, that he did make her worthy to ſuffer Death for his Word: And as concerning that Abſolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the Pope, ſhe did defy the ſame, even from the Bottom of her Heart.

Which when the Prieſts heard, they ſaid to the Sheriff, Well, To-morrow her Stoutneſs will be proved and tried: For although perhaps ſhe hath now ſome Friends that whiſper her in her Ears, To-morrow we will ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come near her: And ſo they went their Ways with Anger, that their Confeſſion and Abſolution was nought ſet by.

All that Night ſhe was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain Gravity, inſomuch that the Majeſty of the Spirit of God did manifeſtly appear in her, who did expel the Fear of Death out of her Heart, ſpending the Time in Prayer, reading and talking with them that were purpoſely come unto her, to comfort her with the Word of God.

About three of the Clock in the Morning, *Satan* (who never ſleepeth, eſpecially when Death is at hand) began to ſtir himſelf buſily, ſhooting at her that fiery Dart, which he is wont to do againſt all that are at Defiance with him, by queſtioning her, how ſhe could tell that ſhe was choſen to eternal Life, and that Chriſt died for her. I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canſt thou tell: Whilſt ſhe was troubled with this Suggeſtion, they that were about her counſelled her to follow the Example of *Paul*, *Gal.* 2. where he ſaith, *Which hath loved me, and given himſelf for me.* Alſo, that her Vocation and calling to the Knowledge of God's Word, was a manifeſt Token of God's Love towards her, eſpecially that ſame holy Spirit of God working in her Heart, that Love and Deſire towards God to pleaſe him, and to be juſtified by him through Chriſt, *&c.* By theſe and like Perſuaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable Promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the Scripture, *Satan* was put to flight, and ſhe comforted in Chriſt.

About eight of the Clock, Mr. Sheriff came into her Chamber, ſaying theſe Words, Mrs. *Lewes, I am come to bring you Tidings of the Queen's Pleaſure, which is, that you ſhall live but one Hour longer in this World: Therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourſelf for it.* At which Words, being ſo ſuddenly uttered, by ſuch an Officer as he was, made her ſomewhat caſt down. Wherefore one of her Friends and

Acquaintance ſtanding by, ſaid theſe Words: Mrs. *Lewes, you have great Cauſe to praiſe God, who has vouchſafed ſo ſoon to take you out of this World, and made you worthy to be a Witneſs of his Truth, and to bear Record unto Chriſt that he is the only Saviour.*

After which Words, ſhe ſaid, *Mr. Sheriff, your Meſſage is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he has made me worthy to offer my Life for his Service.* At which Words the Sheriff departed; but in the Space of an Hour he came again, with Swords and Clubs; and when he came up in her Chamber, one of her Friends deſired him to give him Leave to go with her to the Stake, and to comfort her, which the Sheriff granted at that Time; but afterwards, when ſhe was dead, he was ſore troubled for the ſame.

Now when ſhe was brought thro' the Town by a Number of Bill-men, a great Multitude of People being preſent, ſhe was led by two of her Friends, (namely, Mr. *Michael Reniger*, and Mr. *Auguſtine Bernher*) and ſo brought to the Place of Execution; and becauſe the Place was far off, and the Throng of the People great, and ſhe not acquainted with the freſh Air, (being ſo long in Priſon) one of her Friends ſent a Meſſenger to the Sheriff's Houſe for ſome Drink: And after ſhe had prayed three ſeveral Times, in which Prayers ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh the idolatrous Maſs, and to deliver this Realm from Popery (at the End of which Prayers moſt part of the People cry'd *Amen*; yea, even the Sheriff that ſtood hard by her, ready to caſt her into the Fire for not allowing the Maſs, at this her Prayer ſaid with the reſt of the People, *Amen*;) when ſhe had thus prayed, ſhe took the Cup into her Hands, ſaying, *I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and wiſh for the Aboliſhment of Popery.* When ſhe had drank, they that were her Friends drank alſo. After that a great Number, eſpecially the Women of that Town, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open Pennance in the Church by the cruel Papiſts, for drinking with her.

When ſhe was chained to the Stake, ſhe ſhewed ſuch a Chearfulneſs, that it paſſed Man's Reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her Face, and being ſo patient, that moſt part of them that had honeſt Hearts were moved, and even with Tears bewailed the Tyranny of the Papiſts. When the Fire was ſet to her, ſhe made no other Reſiſtance than by lifting up her Hands towards Heaven, being dead very ſoon: For the Under-Sheriff, at the Requeſt of her Friends, had provided ſuch Stuff, that ſhe was ſuddenly diſpatched out of this miſerable World.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, *and* Richard Roth, *at* Iſlington.

ABOUT the ſeventeenth Day of *September*, were burned at *Iſlington*, near *London*, theſe four Profeſſors of Chriſt, *Ralph Allerton*, *James Auſtoo*, *Margery Auſtoo* his Wife, and *Richard Roth*. Among which, it firſt appeareth, that this *Ralph Allerton* was, more than a Year before his Condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord *Darcy* of *Chicheſter*, and was there accuſed, as well for that he would not conſent to come unto the Idolatry and Superſtition which then was uſed, as alſo that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like. Anno 1557.

Being examined thereupon, he confeſſed that he coming into his Pariſh of *Bentley*, and ſeeing the People ſitting there, either gazing about, or elſe talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto Prayer, and Meditation of God's moſt holy Word, and not ſit ſo idly: To which they willingly conſented. Then after Prayer ended, he read to them a Chapter out of the *New Teſtament*, and ſo departed.

In which Exerciſe he continued until *Candlemas*, and then being informed that he might not ſo do by the Law (for that he was no Prieſt or Miniſter) he left off, and kept himſelf cloſe in his Houſe till after *Eaſter*. At which Time, certain ſworn Men for the Enquiry of ſuch Matters came unto his Houſe, and attached him for reading in the Pariſh of *Welley*.

But when they underſtood that he had read but once, and that it was of Obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moved the People) they let him for that Time depart. Notwithſtanding for Fear of their Cruelty, he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his own Houſe, and keep himſelf in Woods, Barns, and other ſolitary Places, until the Time of his Apprehenſion.

After his Examination, the Lord *Darcy* ſent him up to the Council; but they (not minding to trouble themſelves with him) ſent him unto *Bonner*, who by Threatnings and other ſubtle Means, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearful Heart of this Man, that within a ſhort Time he won his moſt wicked Will, and made him revoke and recant his former Profeſſion, and thereupon ſet him at Liberty of Body: which yet brought ſuch a Bondage and Terror of Soul and Conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that except God (whoſe Mercies are immeaſurable) had ſupported and lifted him up again, he had periſhed for ever.

But God, who never ſuffereth his Children utterly to fall, caſting his pitiful Eyes on his loſt Sheep, with his merciful and fatherly Chaſtiſements, did, with *Peter*, raiſe him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned Repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant Boldneſs to profeſs again, even unto Death, his moſt holy Name and glorious Goſpel. Wherefore at the Procurement of *Thomas Tye*, Prieſt, ſometime an earneſt Profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce Perſecutor of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the Hiſtory of *William Munt* and his Wife) he was again apprehended, and ſent to Biſhop *Bonner*, before whom he was the 8th Day of *April*, and ſundry other Times elſe examined. The Report of which Examination, written with his own Hand, here followeth.

The Examination of Ralph Allerton *before the Biſhop of* London *at* Fulham, April 8, 1557.

Bonner. AH Sirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this Faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, ſo I am. For if I were guilty of ſuch Things as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſorry.

Bonner. By St. *Mary* that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honeſt Man? For if I can prove no Hereſy by thee, then ſhall thine Accuſers do thee no Harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee; for I did not believe the Tale to be true.

Ralph. My Lord, who did accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine Accuſation, that I may anſwer thereunto.

Bonner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not be afraid, nor aſhamed to anſwer for thyſelf. But tell me in Faith, haſt thou not diſſembled.

Ralph. If I cannot have mine Accuſers to accuſe me before you, my Conſcience doth conſtrain me to accuſe myſelf before you: For I confeſs that I have grievouſly offended God in my Diſſimulation at my laſt being before your Lordſhip, for which I am very ſorry, as God knoweth.

Bonner. Wherein I pray thee, didſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Ralph. Forſooth, my Lord, if your Lordſhip remember, I did ſet my Hand to a certain Writing, the Contents whereof (as I remember) were, *That I believe in all Things as the Catholick Church teacheth*, &c. In which I did not diſcloſe my Mind, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no Difference between the true Church and the untrue Church.

Bonner. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this Gear. For I fear me thou wilt ſmell of an Heretick anon. Which is the true Church, as thou ſayeſt? Doſt thou not call the Hereticks Church the true Church, or the Catholick Church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two are the true Church, ſayſt thou? Go to, for in Faith I will know of thee before I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the Church of Hereticks, I utterly abhor the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their Enormities and Hereſies: And the Church Catholick is it that I only embrace, whoſe Doctrine is ſincere, pure, and true.

Bonner. By St. *Auguſtine*, but that is well ſaid of thee. For by God Almighty, if thou hadſt allowed the Church of Hereticks, I would have burned thee with Fire for thy Labour.

Then ſaid one *Morton* a Prieſt, my Lord, you know not yet what Church it is that he calleth Catholick. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Bonner. Think you ſo? Now by our bleſſed Lady, if it be ſo, he might have deceived me. How ſay you, Sirrah, which is the Catholick Church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholſome Sound, ſpoken of by *Iſaiah*, *David*, *Malachi*, and *Paul*, with many other more. Which Sound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the Earth in every Place, and unto the Ends of the World.

Bonner. Yea thou ſaiſt true before God. For this is the Sound that hath gone throughout all *Chriſtendom*, and he that believeth not the Sound of the holy Church, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, doth err. For he ſaith, that whoſoever is out of the Church, is like unto them that were out of *Noah*'s Ship when the Flood came upon all the whole World; ſo the Ark of *Noah* is likened unto the Church: And therefore thou haſt well ſaid in thy Confeſſion. For the Church is not alone in *Germany*, nor was here in *England* in the Time of the late Schiſms, as the Hereticks do affirm. For if the Church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a Liar: for he promiſed that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come to us, lead us unto all Truth, yea, and remain with us unto the End of the World. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true Sayer, then muſt we needs affirm, that the Way which is taught in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and all *Chriſtendom* over, muſt needs be the true Catholick Church.

Ralph. My Lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the World, as it is written, and not of all *Chriſtendom* only, as methinks your Lordſhip takes it, which Kind of ſpeaking you do not find in all the Bible. For I am ſure, that the Goſpel hath been both preached and perſecuted in all Lands: Firſt, in Jewry by the Scribes and Phariſees, and ſince that Time by *Nero*, *Diocleſian*, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our Days by your Lordſhip knoweth whom. For true it is that the Church which you call Catholick, is none otherwiſe Catholick than was figured in *Cain*, obſerved of by *Jeroboam*, *Ahab*, *Jezebel*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Antiochus*, *Herod*, with innumerable more of the like: And as both *Daniel* and *Eſdras* make mention of theſe laſt Days by a plain Prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſaying; There ſhall come grievous Wolves to devour the Flock.

Bonner. Now, by the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, Mr. *Morton*, he is the rankeſt Heretick that ever came before me. How ſay you? have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was my Lord at the firſt.

Bonner. Now by all Hallows thou ſhalt be burnt with Fire for thy lying, thou whoreſon Varlet and Prick-louſe thou. Doſt thou find a Prophecy in *Daniel* of us? Nay, you Knave, it is of you that he ſpeaketh, and of your falſe pretended Holineſs. Go to, let me hear what is the Sayings of *Eſdras*, and take Heed ye make not a Lie, I adviſe you.

Ralph. The Saying of *Eſdras* is this; *The Heat of great Multitudes is kindled over you, and they ſhall take away certain of you, and feed the Idols with you, and he that conſenteth unto them, ſhall be had in Deriſion, laughed to Scorn, and troden under Foot: Yea they ſhall be like mad Men, for they ſpare no Man; they ſhall ſpoil and waſte ſuch as fear the Lord*, &c.

Bonner. And have you taken this Thing to make your Market good? Ah Sirrah, wilt thou ſo? By my Faith a pretty Inſtruction, and a neceſſary Thing to be taught among the People. By my Troth I think there be more of this Opinion. I pray thee tell me: Is there any that underſtandeth this Scripture on this Faſhion? Before God, I think there be none in all *England*, but thou.

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, there are in *England* three Religions.

Bonner. Sayeſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Ralph. The firſt is that which you hold, the ſecond is clean contrary to the ſame; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent: That is to ſay, obſerving all Things that are commanded outwardly, as tho' he were of your Part, his Heart being ſet wholly againſt the ſame.

Bonner. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, I am one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under Pain of Death.

Bonner. Ah, Sir, you were here with me at *Fulham*, and had good Cheer, yea and Money in your Purſe when you went away, and by my Faith I had a Favour unto thee, but now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty Knave. Why wilt thou take upon thee to read the Scripture, and canſt underſtand never a Word? for thou haſt brought a Text of Scripture, which maketh clean againſt thee. For *Eſdras* ſpeaketh of the Multitude of you Hereticks, declaring your Hate againſt the Catholick Church, making the ſimple or idle People believe, that all is Idolatry that we do, and ſo entice them away until you have overcome them.

Ralph. Nay, not ſo my Lord. For he maketh it more plain, and ſaith on this wiſe; *They ſhall take away*

their Goods, and put them out of their Houſes, and then ſhall it be known who are my Choſen (ſaid the Lord) *for they ſhall be tried, as the Silver or Gold in the Fire.* And we ſee it ſo come to paſs, even as he hath ſaid. For who is not now driven from Houſe and Home, yea, and his Goods taken up for other Men that never ſweat for them, if he do not obſerve as you command and ſet forth? Or elſe, if he be taken, then muſt he either deny the Truth, as I did, in diſſembling, or elſe he ſhall be ſure to be tried, as *Eſdras* ſaith, even as the Gold is tried in the Fire. Whereby all the World may know, that you are the bloody Churh, figured in *Cain* the Tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoid it.

Morton. I promiſe you my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other Time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he ſpeaketh plainly.

Bonner. Marry, Sir, as you ſay indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain Heretick, and ſhall be burned. Have the Knave away. Let him be carried to *Little-eaſe*, at *London*, until I come.

And ſo was I carried to *London* unto *Little-eaſe*, and there remained that Night, and on the next Morrow I appeared before him again, the Dean of St. *Paul's* and the Chancellor of *London* being preſent. Then were brought forth certain Writings that I had ſet my Hand unto.

Bonner. Come on your Ways, Sirrah. Is not this your Hand, and this, and this?

Ralph. Yea, they are my Hand all of them; I confeſs the ſame, neither yet will I deny any Thing that I have ſet my Hand unto. But if I have ſet my Hand to any Thing that is not unlawful, therefore am I ſorry. Nevertheleſs, my Hand I will not deny to be my Doing.

Bonner. Well ſaid, now ye muſt tell me; were you never at the Church ſince you went from me, at Maſs, Mattens, &c.

Ralph. No; my Lord, not at Maſs, Mattens, nor any other ſtrange worſhipping of God.

Bonner. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neither at thine own Pariſh-church, nor at any other? And doſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtrange worſhipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the Scripture to be true?

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, I believe the Scripture to be true, and in Defence of the ſame I intend to give my Life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Dean. My Lord, this Fellow will be an honeſt Man, I hear by him. He will not ſtand in his Opinion; for he ſheweth himſelf gentle and patient in his Talk.

Bonner. Oh, he is a glorious Knave. His painted Terms ſhall no more deceive me. Ah whoreſon Prick-louſe, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my Body? And how dareſt thou deny theſe Words, for to ſay, as I have a Writing to ſhew, and thine own Hand at the ſame? Let me ſee, wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own Hand?

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, it is mine own Hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my Confeſſion thereof is agreeable to God's Word. And whereas you do lay unto my Charge, that I ſhould deny the Words of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*; Oh good Lord, from whence cometh this raſh, haſty, and untrue Judgment? Forſooth not from the Spirit of Truth; for he leadeth Men into all Truth, and is not the Father of Liars. Whereupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly; wherefore, I beſeech you, if I deny the Scriptures canonical, or any Part thereof, then let me die.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious Fellow, and perſuadeth other Men to do as he himſelf doth, contrary to the Order appointed by the Queen's Highneſs and the Clergy of this Realm. For a great many of the Pariſh will be gathered one Day to one Place, and another Day to another Place to hear him; ſo that very few come to Church to hear divine Service: And this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the Council, but alſo ſince his Return home again, he hath done much Harm. For where both Men and Women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by St. *Anne* now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the Pariſh, ſaying, that we were of the malignant Church of *Antichriſt*, and not of the true Church of Chriſt, alledging a great many Scriptures to ſerve his Purpoſe, ſaying; Good People, take Heed, and beware of theſe Blood-thirſty Dogs, &c. And then I commanded the Conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheleſs, after this Apprehenſion, the Conſtable let him go about his Buſineſs all the next Day, ſo that without putting in of Sureties, he let him go into *Suffolk* and other Places, for no Goodneſs, I warrant you my Lord: It were Alms to teach ſuch Officers their Duty, how they ſhould let ſuch Rebels go at their own Liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them faſt in the Stocks until they bring them before a Juſtice.

Ralph. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again; thou art not of the Church of Chriſt, and that I will prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the Conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indeed, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, having neither Treaſon, Felony, nor Murder to lay to my Charge: No, neither had you Precept, Proceſs, nor Warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay without a Law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeek to trouble the Conſtable, becauſe he kept me not in the Stocks three Days and three Nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are. And my going into *Suffolk* was not for any Evil, but only to buy half a Buſhel of Corn for Bread for my poor Wife and Children, knowing that I had no long Time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would ſurely have laid ſomewhat to his Charge.

Bonner. Go to, thou art a Merchant indeed. Ah Sirrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with Fire. Thou knoweſt *Richard Roth*, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame Mind that thou art of, or no? Canſt thou tell?

Ralph. He is of Age to anſwer, let him ſpeak for himſelf; for I hear ſay that he is in your Houſe.

Bonner. Lo what a Knave here is. Go *Cluny*, fetch me *Roth* hither. By my Troth he is a falſe Knave; but yet thou art worſe than he. Ah Sirrah, did you not ſet your Hand to a Writing, the Tenor whereof was, that if you ſhould at any Time ſay or do heretically, then it ſhould be lawful for me to take thee with a Relapſe, and to proceed in Sentence againſt thee?

Ralph. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be asked, whether it is ſufficient, that my Hand or Name in Writing be able to give Authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do ſo much, then muſt my Authority be greater than yours. Nevertheleſs, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a true Chriſtian Man have I behaved myſelf. And ſo I was committed unto Priſon again, and the 24th Day of the ſame Month, I was brought before the Biſhop, the Lord *North*, Doctor *Story*, and others, and after a long Talk in *Latin* amongſt themſelves (unto which I gave no Anſwer, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpake of me) at the laſt the Biſhop ſaid:

Bonner. How ſay you Sirrah? tell me briefly at one Word, wilt thou be contented to go to *Fulham* with me, and there to kneel thee down at Maſs, ſhewing thyſelf outwardly as tho' thou didſt it with a good Will? Go to, ſpeak.

Ralph.

Ralph. I will not ſay ſo.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

The ſecond Day of *May* I was brought before the Biſhop, and three Noblemen of the Council, whoſe Names I do not remember.

Bonner. Lo my Lords, this ſame is the Fellow that was ſent unto me from the Council, and did ſubmit himſelf, ſo that I had half a Hope of him: But by St. *Anne* I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheleſs, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him Money in his Purſe. How ſayſt thou? was it not ſo as I tell my Lords here?

Ralph. Indeed my Lord I had Meat and Drink enough; but I never came in Bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve-pence, howbeit I asked none, nor would have none.

A Lord. Be good to him my Lord. He will be an honeſt Man.

Bonner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath once deceived me already. But ye ſhall hear what he will ſay to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you Sirrah? after the Words of Conſecration be ſpoke by the Prieſt, there remaineth no Bread, but the very Body of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, God and Man, and none other Subſtance, under the Form of Bread.

Ralph. Where find you that, my Lord written?

Bonner. Lo, Sir. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* How ſayſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe Words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a Diſſembler, ſpeaking one Thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. Howbeit, my Lord, I marvel why you leave out the Beginning of the Inſtitution of the Supper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid; *Take ye, and eat ye, this is my Body.* And if it will pleaſe you to join the former Words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an Anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no Diſſembler, neither did he ſay one Thing, and mean another.

Bonner. Why? then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his Body; for he ſaith it himſelf, and thou confeſſeth that he will not lie.

Ralph. No, my Lord; he is true, and all Men are Lyars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly refuſe to take the Words of our Saviour ſo fantaſtically as you teach us to take them: For then ſhould we conſpire with certain Hereticks called the *Neſtorians*; for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural Body, and ſo methinks you do, my Lord. If you will affirm his Body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirm, that it is a fantaſtical Body; and therefore look to it for God's Sake, and let theſe Words go before; *Take ye, and eat ye*, without which Words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy Receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the Words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that ſo receiveth.

Bonner. Ah, I feel well thou canſt not underſtand theſe Words; I will ſhew thee a Parable. If I ſhould ſet a Piece of Beef before thee, and ſay; eat, it is Beef: And then take part of it away, and ſend it to my Cook, and he ſhall change the Faſhion thereof, and make it look like Bread: What, wouldſt thou ſay that it were not Beef, becauſe it hath not the Faſhion of Beef?

Ralph. Let me underſtand a little further, my Lord; ſhall the Cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any Thing therefrom?

Bonner. What is that to the Matter, whether he do or no, ſo long as the Shape is changed into another Likeneſs?

Ralph. Ah, will you ſo my Lord? your Sophiſtry will not ſerve; the Truth will have the Victory nevertheleſs, as *Eſay* ſaith, Chap. 59. *He that reſtraineth himſelf from Evil, muſt be ſpoiled.* And *Amos* hath ſuch like Words alſo, Chap. 5. *For the Wiſe muſt be fain to hold their Peace; ſo wicked a Time it is*, ſaith he: *Nevertheleſs, he that can ſpeak the Truth, and will not, ſhall give a ſtrait Account for the ſame.*

A Doctor. By my Lord's Leave, here methinks thou ſpeakeſt like a Fool. Wilt thou be a Judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou muſt ſtand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole Congregation hath determined the Matter long ago.

A Prieſt. No, by your Leave, we have a Church, and not a Congregation. You miſtake that Word, Mr. Doctor.

Ralph. Then ſaid I to my Fellow-priſoners ſtanding by; my Brethren, do you not hear how theſe Men help one another? Let us do ſo alſo. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that Time. The 19th Day of *May* I was brought before the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a Companion of *George Eagles*, otherwiſe called *Trudge-over?* My Lord of *London* telleth me that you were his Fellow-companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my Lord.

Rocheſt. By my Faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an Ape, for he ſtank ſo of Drink, that I could not abide him; and ſo ſent him away.

Ralph. My Lord, I dare ſay you took your Mark amiſs. It was either yourſelf, or ſome of your own Company, for he did neither drink Wine, Ale, nor Beer, in a quarter of a Year before that Time; and therefore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine Examinations you ſhall have when I am condemned, if I can have any Time after my coming into *Newgate*, which I truſt ſhall touch the Matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy Matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good Friends all. Yea, I ſay, farewel for ever in this preſent World. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good Widows among you, with all the reſt of the Congregation in *Barfold*, and *Dedham*, and *Colcheſter*.

This Promiſe of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or elſe if he did write, the ſame not coming to my Hands: I am fain in the reſt of his Examinations to follow the only Report of the Regiſter; who witneſſeth, that the 15th Day of *May*, *Anno* 1557, in the Biſhop's Palace at *London*, he was examined upon certain Interrogatories, the Contents whereof be theſe.

FIrſt, that he was of the Pariſh of *Muchbentley*, and ſo of the Dioceſs of *London*.

Secondly, that the 10th Day of *January* then laſt paſt, Mr. *John Morant* preaching at *Paul's*, the ſaid *Ralph Allerton* did there openly ſubmit himſelf unto the Church of *Rome*, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe as well unto the ſame Submiſſion, as alſo to one other Bill, in which he granted, that if he ſhould at any Time turn again unto his former Opinions, it ſhould be then lawful for the Biſhop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an Heretick.

Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a Bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the Sacrament, after the Words of Conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth ſtill material Bread and material Wine; and that he believeth that the Bread is the Bread of Thankſgiving, and the Memorial of Chriſt's Death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the Body of Chriſt ſpiritually in his Soul, but material Bread in Subſtance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo adviſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth Article laſt before ſpecified.

Sixthly, that he had ſpoken againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*,

Rome, with the Church and See of the ſame, and alſo againſt the ſeven Sacraments and other Ceremonies and Ordinances of the ſame Church, uſed then within this Realm.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the Opinion and Faith of Mr. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, and others of late burned within this Realm, and believed that their Opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers Times affirmed, that the Religion uſed within this Realm, at the Time of his Apprehenſion, was neither good, nor agreeable to God's Word, and that he could not conform himſelf thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the Book of Common-prayer ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* VI, was in all Parts good and godly; and that the ſaid *Ralph* and his Company-priſoners, did daily uſe amongſt themſelves in Priſon ſome part of the Book.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of Priſon, he would not come to Maſs, Mattens, nor Evenſong, nor bear Taper, Candle, or Palm, nor go in Proceſſion, nor would receive holy Water, holy Bread, Aſhes, or Pax, or any other Ceremony of the Church then uſed within this Realm.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at Liberty he would not confeſs his Sins to any Prieſt, nor receive Abſolution of him; nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to Saints, and Prayers for the Dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a Man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own Will and Pleaſure; neither that it is lawful to reſerve the Sacrament, or to worſhip it.

Thirteenthly, that the ſaid *Allerton* had according to theſe his Affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come unto his Pariſh-church ever ſince the 10th Day of *January* laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow any Ceremonies, Sacraments, or other Rites then uſed in the Church.

To all theſe Articles he anſwered affirmatively, denying preciſely none of them; ſaving to this Clauſe contained in the twelfth Article, that a Man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his own Will and Pleaſure, he ſaid that he had affirmed no ſuch Thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo oft as he was bound to do. And unto this Anſwer he alſo ſubſcribed in this Sort.

> Except it be proved otherwiſe by the holy Scripture, I do affirm theſe Articles to be true. By me *Ralph Allerton*.

The next Examination was the fourth Day of *July*; the Acts whereof, becauſe they are to the ſame Effect, as the Articles exhibited to other Martyrs already mention'd, I here omit, giving you farther to underſtand, that on the ſeventh of *July*, he was brought before Dr. *Darbyſhire* in the Biſhop's Palace, who examined him again on the former Articles, and after perſuaded him to recant, threatning him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered, I would I might be condemned even To-morrow; for I perceive my Lord (meaning *Bonner*) doth nothing but ſeek Men's Blood. Upon which Saying Dr. *Darbyſhire* committed him again to Priſon; and the 10th of *September* the Biſhop cauſed him to be brought unto *Fulham*, and there in his private Chapel within his Houſe, he judiciouſly propounded unto him certain other new Articles; to which, becauſe they were for the moſt part full of Lies, he would in a manner make no Anſwer, ſaving he granted, that he miſliked their Maſs and other Ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the Biſhop, that he and his Accomplices did nothing but ſeek how to kill Innocents.

The Biſhop then asked him, whether he would believe in all Points touching the Sacrament of the Altar, as is contained in the general Council holden and kept under *Innocent* the third, and therewithal he did read the Decree of the ſaid Council concerning the Sacrament.

Whereunto *Allerton* again made Anſwer and ſaid; I believe nothing contained in the ſame Council, neither have I any Thing to do therewith; and it were alſo very neceſſary, that no Man elſe ſhould have to do therewith.

Then (quoth *Bonner*) thou art of the Opinion that the Hereticks lately burnt at *Colcheſter* were of.

Yea, ſaid he, I am of their Opinion, and I believe that they be Saints in Heaven.

This done, the Biſhop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. To whom he anſwered, ye ought not to condemn me as an Heretick, for I am a good Chriſtian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: For I ſee right well, that Right and Truth is ſuppreſſed and cannot appear upon the Earth.

Theſe Words ended, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation, and ſo delivered him unto the temporal Officers: Who kept him in their Cuſtody till the 17th of *September*, at which Time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet little is ſaid, I will therefore now proceed to declare ſuch Cauſe of their cruel Deaths, as in the Regiſter is recorded.

James Auſtoo, and *Margery* his Wife.

I Cannot find why theſe two Perſons were firſt apprehended, howbeit, as the Days then ſerved, it was no ſtrange Matter to fall into the Hands of ſuch, as with Cruelty perſecuted the true Profeſſors of God's Goſpel, eſpecially having ſo many Promoters, and unkind Neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of People, it is not unlike theſe two godly Yoke-fellows were accuſed and taken: And being once delivered into the mercileſs Hands of Biſhop *Bonner*, their Examinations (ye may be ſure) were not long deferred. For the 16th of *July* 1557, they were brought before him at *London*: Where firſt he demanded of the ſaid *James Auſtoo* (amongſt other Queſtions) where he had been confeſſed in *Lent*, and whether he received the Sacrament of the Altar at *Eaſter*, or not?

To whom he anſwered, that indeed he had been confeſſed of the Curate of *Alhallows Barking*, nigh to the *Tower* of *London*, but that he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar; for he defied it from the Bottom of his Heart.

Why (quoth the Biſhop) doſt thou not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true Body and Blood of Chriſt?

No, ſaid *Auſtoo*, not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in the Supper of the Lord, to the faithful Receiver is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt by Faith.

Bonner not well pleaſed with this Talk, asked then the Wife, how ſhe lik'd the Religion then uſed in this Church of *England?*

She anſwered, that ſhe believed that the ſame was not according to God's Word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for Fear of the Law, than otherwiſe.

Then he again ask'd her, if ſhe would go to the Church and hear Maſs, and pray for the proſperous Eſtate of the King, being then abroad in his Affairs.

Whereunto ſhe ſaid, that ſhe defied the Maſs with

all her Heart, and that ſhe would not come into any Church wherein were Idols.

After this the Biſhop objected unto them certain Articles, to the Number of 18. The Tenor whereof I do here for Brevity ſake paſs over; giving you yet thus much to underſtand, that in the Matters of Faith they were as ſound, and anſwered as truly as ever any did, eſpecially the Woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater Knowledge, and more Fervency of Spirit. Notwithſtanding according to the Meaſure of Grace that God gave them, they both ſtood moſt firmly unto the Truth. And therefore to conclude, the 10th Day of *September* they were, (with *Ralph Allerton*) brought again before the Biſhop within his Chappel at *Fulham*, where he ſpeaking unto them, ſaid firſt on this wiſe; *Auſtoo*, doſt thou know where thou art now, and in what Place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to do?

Yea; quoth *Auſtoo*; I know where I am: For I am in an Idol's Temple.

After which Words, their Articles being again read, and their Conſtancy in Faith perceived, *Bonner* pronounced againſt either of them ſeverally the Sentence of Condemnation, and delivering them unto the Sheriff there preſent, did rid his Hands of them.

Richard Roth.

IN the Fellowſhip of the aforenamed three Martyrs, was alſo this *Richard Roth*; who being apprehended, and brought up unto the Biſhop of *London*, was by him examined the fourth Day of *July*, at which Time the Biſhop earneſtly perſuaded him to believe that there were ſeven Sacraments in Chriſt's Church, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar (after the Words of Conſecration duly ſpoken) there remain'd the very Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that preſent) he made only this Anſwer; that if the Scripture did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſuaded, he would ſo believe, otherwiſe not. But at another Examination (which was the 9th of *September*) he declared plainly, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed, there was not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the Maſs was deteſtable, and contrary to God's holy Word and Will, from which Faith and Opinion he would not go or decline.

The next Day, being the tenth of the ſame Month, the Biſhop at his Houſe at *Fulham* (by way of an Article) laid and objected againſt him; That he was a Comforter and Supporter of Hereticks: And therefore had written a Letter to that Effect unto ſeveral that were burn'd at *Colcheſter*.

This Letter he confeſſed indeed that he had written, and that he had meant to have ſent the ſame unto ſuch as were condemned at *Colcheſter* for the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and were afterwards burned there.

The Biſhop then farther asked him, what he thought his Fellow-priſoner *Ralph Allerton* to be.

He anſwered, that he thought him to be one of the elect Children of God; and that if at any Time hereafter he happened to be put to Death for his Faith and Religion, he thought he ſhould die a true Martyr. And moreover, finding himſelf grieved with the Biſhop's privy and ſecret condemning of God's People, he ſaid unto him in this ſort; my Lord, becauſe the People ſhould not ſee and behold your Doings, ye cauſe me and others to be brought to our Examinations by Night, being afraid (belike) to do it by Day.

The Biſhop not greatly caring for his Talk, proceeded to examine him of other Matters, amongſt which this high and weighty Thing was one, *videlicet*, how he did like the Order and Rites of the Church then uſed here in *England*.

To whom he ſaid, that he ever had, and yet then did abhor the ſame with all his Heart.

Then divers of the Biſhop's Accomplices intreated and perſuaded him to recant, and ask Mercy of the Biſhop.

No (quoth *Roth*) I will not ask Mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the Sheriff, and the 17th Day of *September* they all moſt joyfully ended their Lives in one Fire at *Iſlington*, for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, as before is declared.

Agnes Bongeor, *and* Margaret Thurſton, *burnt at* Colcheſter.

A Little before (gentle Reader) mention was made of ten that ſuffered Martyrdom at *Colcheſter*; at which Time, there were alſo two other Women, one called *Margaret Thurſton*, and the other *Agnes Bongeor*, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame Time and Place, for the like Cauſe with the other ten beforementioned, and anſwered alſo in their Examinations to the ſame Effect as the others did. But the one, namely, *Margaret Thurſton*, the Morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the Caſtle, was for that Time deferred. What the Cauſe was, the Teſtimony of *Joan Cook* ſhall declare unto us. Which *Joan Cook*, now the Wife of *John Spark*, being then in the Caſtle of *Colcheſter* for Religion, did demand of this Widow *Thurſton*, whoſe Husband died in the Priſon, being impriſoned for Religion, wherefore the ſaid *Margaret*, being a condemned Woman, ſhould be reſerved, when the others ſuffered in the Caſtle Baily? She anſwered, that it was not for any Fear of Death; but being prepared, as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame Day, ſhe was taken with a great Shivering and Trembling of the Fleſh; whereupon, forſaking the Company, ſhe went aſide to pray; and whilſt ſhe was praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted up by a mighty Wind that came round about her. Even at that Inſtant came in the Gaoler and Company with him, and whilſt ſhe turned herſelf to fetch her Pſalter, they took the other Priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was removed out of the Caſtle, and put into the Town-priſon, where ſhe continued until *Friday* ſevennight after her Company were burnt. That Day, not two Hours before her Death, ſhe was brought to the Caſtle again, where ſhe declared thus much to the aforeſaid *Joan Cook*.

The other, named *Agnes Bongeor*, who ſhould have ſuffered in like Manner with the ſix that went out of *Motehall*, was alſo kept back at that Time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her Name was wrong written within the Writ.

The ſame Morning, the ſecond of *Auguſt*, that the ſaid ſix in *Motehall* were called out to go to their Martyrdom, *Agnes Bongeor* was alſo called with them, by the Name of *Agnes Bower*. Wherefore the Bayliffs, underſtanding her to be wrong named within the Writ, commanded the ſaid *Agnes Bongeor* to Priſon again, and ſo that Day ſent her from *Motehall* to the Caſtle, where ſhe remained till her Death.

But when ſhe ſaw herſelf ſeparated from her Fellow Priſoners in ſuch Manner, oh! what piteous Complaint that good Woman made; how bitterly ſhe wept; what ſtrange Thoughts came into her Mind, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed herſelf, and to what Plunge of Deſpair and Care her poor Soul was brought, was both ſad and moving to behold; and all came becauſe ſhe went not with them to give up her Life for the Cauſe of Chriſt; for of all Things

in the World, Life was the leaſt Thing that ſhe expected. For the Morning, on which ſhe was kept back from burning, ſhe had put on a Smock that ſhe had prepared only for that Purpoſe. And alſo having a Child, a little young Infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the Time ſhe was in Priſon, that Day likewiſe did ſhe ſend away to another Nurſe, and prepared herſelf preſently to give herſelf for the Teſtimony of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. So little did ſhe look for Life, and ſo greatly did God's Gifts work in her above Nature, that Death ſeemed much better welcome than Life. But this took not effect at that Time as ſhe thought it would, and therefore (as I ſaid) ſhe was greatly troubled.

Being in this great Perplexity of Mind, a Friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether *Abraham*'s Obedience was accepted before God, for that he did ſacrifice his Son *Iſaac*, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which ſhe anſwered thus:

I know ſaid ſhe, that *Abraham*'s Will before God was allowed for the Deed, in that he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not ſtay'd him; but I (ſaid ſhe) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this Dignity, and therefore *Abraham*'s Caſe and mine is not alike.

Why ſaid her Friend, would ye not willingly have gone with your Company, if God ſhould ſo have ſuffered it?

Yes, ſaid ſhe, with all my Heart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chief and greateſt Grief.

Then ſaid her Friend; my dear Siſter, I pray thee conſider *Abraham* and thyſelf well, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doeſt nothing differ with him in Will at all.

Alas, ſaid ſhe, there is a far greater Matter in *Abraham* than in me; for *Abraham* was try'd with the Offering of his own Child, but ſo am not I; and therefore our Caſes are not alike.

Good Siſter, ſaid her Friend, weigh the Matter but indifferently. *Abraham* I grant would have offered his Son; and have not you done the like in your little ſucking Babe? But conſider further than this, my good Siſter (ſaid he) where *Abraham* was commanded but to offer his Son, you are heavy and grieved becauſe you offer not yourſelf, which goeth ſomewhat more near you than *Abraham*'s Obedience did; and therefore before God, aſſuredly, is no leſs accepted and allowed in his holy Preſence; which further the preparing of your Shroud alſo doth argue full well, *&c.* After which Talk between them, ſhe began a little to ſtay herſelf, and gave her whole Exerciſe to Reading and Prayer, wherein ſhe found a great deal of Comfort.

In the Time that theſe foreſaid two good Women were Priſoners, one in the Caſtle, and the other in *Motehall*, God by a ſecret Means called the ſaid *Margaret Thurſton* unto his Truth again; who having her Eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly ſorrow and lament her Backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord in Hope of his Mercies, never more while ſhe lived to do the like again, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the Confeſſion of the ſame, againſt all the Adverſaries of the Croſs of Chriſt. After which Promiſe made, came, in a ſhort Time a Writ from *London* for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th Day of *September*, in the Year aforeſaid.

Now when theſe aforeſaid Women were brought to the Place at *Colcheſter* where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell down upon their Knees, and made their humble Prayers to God, which being done, they roſe and went to the Stake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto; and, after the Fire had compaſſed them about, they with great Joy and glorious Triumph gave up their Souls, Spirits and Lives into the Hands of the Lord. *

John Kurde, *Martyr.*

IN the Story before, ſome Things was mentioned of a certain Shoemaker ſuffering at *Northampton*, being unnamed, whom becauſe we underſtand by a Letter ſent from the ſaid Parties, that he ſuffered in this Year, 1557, and in the Month of *September*, therefore we thought there to place him. His Name was *John Kurde*, a Shoemaker, late of the Pariſh of *Syrſam* in *Northamptonſhire*, who was impriſoned in *Northampton Caſtle* for denying the Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, for which Cauſe *William Binſley*, Batchellor of Law, and Chancellor unto the Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and afterwards Archdeacon of *Northampton*, did pronounce Sentence of Death againſt the ſaid *Kurde*, in the Church of *All Saints* in *Northampton*, in *Auguſt* 1557. and in *September* following, at the Commandment of Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sheriff then of the Shire, he was led by his Officers without the Northgate of *Northampton*, and in the Stone Pits was burned. A Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding by, whoſe Name was *John Roſe*, Vicar of St. *Giles*'s in *Northampton*, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authoriſed to give him his Pardon. His Anſwer was, that he had his Pardon by Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.*

A true Certificate of the apprehending of John Noyes *of* Laxefield *in* Suffolk, *Shoemaker*, April 19, 1557.

IN the Month of *September* this preſent Year, or (as ſome report) in the Year paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr *John Noyes*, whoſe Story here followeth:

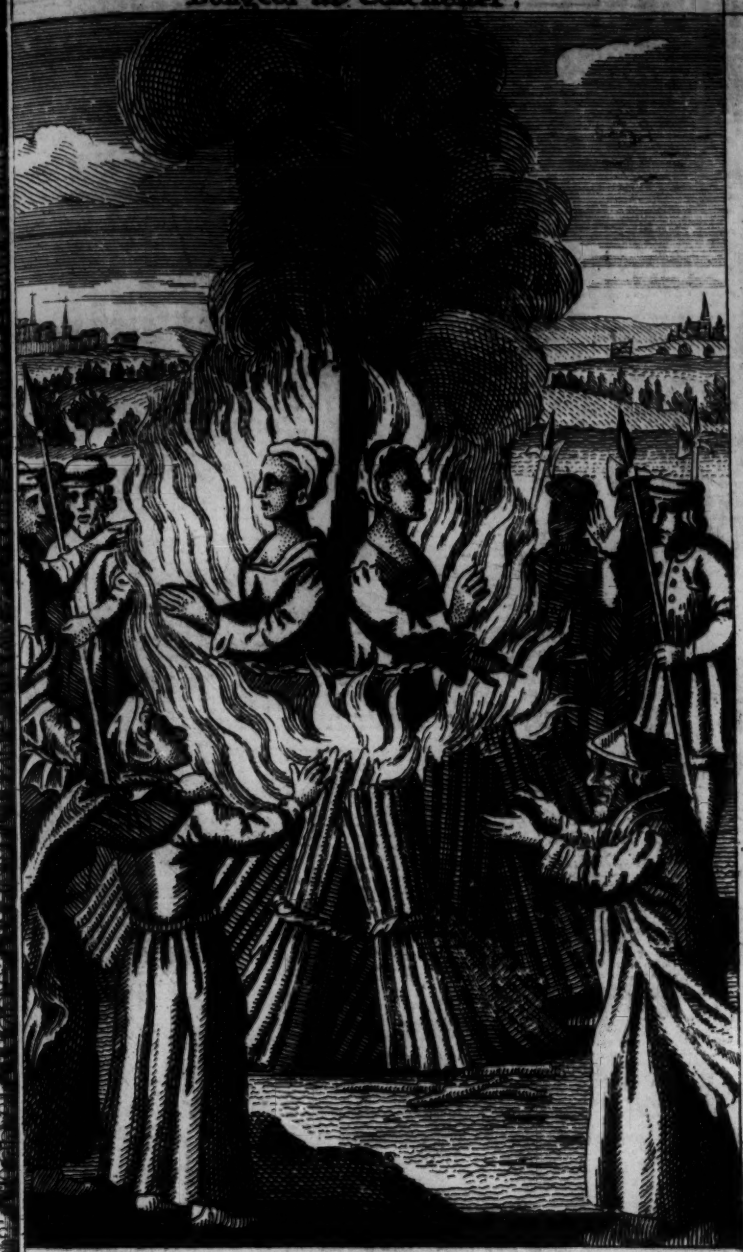
Firſt, Mr. *Thomas Lovel* being then chief Conſtable of *Hoxton* Hundred, in the County aforeſaid, and one *John Jacob* and *William Stannard* then being Under-Conſtables of the aforeſaid Town of *Laxefield*, and *Wolfren Dowſing* and *Nicholas Stannard* of the ſame Town, being then accounted faithful and catholick Chriſtians, though undoubtedly they proved moſt cruel Hinderers of the true Profeſſors of Chriſt and his Goſpel, with others, were commanded to be that preſent Day before the Juſtices, whoſe Names were Mr. *Thurſton*, Sir *John Tyrrel*, and Mr. *Kene*, and Sir *Jo. Sillard* being High-ſheriff.

Theſe ſitting at *Hoxton* in the County of *Suffolk* aforeſaid, and there the ſaid Townſmen aforeſaid having Commandment of the ſaid Juſtices to enquire in their Town, if there were any that would neglect to come to their Service and Maſs, further to examine the Cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true Certificate to the ſaid Juſtices within fourteen Days then next enſuing; they then coming homeward, being full of Hatred againſt the Truth, and deſirous to get Promotion, without any ſuch Commandment of the Juſtices (as far as we can learn) took Counſel one with another how to attach the ſaid *John Noyes* without any more Delay.

This deviliſh Enterpriſe agreed upon, chiefly thro' the Counſel of Mr. *Thomas Lovel*, *Wolfren Dowſing*, and *Nicholas Stannard* aforeſaid, with Expedition his Houſe was beſet on both Sides. This done, they found the ſaid *John Noyes*, on the Backſide of the ſaid Houſe going out, and *Nicholas Stannard* called to the ſaid *John*, and ſaid, whither goeſt thou? and he ſaid, to my Neighbours. And the ſaid *Nicholas Stannard* ſaid, your Maſter hath deceived you; you muſt go with us now. But the ſaid *John Noyes* anſwered, no, but take you Heed your Maſter deceive

not

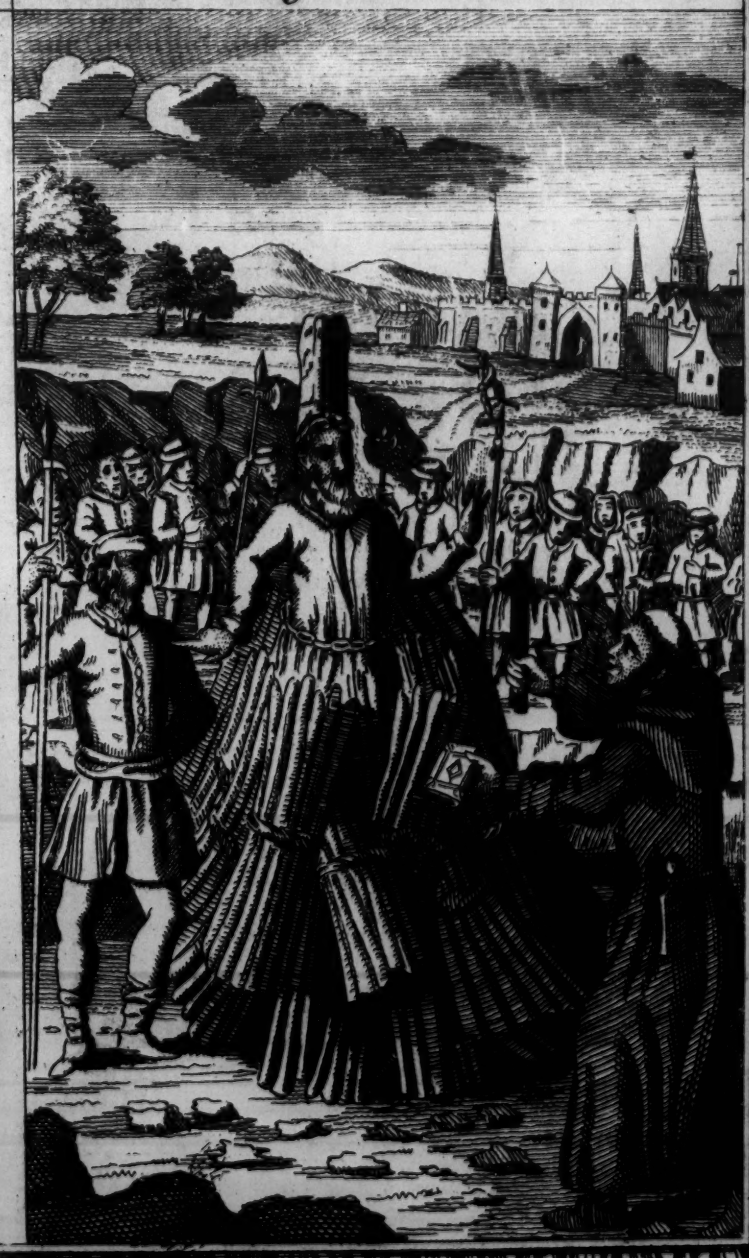
The Burning of Margaret Thurston *&* Agnes Bongeor *at* Colchester.



The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton James Austoo Margery Austoo *&* Richard Roth *at* Islington.

The Burning of John Noyes *at* Laxfield.

The Martyrdom of John Kurde *at* Northampto



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not you. And ſo they took him and carried him to the Juſtices the next Day. After his Appearance and ſundry Cauſes alledging, the Juſtices and the Sheriff together caſt him into *Eye* Dungeon, and there he lay a certain Time. And then was carried from thence to *Norwich*, and ſo came before the Biſhop, where were miniſtred unto him theſe Poſitions following:

Firſt, Whether he believed that the Ceremonies uſed in the Church were good and godly, to ſtir up Mens Minds to Devotion.

2. *Item*, Whether he believed the Pope to be ſupreme Head of the Church here in Earth.

3. *Item*, Whether he believed the Body of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to be in the Sacrament of the Altar under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Words of Conſecration.

Whereunto he anſwered, that he thought the natural Body of Chriſt to be only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament, *&c.*

For which, Sentence at laſt was read by the Biſhop againſt him, in the Preſence of theſe there ſitting the ſame Time, Dr. *Dunning*, Chancellor, Sir *W. Woodhouſe*, Sir *Thomas Woodhouſe*, Mr. *George Heyden*, Mr. *Spenſer*, *W. Farrar* Alderman of *Norwich*, Mr. *Thurſton*, *Wineſden*, with divers others.

More of his Examination than this came not to our Hands.

In the mean Time his Brother-in-law, *Nicholas Fisk* of *Dinnington*, going to comfort him at ſuch Time as he remained Priſoner in the *Guildhall* of *Norwich*, after Chriſtian Exhortation, asked him if he did fear Death when the Biſhop gave Judgment againſt him, conſidering the Terror of the ſame; and the ſaid *Noyes* anſwered, he thanked God he feared Death no more at that Time, than he or any other did, being at Liberty. Then the ſaid *Nicholas* required him to ſhew the Cauſe of his Condemnation. Upon which Requeſt the ſaid *John Noyes* writ with his own Hand as followeth:

I ſaid, that I could not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the natural Body of Chriſt, that ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*. But I ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is received of Chriſtian People in the Remembrance of Chriſt's Death, as a ſpiritual Food, if it be miniſtred according to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

But they ſaid, I could not tell what ſpiritual meant.

The Biſhop ſaid, that the Sacrament was God, and muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſaid the Chancellor alſo.

Then anſwered I, my Lord, I cannot ſo believe.

Then (ſaid the Biſhop) why? then ſay thou doſt believe. Notwithſtanding theſe Colluſions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was ſent again from *Norwich* to *Eye*-priſon, and upon the 21ſt Day of *September* about Midnight, he was brought from *Eye* to *Laxefield* to be burned, and on the next Morning was brought to the Stake, where was ready againſt his coming, the aforeſaid Juſtice Mr. *Thurſton*, one Mr. *Waller* then being Under-ſheriff, and Mr. *Thomas Lovel* being High-conſtable, as is before expreſſed, who commanded Men to make ready all Things meet for that ſinful Purpoſe. Now the Fire in moſt Places of the Street was put out, ſaving a Smoak was eſpied by the ſaid *Thomas Lovel* proceeding out from the Top of a Chimney, to which Houſe the Sheriff and *Grannow* his Man went, and brake open the Door, and thereby got Fire, and brought the ſame to the Place of Execution. When *John Noyes* came to the Place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled down and ſaid the 50th *Pſalm*, with other Prayers, and then they making haſte bound him to the Stake, and being bound, the ſaid *John Noyes* ſaid, *Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that can kill both Body and Soul, and caſt into everlaſting Fire.*

When he ſaw his Siſter weeping and making moan for him, he bade her that ſhe ſhould not weep for him, but weep for her Sins.

Then one *Nicholas Cadman* brought a Fagot and ſet againſt him; and the ſaid *John Noyes* took up the Fagot and kiſſed it and ſaid; bleſſed be the Time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his Pſalter to the Under-ſheriff, deſiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, and to deliver to her that ſame Book; and the Sheriff promiſed him that he would, notwithſtanding he never as yet performed his Promiſe. Then the ſaid *John Noyes* ſaid to the People, they ſay they can make God of a Piece of Bread, believe them not.

Then ſaid he; good People, bear Witneſs that I do believe to be ſaved by the Merits and Paſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and not by mine own Deeds; and ſo the Fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he ſaid; *Lord have Mercy upon me. Chriſt have Mercy upon me. Son of* David *have Mercy upon me.*.

And ſo he yielded up his Life, and when his Body was burned, they made a Pit to bury the Coals and Aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his Feet that was unburned, whole up to the Ancle with the Hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtood one *John Jarvis* by, a Servant in the ſame Town, a plain Fellow, which ſaid; good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms ſhrink up. And there ſtood behind him *Grannow* and *Bennet*, the Sheriff's Men, and they told their Maſter, that *John Jarvis* ſaid, what villain Wretches are theſe? And their Maſter ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the Juſtice that ſame Day, and the Juſtice did examine him of the Words aforeſaid, but he denied them, and anſwered that he ſaid nothing but this, Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms ſhrink up. But for all this the Juſtice did bind his Father and his Maſter in 5 *l.* a-piece, that he ſhould be forth coming at all Times. And on the *Wedneſday* next he was brought again before the Juſtices, Mr. *Thurſton* and Mr. *Kene*, they ſitting at *Freſingfield* in *Hoxton* Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the ſaid *John Jarvis* ſhould be ſet in the Stocks the next Market-day, and whipt about the Market naked. But his Maſter, one *William Jarvis* did after crave Friendſhip of the Conſtables, and they did not ſet him in the Stocks till *Sunday* Morning, and in the Afternoon they did whip him about the Market with a Dog-whip, having three Cords, and ſo they let him go.

The Martyrdom of Cicely Ormes, *at* Norwich.

ABout the 23d Day of the ſaid Month of *September*, next after the others above-mention'd, ſuffered at *Norwich*, *Cicely Ormes* Wife of *Edmund Ormes* Worſted-weaver, dwelling in St. *Lawrence* Pariſh in *Norwich*; ſhe being of the Age of thirty-two or more, was taken at the Death of *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper* above-mentioned, in a Place called *Lollards-pit* without *Biſhopſgate*, at the ſaid *Norwich*, for that ſhe ſaid ſhe would pledge them of the ſame Cup that they drank of. For ſo ſaying, one Mr. *Corbet* of *Sprowſon* by *Norwich*, took her and ſent her to the Chancellor. When ſhe came before him, he asked her what ſhe ſaid unto the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe did believe that it was the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. Yea, ſaid the Chancellor, but what

is that that the Prieſt holdeth over his Head? ſhe anſwered him and ſaid, it is Bread: And if you make it any better, it is worſe. At which Words the Chancellor ſent her to the Biſhop's Priſon to the Keeper called *Fellow*, with many Threatnings and hot Words, as a Man being in great Rage.

The 23d of *July* ſhe was called before the Chancellor again, who ſat in Judgment with Mr. *Bridges* and others. The Chancellor offered her, if ſhe would go to the Church and keep her Tongue, ſhe ſhould be at Liberty, and believe as ſhe would. But ſhe told him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked Deſire therein, do with her what he would; for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſaid, God would ſurely plague her. Then the Chancellor told her, he had ſhewed more Favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, unlearned, and fooliſh Woman. But ſhe, not weighing his Words, told him, if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinful Fleſh, as ſhe would (by God's Grace) be content to give it in ſo good a Quarrel. Then he aroſe and read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the ſecular Power of the Sheriffs of the City, Mr. *Thomas Sutherton*, and Mr. *Leonard Sutherton* Brethren, who immediately carried her to *Guild-hall* in *Norwich*, where ſhe remained until her Death.

This *Cicely Ormes* was a very ſimple Woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's Cauſe, being born in *Eaſt Deram*, and was the Daughter of one *Thomas Haund*, Taylor. She was taken the fifth Day of *July*, and did for a Twelvemonth before ſhe was taken recant, but never after was ſhe quiet in Conſcience, until ſhe was utterly driven from all their Popery. Between the Time that ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had gotten a Letter made to give to the Chancellor, to let him know that ſhe repented her Recantation from the Bottom of her Heart, and would never do the like again while ſhe lived. But before ſhe exhibited her Bill, ſhe was taken and ſent to Priſon as is before ſaid. She was burnt the 23d of *September*, between ſeven and eight in the Morning, the ſaid two Sheriffs being there, and to the Number of two hundred People. When ſhe came to the Stake, ſhe kneeled down, and made her Prayers to God: That being done, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, *Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the Bottom of my Heart the Doings of the Pope of* Rome, *and all his popiſh Prieſts I utterly refuſe, and never will have to do with them again by God's Grace. And good People, I would you ſhould not think of me, that I believe to be ſaved in that I offer myſelf here unto the Death for the Lord's Cauſe, but I believe to be ſaved by the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt; and this my Death is and ſhall be a Witneſs of my Faith unto you all here preſent. Good People, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me.*

Then ſhe came to the Stake, and laid her Hand on it, and ſaid, *Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt.* Which being done, ſhe looking on her Hand, and ſeeing it blacked with the Stake, ſhe wiped it upon her Smock, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame Stake that *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper* was. Then after ſhe had touched it with her Hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſaid, *Welcome the ſweet Croſs of Chriſt*, and ſo gave herſelf to be bound thereto. After the Tormentors had kindled the Fire to her, ſhe ſaid, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour:* And in ſaying ſo ſhe ſet her Hands together right againſt her Breaſt, caſting her Eyes and Head upward, and ſo ſtood, heaving up her Hands by little and little, till the very Sinews of her Arms did break aſunder, and then they fell; but ſhe yielded her Life unto God, as quietly as if ſhe had been in a Slumber, or as one feeling no Pain; ſo wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his Name therefore be praiſed for evermore, *Amen.*

After the Death and Martyrdom of Mrs. *Joyce Lewes*, a little above ſpecified, diverſe good Men and Women in the ſame Town of *Lichfield* were had up before the Biſhop and his Chancellor, for kiſſing the ſaid *Joyce Lewes*, and drinking with her about the Time of her Death; the Names of which Perſons were theſe; *Joan Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddel, Helene Bouring, Margaret Cootesfote, Nicholas Bird, John Hariſtone* and his Wife, *Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather*, &c. Theſe with others were produced to their Examination before the Biſhop and his Chancellor for the Cauſe abovenamed, and therefore adjudged for Hereticks, becauſe they did pray and drink with the ſaid Mrs. *Lewes*, but eſpecially *Agnes Penifather* ſuſtained the moſt Trouble, for that ſhe accompanied the ſaid *Joyce Lewes* going to her Death. Which *Agnes* being examined further of the ſaid Biſhop, what Words ſhe had ſpoken to two Prieſts of the Church of *Lichfield*, called *John Ady*, and *James Fox*, concerning the ſaid *Joyce Lewes* after her burning, ſaid, as followeth, That ſhe being asked by the ſaid two Prieſts being at her Father's Houſe in the City of *Lichfield*, at ſuch Time as ſhe came from the burning of the ſaid *Joyce Lewes*, why ſhe the ſaid *Agnes* did weep for ſuch an Heretick, meaning *Joyce Lewes*, whoſe Soul they ſaid was in Hell; the ſaid *Agnes Penifather* to their Demand made this Anſwer, That ſhe thought the ſaid bleſſed Martyr to be in better Caſe than the ſaid two Prieſts were.

With which Words being charged, and deſired to ſubmit herſelf as the others had done above rehearſed to ſuch Penance as they ſhould enjoyn unto her, ſhe refuſed ſo to do, and therefore was commanded to cloſe Priſon, the Sheriffs being charged with her under Pain of a hundred Pounds, that none ſhould have any Acceſs unto her. At length, at the Perſuaſion of her Friends ſhe was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning Things done at *Lichfield.*

And now from *Lichfield* to come to *Chicheſter*, altho' we have but little to report thereof, for want of certain Relation and Records of that Country, yet it ſeemeth no little Trouble and Perſecution to have there raged alſo, as in other Countries. For what Place was there almoſt in all the Realm, where the Pope's Miniſters did not beſtir them, murdering ſome or other, as in the Acts of this eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory may ſufficiently appear? Wherefore as this Plague of the Pope's Tyranny was general to all other People and Countries of *England*, ſo likewiſe in the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true Teſtimony of Righteouſneſs within the Compaſs of Queen *Mary*'s Reign. In the Number of whom were theſe: *John Foreman* of *Eſtgreneſted. John Warner* of *Berne. Chriſtian Grover* of the Archdeaconry of *Lewes. Thomas Athoth*, Prieſt. *Tho. Avington* of *Erdingly. Dennis Burgis* of *Buxſted. Thomas Ravenſdale* of *Rie. John Milles* of *Hellinglegh. Nicholas Holden* of *Withiam. John Hart* of *Withiam. Margery Morice* of *Hethfield. Anne Try* of *Eſtgreneſted. John Oſeward* of *Woodmancote. Thomas Harland* of *Woodmancote. James Morice* of *Hethfield. Thomas Dougate* of *Eſtgreneſted. John Aſhedon* of *Katherfield.*

The greateſt Actor againſt theſe faithful Martyrs, were theſe: *Chriſtopherſon* the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Richard Briefly*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor of *Chicheſter*, *Robert Taylor* Batchelor of the Law, his Deputy, *Thomas Paccard* Civilian, *Anth. Clarke*, *Albane Longdale* Batchellor of Divinity, &c.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance, *before the Chancellor of* Norwich.

THE Biſhop's Chancellor asked me if I had been with the Prieſt, and confeſſed my Sins unto him.

And I ſaid, No, I had confeſſed my Sins to God, and God ſaith, In what Hour ſoever a Sinner repenteth and is ſorry for his Sins, and asketh Forgiveneſs, willing no more ſo to do, he will no more reckon his Sin unto him, and that is ſufficient for me.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, thou denieſt the Sacrament of Penance.

I ſaid, I deny not Penance, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my Sins unto the Prieſt.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, that is a denying of the Sacrament of the Penance.

Write this Article.

Have you received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (ſaid he) at this Time of *Eaſter?*

And I ſaid, No.

And why have you not, ſaith he?

I ſaid, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you uſe it.

Why, do we not uſe it truly, ſaid he?

I ſaid, No: For the holy Supper of the Lord ſerveth for the Chriſtian Congregation, and you are none of Chriſt's Members: And therefore I dare not meddle with you, leſt I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Chriſt's Members, ſaid the Chancellor?

I ſaid, Becauſe you teach Laws contrary to God's Laws.

What Laws are thoſe, ſaid he?

I ſaid, Theſe three Articles that you ſwear the People unto here, be falſe and untrue, and you do evil to ſwear the People unto them.

Then, ſaid he, good People take no Heed unto his Words; for he is an Heretick, and teacheth you Diſobedience: And ſo he would no more ſpeak of that Matter.

Then ſaid he, How believeſt thou in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar: Doſt thou not believe that after it is conſecrated, it is the very ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary?*

I ſaid, No, not the ſame Body in Subſtance; for the ſame Body hath a Subſtance in Fleſh, Blood, and Bones, and was a bloody Sacrifice, and this is a dry Sacrifice.

And I ſaid, Is the Maſs a Sacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor anſwered that ſate by him, It is a Sacrifice both for the Quick and the Dead.

Then ſaid I, No, it is no Sacrifice; for St. *Paul* ſaith, that Chriſt made one Sacrifice once for all: And I do believe in none other Sacrifice, but only in that one Sacrifice that our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* made once for all.

Then ſaid the Doctor, That Sacrifice that Chriſt made, was a wet Sacrifice, and the Maſs is a dry Sacrifice.

Then ſaid I, that ſame dry Sacrifice is a Sacrifice of your own making, and it is your Sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, He is an Heretick, he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy Supper of our Lord?

And he ſaid, Yea.

Then ſaid I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the holy Supper of the Lord, I receive him by Faith, by believing in him. But the Bread being received is not God, nor the Bread that is yonder in the Pyx is not God. God dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands, neither will be worſhipped with the Works of Men's Hands. And therefore you do very evil to cauſe the People to kneel down and worſhip the Bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your Heads, neither had the Apoſtles ſuch Uſe.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, He denieth the Preſence in the Sacrament. Write this Article alſo. He is a very Heretick.

Then ſaid I, The Servant is not greater than his Maſter. For your Predeceſſors killed my Maſter Chriſt, the Prophets and Apoſtles, and holy virtuous Men, and now you alſo kill the Servant of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous Blood that hath been ſhed, even from righteous *Abel*, until this Day, ſhall be required at your Hands.

Well, ſaid the Chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination of Spurdance, *before the Biſhop in his Houſe.*

Biſhop. SIrrah, doſt thou not believe in the Catholick Faith of the holy Church?

Spurd. I believe Chriſt's Catholick Church.

Biſhop. Yea in Chriſt's Church, of which the Pope is the Head? Doſt thou not believe that the Pope is ſupream Head of the Catholick Church?

Spurd. No. I believe not he ſhould be above the Apoſtles, if he take them to be his Predeceſſors. For when there came a Thought among the Apoſtles, who ſhould be the greateſt when their Maſter was gone, Chriſt anſwered them unto their Thoughts, *Luke* 22. *The Kings of the Earth bear Dominion above other, but ye ſhall not ſo do, for he that will be greateſt among you ſhall become Servant unto you all.* How is it then (ſaid I) that he will climb ſo high above his Fellows? And alſo we were ſworn in my Maſter King *Henry*'s Time, that we ſhould to the utmoſt of our Power, never conſent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in *England*, ſo neither in his own Country more, then a Biſhop hath in his Dioceſs.

Biſh. Yea, what of that? we were then in Error and Sin, now we are in the right Way again, and therefore thou muſt come home again with us, and acknowledge thy Fault, and become a Chriſtian Man, and be ſworn unto the Pope as our ſupreme Head. Wilt thou be ſworn unto the Pope? How ſayeſt thou?

Spurd. No, I watrant you, by the Grace of God not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the Pope is Head of the Church, and may do therein what he liſteth.

Biſh. No, yes I trow: For as the Belweather which weareth the Bell, is Head of the Flock of Sheep, even ſo is the Pope the Head of the Church of Chriſt. And as the Bees in the Hive have a Maſter-bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the Hive: even ſo the Pope when we be gone aſtray and wandred from the Fold, from the Hive, *&c.* then is ordained our Head by Succeſſion of *Peter*, to bring us home again to the true Church; as thou now, my good Fellow, haſt wandred long out of the Way like a ſcattered Sheep, *&c.* hear therefore that Belweather, the Maſter-bell, *&c.* and come home with us to thy Mother the Church again.

Spurd. My Lord, all this is but natural Reaſon, and no Scripture: But ſince ye cannot prove the Pope to be authoriz'd by Scripture, ye anſwer not me as I thought ye would.

Biſh. Ha, I ſee well ye be ſtout, and will not be anſwered: therefore ye ſhall be compelled by Law whether ye will or no.

Spurd. My Lord, ſo did your Forefathers intreat Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They had a Law, and by

their Law they put him to death; and ſo likewiſe, you have a Law which is Tyranny, and by that would you enforce me to believe as you do: But the Lord I truſt will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggarly Ceremonies, and make your Fooliſhneſs known to all the World one Day.

Biſh. When were ye at Church and went in Proceſſion, and did the Ceremonies of the Church?

Spurd. Never ſince I was born.

Biſh. No! how old are you?

Spurd. I think about forty.

Biſh. Why, how did you uſe yourſelf at Church twenty Years ago?

Spur. As you do now.

Biſh. And even now, you ſaid you did not uſe the Ceremonies ſince you were born.

Spurd. No more I did, ſince I was born anew; as Chriſt ſaid unto *Nicodemus*, *Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Then ſaid a Doctor that ſate by, he is a very Anabaptiſt; for that is their Opinion plain.

No, Sir, you ſay falſly, ſaid I; for I am no Anabaptiſt: For they deny Children to be baptiſed, and ſo do not I.

Biſh. Well, why doſt thou not go to the Church, and do the Ceremonies?

Spurd. Becauſe they be contrary to God's Word and Laws, as you yourſelf have taught: But now you ſay it is good again: And I think if there were a Return To-morrow, you would ſay that falſe again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well ſay, there is no Truth in you.

Biſh. Then thou art a ſtubborn Fellow, and an Heretick, and a Traytor.

Spurd. No, I am no Traytor, for I have done I think, better Service in the Crown Imperial of *England*, than you.

Biſh. If you have done ſo good Service, you would be obedient to the Laws of the Realm.

Spurd. So I am. There is no Man alive, I thank God, that can accuſe me juſtly that ever I was diſobedient to any civil Laws. But you muſt conſider my Lord, that I have a Soul and a Body, and my Soul is none of the Queen's, but my Body and my Goods are the Queen's. And I muſt give God my Soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I muſt do the Laws and Commandments of God; and whoſoever commandeth Laws contrary to God's Laws, I may not do them for loſing of my Soul, but muſt rather obey God than Man.

Biſh. Why doſt thou not theſe Laws then? Are they not agreeable to God's Law?

Spurd. No you cannot prove them to be God's Laws.

Biſh. Yes, that I can.

Spurd. Then if you can prove by the Word of God that you ſhould have any graven Images made to ſet in your Church for Laymens Books, or to worſhip God by them, or that you ſhould have any Ceremonies in your Church as you have, prove them by the Word of God, and I will do them.

Biſh. Then it is a good and decent Order to furniſh the Church: As when you ſhall go to Dinner, you have a Cloth upon the Table to furniſh the Table before the Meat ſhall come upon it; ſo are theſe Ceremonies a comely, decent Order to be in the Church among Chriſtian People.

Spurd. Theſe are Inventions and Imaginations out of your own Brain, without any Word of God to prove them. For God ſaith, Look what you think good in your own Eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my Sight. And theſe Ceremonies are againſt God's Laws. For St. *Paul* ſaith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the *Galatians* for doing them.

Biſh. Well, if you will not do them, ſeeing they be the Laws of the Realm, you are an Heretick and Diſobedient: And therefore come home again and confeſs your Faults with us, that you have been in Error, *&c.* Will you do ſo?

Spurd. No, I have been in no Error: For the ſpiritual Laws were never more truly ſet forth than in my Maſter King *Edward*'s Time, and I truſt unto God I ſhall never leave them while I live.

Then came a Gentleman to me and ſaid, are ye wiſer than all Men? and have ye more Knowledge than all Men, will ye caſt away your Soul willingly? My Lord and other Men alſo, would fain you would ſave yourſelf: Therefore chuſe ſome Man where you will, either ſpiritual or temporal, and take a Day, my Lord will give it you.

Spurd. If I ſave my Life, I ſhall loſe it; and if I loſe my Life for Chriſt's Sake, I ſhall find it in Life everlaſting. And if I take a Day, when the Day cometh, I muſt ſay then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, ſaid the Biſhop.

This above-named *Thomas Spurdance*, was one of Queen *Mary*'s Servants, and was taken by two of his Fellows, the ſaid Queen's Servants, named *John Haman*, otherwiſe called *Barker*, and *Geerge Looſon*, both dwelling in *Codman* in the County of *Suffolk*, who carried him to one Mr. *Goſnal* dwelling in the ſaid *Codman*, and by him he was ſent to *Bury*, where he remained in Priſon, and afterwards burned in the Month of *November*.

The Martyrdom of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, *and* Richard Gibſon.

SOON after the Martyrdom of the two good Women at *Colcheſter*, the three above-mentioned Perſons were put to Death in *Smithfield* at *London*, the 18th of *November*.

They were brought before *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, *Nov.* 5. 1557. who objected to them ſundry Articles; but as they contain only ſuch common Matters as are already in divers Places mention'd before, I do here omit them.

The laſt Day that *John Hallingdale* was before Biſhop *Bonner*, he would have perſuaded him to recant with ſome wreſted Sentences of the Scripture; to whom *Hallingdale* anſwered, *Becauſe I will not come to your Babylonical Church, therefore you go about to condemn me.* And being further demanded by Biſhop *Bonner*, whether he would perſevere and ſtand in his Opinions or no: He made Anſwer, that he would continue and perſiſt in them unto the Death. Then *Bonner* read the Sentence of Condemnation.

Upon the ſame Day, *William Sparrow* was brought before the Biſhop, and being asked by him, whether he ſtill perſiſted and continued in his Opinions: He made Anſwer, that he would not go from them; and adding thereunto, he ſaid, That which you call Hereſy, ſpeaking to the Biſhop, is good and godly, and if every Hair of my Head were a Man, ſaid he, I would burn them all, rather than go from the Truth.

Then being demanded what Ground of Learning he had to cleave to his Opinions: He made Anſwer and ſaid, That all the Laws now uſed (meaning the eccleſiaſtical Laws) are naught and abominable. Which Words being ſpoken, the Biſhop immediately read the Sentence of Condemnation upon him, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular Power, by whom he was ſent to Priſon again.

Richard Gibſon ſuffered alſo with the two already mentioned, who being finally brought to the Biſhop's Conſiſtory Court, the Biſhop, after other Matter of Communication, asked him, if he knew any Cauſe why the Sentence ſhould not be read againſt him. To

whom Mr. *Gibſon* anſwered, that the Biſhop had nothing whereof juſtly to condemn him. The Biſhop's Reaſon was again objected to him, that Men ſaid he was an evil Man. To whom *Gibſon* replying again; Yea, ſaith he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after this and ſuch other Talk, the Biſhop haſted unto the Sentence. Which being read, *Gibſon* yet again admoniſhed him to remember himſelf, and to ſave his Soul, ſaid, That he would not hear the Biſhop's Babling; and ſaid moreover, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary, and an Enemy to them all in his Mind and Opinion, although he had before kept it ſecret in Mind, for Fear of the Law. And ſpeaking to the Biſhop, Bleſſed, ſaid he, am I, that am curſed at your Hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: For as the Biſhop ſaith ſo muſt it be. And no Hereſy it is to turn the Truth of God's Word into Lies, and that do you, meaning the Biſhop and his Fellows.

Thus this valiant Soldier, fighting for the Goſpel and ſincere Doctrine of Chriſt's Truth and Religion, againſt Falſhood and Error, was committed, with his Fellows, to the ſecular Power.

And ſo theſe three pious Men, *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, and Mr. *Gibſon*, being thus appointed to the Slaughter, were the twelfth Day after their Condemnation (which was the eighteenth Day of *November*) burnt in *Smithfield*. And being brought thither to the Stake, after their Prayer made, they were bound thereunto with Chains, and Wood ſet unto them, and after Wood, Fire, in which being compaſſed about, and the fiery Flames conſuming their Fleſh, at laſt they yielded glorioufly and joyfully their Souls and Lives into the holy Hands of the Lord.

The Death of John Rough, *Miniſter, and* Margaret Mearing, *burned at* London, December 22.

John Rough was born in *Scotland*, who becauſe ſome of his Kinſfolk would have kept him from his Right of Inheritance which he had to certain Lands, did at the Age of ſeventeen Years, in deſpight (and rather to diſpleaſe his Friends) profeſs himſelf into the Order of the black Frier at *Sterling* in *Scotland*; where he remained the Space of ſixteen Years, until ſuch Time as the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, and Governour of the Realm of *Scotland* (caſting a Favour unto him) did uſe unto the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, to have him out of his profeſſed Order, that as a ſecular Prieſt he might ſerve him for his Chaplain. At which Requeſt the Archbiſhop cauſed the Provincial of that Houſe, having thereto Authority, to diſpenſe with him for his Habit and Order.

This Suit being thus obtained by the Earl, the ſaid *Rough* remained in his Service, one whole Year: During which Time it pleaſed God to open his Eyes, and to give him ſome Knowledge of his Truth, and thereupon was by the ſaid Governor ſent to preach in the Freedom of *Ayre*, where he continued four Years, and then after the Death of the Cardinal of *Scotland*, he was appointed to abide at St. *Andrews*, and there had aſſigned unto him a yearly Penſion of 20*l.* from *Henry* VIII, King of *England*. Howbeit, at laſt weighing with himſelf his own Danger, and alſo abhorring the Superſtition of the Country, and hearing of the Freedom of the Goſpel within this Realm of *England*, he determined with himſelf not to tarry any longer there: And therefore, ſoon after the Battle of *Muſcleborough*, he came firſt unto *Carliſle*, and from thence unto the Duke of *Somerſet*, then Lord Protector of *England*, and by his Aſſignment had appointed unto him out of the King's Treaſury 20*l.* of yearly Stipend, and was ſent (as a Preacher) to ſerve at *Carliſle*, *Barwick*, and *Newcaſtle*, where he married. From whence he was called by the Archbiſhop of *York* that then was, unto a Benefice in the Town of *Hull*, where he continued till the Death of good King *Edward* VI.

But in the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary* (perceiving the Alteration of Religion, and the Perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling his own Weakneſs) he fled with his Wife into *Frizeland*, and dwelt there at a Place called *Norden*, labouring truly for his Living, in knitting of Caps, Hoſe, and ſuch like Things, till about the End of the Month of *October*, before his Death. At which Time, lacking Yarn, and other ſuch neceſſary Proviſion for the Maintenance of his Occupation, he came over again into *England*, here to provide for the ſame, and the tenth Day of *November* arrived at *London*. Where, hearing of the ſecret Society, and holy Congregation of God's Children there aſſembled, he joined himſelf unto them, and afterwards being elected their Miniſter and Preacher, did continue moſt virtuouſly exerciſed in that godly Fellowſhip, teaching and confirming them in the Truth of the Goſpel of Chriſt. But in the End the twelfth Day of *December*, he with *Cuthbert Symſon* and others, through the Suggeſtion of a diſſembling Brother, named *Roger Sergeant*, a Taylor, were apprehended by the Vice-chamberlain of the Queen's Houſe, at the *Saracen's-Head* in *Iſlington*; where the Congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble themſelves to their accuſtomed Exerciſes of Prayer, and hearing the Word of God: Which Pretence, for the Safeguard of all the reſt, they yet at their Examinations covered and excuſed, by hearing of a Play that was then appointed to be at that Place. The Vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried *Rough* and *Simſon* unto the Council, who charged them to have aſſembled together to celebrate the Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after ſundry Examinations they ſent them unto the Biſhop of *London*.

Bonner minding to make quick Diſpatch with them, within three Days after their Arrival, ſent for *Rough* out of *Newgate*, to be examined before him and others; when they perceived his Conſtancy, determined the next Day after to bring him openly into the Conſiſtory, there to adjudge and condemn him as an Heretick. Which Purpoſe they accompliſhed: For the twentieth Day in the Afternoon, in the Preſence of the Biſhop of *London*, and St. *David*'s, with *Feckenam*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and others, he was there produced. Where, after many Perſuaſions *Bonner* read unto him the Articles and Anſwers, in which they charged him to have received the Orders of the Church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refuſed to conſent to the *Latin* Service then uſed in the Church. Whereunto he then anſwered and ſaid, That their Orders were nothing at all, and that he being a Prieſt, might lawfully marry, and that the Children which he had by his Wife were lawful. And concerning the Service then uſed, he utterly deteſted it, ſaying, That if he ſhould live as long as did *Methuſelah*, yet he would never come to the Church to hear the abominable Maſs and other Service being as it was then. Upon which Words the Biſhop proceeded to the Degradation of the ſaid *Rough*, and after condemning him as an Heretick, committed his Body to the ſecular Power, who taking him into their Cuſtody, carried him unto *Newgate*.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. *Rough*, this is further to be noted, that he being in the North Country in the Days of King *Edward* VI, was the Cauſe of ſaving Dr. *Watſon*'s Life (who in Queen *Mary*'s

ry's Days was Biſhop of *Lincoln*) for a Sermon that he had preached there. The ſaid *Watſon* after that, being with *Bonner* at the Examination of the ſaid Mr. *Rough*, to requite him in ſaving his Life, detected him there to be a pernicious Heretick, who did more Hurt in the North Parts than an hundred beſides of his Opinion. Unto whom Mr. *Rough* ſaid, Why, Sir, is this the Reward I have for ſaving your Life, when you preached erroneous Doctrine in the Days of *Edward* VI? This Mr. *Rough* ſaid, he had lived thirty Years, and yet had never bowed his Knee to *Baal*; and being before *Bonner*, among other Talk, he affirmed, that he had been twice at *Rome*, and there had ſeen plainly with his Eyes, which he had many Times heard of before, namely, that the Pope was the very *Antichriſt*; for there he ſaw him carried on Mens Shoulders, and the falſe-named Sacrament born before him. Yet there was more Reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their God. When *Bonner* heard this, riſing up, and making as tho' he would have torn his Garment, Haſt thou, ſaid he, been at *Rome*, and ſeen our holy Father the Pope, and doſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort; and with flying upon him, he plucked off a Piece of his Beard, and after making ſpeedy Haſte to his Death, he burnt him half an Hour before ſix of the Clock in the Morning, becauſe the Day belike ſhould not be far ſpent, before he had done a miſchievous Deed.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

IT is before declared, that in the Company of *John Rough*, was burned one *Margaret Mearing*, who, as the Regiſter maketh mention, was at one Time and Day brought with the ſaid *Rough* forth to Examination: Where the Biſhop having no private Matters to charge her withal, did the 18th Day of *December* object againſt her thoſe common and accuſtomed Articles mentioned before. To which ſhe anſwered as follows.

1. That there is here in Earth a Catholick Church, and that there is the true Faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame Church.

2. *Item*, That there were only two Sacraments in the Church, namely, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

3. *Item*, That ſhe was baptized in the Faith, and Belief of the ſaid Church, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the Devil and all his Works, *&c.*

4. *Item*, That when ſhe came to the Age of 14 Years, ſhe did not know what her true Belief was, becauſe ſhe was not then of Diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. *Item*, That ſhe had not gone from the catholick Faith at any Time; but ſhe ſaid that the Maſs was abominable before the Sight of God, and before the Sight of all true Chriſtian People, and that it is the plain Cup of Fornication, and the Whore of *Babylon*. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid, ſhe believed there was no ſuch Sacrament in the catholick Church. Alſo ſhe ſaid, that ſhe utterly abhorred the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, with all the Religion obſerved in the ſame Antichriſts Church.

6. *Item*, She anſwered to the ſixth Article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. *Item*, That ſhe hath refuſed to come to her Pariſh-church, becauſe the true Religion of Chriſt was not then uſed in the ſame: And further ſaid, That ſhe had not come unto the Church by the Space of one Year and three quarters then laſt paſt, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the ſame in theſe idolatrous Days.

8. *Item*, As touching the Manner of her Apprehenſion, ſhe ſaid, That *Cluney*, the Biſhop's Sumner, did fetch her to the Biſhop.

Theſe Anſwers being then regiſtred, they were again (with the ſaid Articles) propounded againſt her the twentieth Day of *December*, and there being demanded if ſhe would ſtand unto thoſe her Anſwers, ſhe ſaid, I will ſtand to them unto Death; for the very Angels of Heaven do laugh you to Scorn, to ſee your Abomination that you uſe in the Church. After which Words, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her; and then delivering her unto the Sheriffs, ſhe was with the before-named *John Rough* carried unto *Newgate*. From whence they were both together led unto *Smithfield*, the 22d of *December*, and there moſt joyfully gave their Lives for the Profeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel.

The Sufferings and cruel Torments of Cutbert Simſon.

Cutbert Simſon was a Man of a zealous Heart to Chriſt and his true Flock, inſomuch that he never ceaſed labouring, and ſtudying moſt earneſtly, not only how to preſerve them without Corruption of the popiſh Religion, but alſo his Care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without Peril or Danger of Perſecution. The Zeal, Patience, and Fidelity of this Man, in caring and providing for this Congregation, as it is not eaſily to be expreſſed; ſo it is wonderful to behold the Providence of the Lord, concerning the Troubles of this faithful Miniſter after his Apprehenſion, as here followeth wrote with his own Hand.

A true Report how he was uſed in the Tower *of* London, *being ſent thither by the Council, the* 13*th Day of* December.

ON the *Thurſday* after, I was called into the Warehouſe, before the Conſtable of the *Tower*, and the Recorder of *London* Mr. *Cholmley*; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the *Engliſh* Service. I anſwered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was ſet in a Rack of Iron, the Space of three Hours as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I looſed, and carried to my Lodging again. On the *Sunday* after I was brought into the ſame Place again before the Lieutenant and the Recorder of *London*, and they examined me. As before I had ſaid, I anſwered. Then the Lieutenant did ſwear by God I ſhould tell. Then did they bind my two Fore-fingers together, and put a ſmall Arrow betwixt them, and drew it thro' ſo faſt that the Blood followed, and the Arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my Lodging again, and ten Days after the Lieutenant asked me if I would not confeſs that which they had before asked me. I ſaid, I had ſaid as much as I would. Then five Weeks after he ſent me unto the High-prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe Hand I received the Pope's Curſe, for bearing Witneſs of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the Word of his Grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the Name of *Jeſus*, deſiring God of his endleſs Mercy, through the Merits of his dear Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, to bring us all to his everlaſting Kingdom, *Amen*. I praiſe God for his great Mercy ſhewed upon us. Sing *Hoſanna* unto the Higheſt with me *Cutbert Simſon*. God forgive me my Sins. I ask all the World Forgiveneſs, and I do forgive all the World, and thus I leave this World, in hope of a joyful Reſurrection.

The Burning of Cicely Ormes *at* Norwich.

Cutbert Simson *upon the rack.*

K. Burgh Sculp.

BRITISH
8 OCT 75
MUSEUM

Hugh Foxe and *John Deveniſh.*

WITH *Cutbert Simſon* likewiſe was apprehended and alſo ſuffered *Hugh Foxe* and *John Deveniſh*; who being brought unto their Examinations with the ſaid *Cutbert* before *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, *March* 19, had Articles and Interrogatories miniſtred to them by the ſaid Officer, the ſame in Subſtance as had been propounded to *Bartlet Green*, and other Martyrs already treated of.

The general Anſwers of Cutbert Simſon, Hugh Foxe, *and* John Deveniſh, *to the Articles propoſed to them by the Biſhop.*

TO the firſt Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but *John Deveniſh* added, That that Church is grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head Corner-ſtone, and how in that Church there is the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt

To the ſecond Article they all confeſſed and believed, That in Chriſt's catholick Church there are but two Sacraments, namely, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord; otherwiſe they do not believe the Contents of this Article to be true in any Part thereof.

To the third, fourth and fifth Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the ſixth Article they all anſwered, and denied to acknowledge the Authority of the See of *Rome* to be lawful and good, either yet his Religion.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively, that they have and will do ſtill while they live; and *John Deveniſh* adding thereto, ſaid that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now uſed, is no Sacrament at all.

To the eighth Article they all confeſſed, and believed all Things above by them acknowledged and declared to be true, and that they be of the Dioceſs of *London*, and Juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe three abovetnamed Perſons, *Cutbert*, *Foxe* and *Deveniſh*, as they were altogether apprehended at *Iſlington*, ſo they all three ſuffered together in *Smithfield* about the 28th Day of *March* in whoſe perfect Conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe Cauſe and Quarrel they ſuffered) Giver of all Grace, and Governour of all Things, be exalted for ever, *Amen.*

The Martyrdom of William Nichol *at* Haverford-Weſt *in* Wales.

WE find in all Ages from the Beginning, that *Satan* hath not ceaſed at all Times to moleſt the Church of Chriſt with one Affliction or other, to the Trial of their Faith, but yet never ſo apparently at any Time to all the World, as when the Lord hath permitted him Power over the Bodies of his Saints to the ſhedding of their Blood, and perverting of their Religion; for then ſleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the ſame, unleſs they will fall down with *Ahab* and *Jezebel* to worſhip him, and ſo kill and poiſon their own Souls eternally; as in theſe miſerable latter Days of Queen *Mary* we have felt, heard, and ſeen practiſed upon God's People. Among whom we find recorded an honeſt poor Man, named *William Nichol*, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for ſpeaking certain Words againſt the cruel Kingdom of *Antichriſt*, and the 9th Day of *April*, 1558, was burnt in *Wales*, ending his Life in a moſt happy and bleſſed State, glorioufly giving his Soul into the Hands of that God, whoſe Goodneſs be praiſed for ever, *Amen.*

This *William Nichol* (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good Soul, that many eſteemed him half fooliſh. But what he was in that reſpect we know not, but this we are ſure, that he died a good Man, and in a good Cauſe, whatſoever they judge of him. And the more Simplicity and Feebleneſs of Wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruel tyrannical Act therein. The Lord give them Repentance, if it be his bleſſed Will, *Amen*, *Amen.*

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, *and* Thomas Hudſon, *at* Norwich.

IMmediately after *William Nichol*, ſucceeded in that honourable Vocation of Martyrdom three Men at *Norwich* in *Norfolk*, who were cruelly put to Death for the true Teſtimony of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the 19th of *May*, 1558, whoſe Names be theſe; *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudſon.*

William Seaman was an Husbandman, of the Age of 26 Years, dwelling in *Mendleſham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, who was divers Times ſought for at the Command of Sir *John Tyrrel*, Knight, and at laſt he himſelf ſearched his Houſe and other Places for him; notwithſtanding he ſomewhat miſs'd of his Purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gave Charge to his Servants, *Robert Baulding* and *James Clarke*, with others, to ſeek for him. Who, having no Officer, went in the Evening to his Houſe, he being at home, they took him and carry'd him to their Maſter Sir *John Tyrrel.* Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to Maſs, and receive the Sacrament, and ſo to worſhip it: To which *William Seaman* anſwer'd (denying it to be a Sacrament) and ſaid it was an Idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which Words Sir *John Tyrrel* ſent him to *Norwich* to *Hopton* then Biſhop, and there after Conference had with him, the Biſhop read his Sentence of Condemnation againſt him; and afterward delivered him to the ſecular Power, who kept him to the Day of Martyrdom.

The ſaid *William Seaman* left behind him when he died, a Wife and three Children very young: And with the ſaid young Children his Wife was perſecuted out of the ſaid Town of *Mendleſham*, becauſe ſhe would not go to hear Maſs, and all her Corn and Goods ſeized and taken away by Mr. *Chriſtopher Cole*'s Officers, he being Lord of the ſaid Town.

Thomas Carman being Priſoner in *Norwich*, was about one Time with the reſt examined and brought before the ſaid Biſhop, who anſwered no leſs in his Maſter's Cauſe than the others; and therefore had the like Reward that the others had, which was the Biſhop's bloody Bleſſing of Condemnation, and delivered alſo to the ſecular Power, who kept him with the others until the Day of Slaughter, which was not long after.

Thomas Hudſon was of *Aileſham* in *Norfolk*, by his Occupation a Glover, a very honeſt poor Man, having a Wife and three Children, labouring always diligently in his Vocation, being of 30 Years of Age, and bearing ſo good a Will to the Goſpel, that he in the Days of King *Edward* VI, learned to read *Engliſh* of *Anthony* and *Thomas Norgate* of the ſame Town, wherein he greatly profited about the Time of Alteration of Religion: For when Queen *Mary* came to reign, and had changed the Service in the Church, he then avoiding all their Ceremonies of Superſtition, abſented himſelf from his Houſe, and went into *Suffolk* a long Time, and there remained travelling from

one Place to another, as Occaſion was offered. At laſt he returned back again to his Houſe at *Aileſham*, to comfort his Wife and Children, being grieved at his Abſence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his Continuance there would be dangerous, he and his Wife deviſed to make him a Place to hide himſelf in, where he remained for the Space of half a Year, and his Wife like an honeſt Woman being careful for him, uſed herſelf faithfully towards him.

In the mean Time came the Vicar of the Town and enquired of *Thomas Hudſon*'s Wife for her Husband. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, as not knowing where he was. Then the ſaid *Berry* waxed angry, and threatned to burn her, becauſe ſhe would not tell where her Husband was. After that when *Hudſon* underſtood it, he grew every Day more zealous than other, and continually read and ſang Pſalms, the People openly reſorting to him, to hear his Exhortations and Prayers.

At laſt he walked abroad for certain Days openly in the Town, crying out continually againſt the Maſs and all their Trumpery, and in the end coming home in his Houſe, he ſate him down, having his Book by him, reading and ſinging *Pſalms* continually.

Then one *John Crouch* his next Neighbour went to the Conſtables, *Robert Marſham* and *Robert Lawes* in the Night, to certify them thereof: For *Berry* commanded openly to watch for him, and the Conſtables underſtanding the ſame, went to catch him at Break of Day, the 22d of *April*, 1558.

And when *Hudſon* ſaw them come in, he ſaid, Now mine Hour is come: Welcome Friends, welcome. You be they that ſhall lead me to Life in Chriſt. I thank God for it, and the Lord enable me thereto for his Mercies ſake. Then they took him and led him to *Berry* the Commiſſary, who was Vicar of the Town, and the ſaid *Berry* asked him firſt where he kept his Church for four Years before. To which the ſaid *Hudſon* anſwered thus, whereſoever he was, there was the Church.

Doſt thou not believe, ſaid *Berry*, in the Sacrament of the Altar? What is it?

Hudſon. It is Worms Meat: My Belief is in Chriſt crucified.

Berry. Doſt thou not believe the Maſs to put away Sins?

Hudſon. No, God forbid; it is a patched Monſter, and a diſguiſed Puppet, more tedious a piecing than ever was *Solomon*'s Temple.

At which Words *Berry* ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed himſelf as a Madman, and ſaid, Well, thou Villain; I will write to the Biſhop, my good Lord, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt be handled according to thy Deſerts. O Sir, ſaid *Hudſon*, there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lords and many Gods. With that *Berry* thruſt him back with his Hand. And one *Richard Cliffar* ſtanding by, ſaid, I pray you, Sir, be good to the poor Man. At which Words *Berry* was more mad than before, and would have had *Cliffar* bound in a Recognizance of forty Pounds for his good Behaviour both in Word and Deed; but his Deſire took no Effect. Then he asked *Hudſon* whether he would recant, or not: To which *Hudſon* anſwer'd, The Lord forbid? I had rather die many Deaths than do ſo.

Then after long Talk, the ſaid *Berry*, ſeeing it to no Purpoſe to perſuade him, took his Pen and Ink, and wrote Letters to the Biſhop thereof, and ſent this *Hudſon* to *Norwich* bound like a Thief to him, which was eight Miles from thence, who went thither ſinging with Joy, as merry as ever he was in his Life before. He was a Month in Priſon, where he ſpent his Time in reading and invocating the Name of God.

Theſe three Chriſtians and conſtant Martyrs, *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudſon*, after they were condemned the 19th Day of *May*, 1558, were carried out of Priſon to the Place where they ſhould ſuffer, which was without *Biſhopſgate* at *Norwich*, called *Lollard*'s *Pit*. And being all there, they made their humble Petitions to the Lord. That being done, they aroſe and went to the Stake, and ſtanding all there with their Chains about them, immediately *Thomas Hudſon* came forth from them under the Chain, to the great Surpriſe of all the Spectators; many doubted his Conſtancy, fearing he ſhould recant; others thought he wanted a Reprieve for further Conference; and ſome imagin'd he came forth to ask his Parents Bleſſing. In the midſt of this Confuſion his two Companions at the Stake did all they could to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the Bowels of Chriſt to be of good Chear, *&c.* But alas! he felt more in his Conſcience than they could conceive, for he was encompaſſed with intolerable Grief of Mind, not for Fear of Death, but for lack of an inward ſenſible Feeling of the Love of his Saviour: And therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell upon his Knees, and vehemently pray'd to God, who at laſt ſent him Comfort; and then he aroſe in Extaſy of Joy, as a new Man changed even from Death to Life, and ſaid; *Now I thank God I am ſtrong, and care not what Man can do unto me.* So going again to his Companions at the Stake, they all ſuffered Death moſt joyfully and manfully together.

About this Time *Joan Seaman*, Mother to the aforeſaid *William Seaman*, being of the Age of 66 Years, was perſecuted by the ſaid Sir *John Tyrrel* alſo, becauſe ſhe would not go to Maſs and receive againſt her Conſcience: Which good old Woman being from her Houſe, was glad ſome Time to lie in Buſhes, Groves, and Fields, and ſometimes in her Neighbour's Houſe when ſhe could. And her Husband being at home about the Age of 80 Years, fell ſick; and ſhe hearing thereof, with Speed returned home to her Houſe again, not regarding her Life, but conſidering her Duty, and ſhewed her Diligence to her Husband moſt faithfully till God took him away by Death. Then by God's Providence ſhe fell ſick alſo, and died in her own Houſe ſoon after. When one Mr. *Symonds* the Commiſſary heard of it, he (dwelling in a Town hard by called *Thorndon*) commanded that ſhe ſhould not have chriſtian Burial, and her Friends were compelled to lay her in a Pit under a Mote's-ſide.

A Woman called Mother *Bennet*, a Widow, who lived in the Town of *Wetherſet* near *Mendleſham*, was perſecuted out of the Town for not going to Maſs, but at laſt ſhe returned home again ſecretly to her Houſe, and there departed this Life joyfully. But Sir *John Tyrrel* and Maſter *Symonds* the Commiſſary would not let her be bury'd in the Church-yard. So was ſhe laid in a Grave by the Highway ſide.

This good old Woman met one of Mother *Seaman*'s Neighbours, and asked her how Mother *Seaman* did; and the Neighbour anſwered, that ſhe did very well, God be thanked. O, ſaid Mother *Bennet*, Mother *Seaman* hath ſtepped a great Step before me; for ſhe was never covetous that I could perceive.

Her Husband in his Mirth would ſay unto her; O Woman, if thou wert ſparing, thou mighteſt have ſaved me an hundred Marks more than thou haſt. To which ſhe would gently anſwer; O Man, be content, and let us be thankful, for God hath given us enough, if we can ſee it. Alas, good Husband, would ſhe ſay, I tell you Truth, I cannot firken up my Butter, and keep my Cheeſe in the Chamber, waiting for a great Price, and let the Poor want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But, Husband, let us be rich in good Works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good Things given us, *&c.*

In the Month of *May* likewiſe, *William Harris*, *Richard Day*, and *Chriſtian George* ſuffered at *Colcheſter*, and there joyfully and fervently made their Prayers to God.

And being ſettled at the Stake, and chained to the Poſts, with the Fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like conſtant Chriſtians triumphantly praiſed God within the ſame, and offered up their Bodies a lively Sacrifice unto his holy Majeſty.

The ſaid *Chriſtian George*'s Husband had another Wife burnt before this *Chriſtian*, whoſe Name was *Agnes George*, who ſuffered as you have heard, at *Stratford the Bow*. And after the Death of the ſaid *Chriſtian*, he married an honeſt godly Woman again, and ſo they both (I mean the ſaid *Richard George* and his laſt Wife) in the End were taken alſo, and laid in Priſon, where they remained till the Death of Queen *Mary*, and at laſt were delivered by our moſt gracious ſovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Apprehenſion of certain godly Men and Women praying together in the Fields about Iſlington.

SEcretly in a back Cloſe in the Field by *Iſlington*, were gathered together a Company of innocent Perſons, to the Number of forty Men and Women; who there being virtuouſly occupied in the Meditation of God's holy Word, firſt cometh a certain Man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying, that they looked like Men that meant no Hurt. Then one of the ſaid Company asked the Man, if he could tell whoſe Cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bold to ſit there. Yea, ſaid he, becauſe ye ſeem unto me ſuch Perſons as intend no Harm, and ſo departed. Within a Quarter of an Hour after, came the Conſtable of *Iſlington*, named *King*, with ſix or ſeven more, one with a Bow, another with a Bill, and the reſt with Weapons. Six or ſeven of this Company were left behind in a private Place, to be ready in Caſe they were wanted, while the Conſtable and one with him went before to view them; they both went amongſt them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what Books they had; and ſo going a little forward, and returning back again, order'd them to deliver their Books. They underſtanding that he was a Conſtable, refuſed not ſo to do. Then came up the reſt of their Fellows beforementioned, who bade them ſtand and not depart. They anſwered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whitherſoever they would have them; and they were firſt carried to a Brew-houſe at a ſmall Diſtance, while ſome of the Company went to the neareſt Juſtice, but he being not at home, they were carry'd before Sir *Roger Cholmley*. In the mean Time ſome of the Women eſcaped away from them, ſome in the Cloſe where they ſat, and others before they came to the Brewhouſe. For ſo they were carried, ten with one Man, eight with another, with ſome more, with others leſs, in ſuch a Manner as it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir *Roger Cholmley* were twenty-ſeven, and Sir *Roger* and the Recorder taking their Names in a Bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as anſwered to their Names, he ſent to *Newgate*, which were twenty-two out of the twenty-ſeven. They continued in Priſon ſeven Weeks; and before they were examined, Word was ſent by *Alexander* the Keeper, that if they would hear a Maſs, they ſhould all be delivered, but thirteen of them were burnt, ſeven in *Smithfield*, and ſix at *Branford*; two died in Priſon, and the other ſeven, with much Trouble (through God's Providence) eſcaped Death. Their Names were theſe:

John Willes,
Thomas Hinſhaw,
R. Baily, Woolpacker,
Robert Willes,
Hudleys,
T. Coaſt, Haberdaſher,
Roger Sandy.

The Names of the ſeven Martyrs that were apprehended amongſt others, in the Cloſe at *Iſlington*, and afterwards burnt in *Smithfield* were as follow:

Henry Pond,
Rainol Eaſtland,
Robert Southam,
Matthew Ricarby,
John Floyd,
John Holiday,
Roger Holland,

Theſe ſeven godly Men had ſeveral Articles adminiſtred to them by Biſhop *Bonner*, in the uſual Form; to which they returned their Anſwers, and abſolutely refuſing to acknowledge the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church, were altogether condemned, the Sentence being read againſt them; and ſo all ſeven by ſecular Magiſtrates being ſent all to *Newgate* the 17th of *June*; not long after, about the 27th of the ſaid Month were brought to *Smithfield*, and there ended their Lives in the glorious Cauſe of Chriſt's Goſpel.

The Martyrdom of ſix, who ſuffered at Branford, *for the true Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.*

THESE ſix Martyrs were of the Company of thoſe who were apprehended in a Cloſe near *Iſlington* (as is abovementioned) and ſent to Priſon. Whoſe Names here follow:

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dynes,
Stephen Wight,
John Slade,
William Pikes, or *Pikes* a Tanner.

Theſe ſix Martyrs were burnt at *Branford* ſeven Miles from *London* on the 14th of *July* 1558. They had their Articles miniſtred unto them by *T. Darbyſhire*, *Bonner*'s Chancellor, at ſundry Times, to which they made their Anſwers much after the ſame Manner as others have done before.

When theſe good Men came before *Bonner*'s Chancellor, *Thomas Darbyſhire*, and had the Articles miniſtred unto them, and they anſwered unto the ſame; in the End the Chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the 11th Day of *July* at St. *Paul*'s: Where when they came, he required of them whether they would turn from their Opinions to the Mother holy Church; and if not, that then, whether there were any Cauſe to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the Sentence of Condemnation. Whereunto they all anſwered, That they would not go from the Truth, nor relent from any Part of the ſame while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next Day in the Afternoon, between one and two of the Clock to hear the definitive Sentence read againſt them, according to the eccleſiaſtical Laws then in Force. At which Time he ſitting in Judgment talking with theſe good Men, at laſt came into the ſaid Place Sir *Edward Haſtings* and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, two of Queen *Mary*'s Officers of her Houſe, and being there, they ſat them down over-againſt the Chancellor, in whoſe Preſence the Chancellor condemned thoſe poor innocent Lambs, and delivered them over to the ſecular Power, who received, and carry'd them to Priſon immediately; and the next

Day

Day after a Writ was ſent to burn them at *Branford*, which accordingly was accompliſhed. Whereunto being brought, they made their humble Prayers to the Lord *Jeſus*, undreſſed themſelves, went joyfully to the Stake, whereunto they were bound, and the Fire flaming about them, they yielded their Souls, Bodies, and Lives into the Hands of the omnipotent God, for whoſe Cauſe they did ſuffer.

Verſes upon *Bonner*'s Effigy.

MUſe not ſo much that Nature's Work
Is thus deformed now:
With Belly blown, and Head ſo ſwoln,
For I ſhall tell you how:
This Cannibal in three Years Space
Two hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his Food, he ſo lov'd Blood,
He ſpared none he knew.
It ſhould appear that Blood feeds Fat,
If Men lie well and ſoft:
For Bonner's *Belly waxt with Blood,*
Though he ſeem to faſt oft.
O bloody Beaſt, bewail the Death
Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlain:
In Time repent, ſince thou canſt not
Their Lives reſtore again.

The ſcourging of Thomas Hinſhaw, *by Biſhop* Bonner.

WHEN Biſhop *Bonner* found that his Examinations, Perſuaſions, Threats, and Impriſonments, were to no purpoſe with *Thomas Hinſhaw*, he (the ſaid Biſhop) took him with him to *Fulham*, where immediately after his coming, he was ſet in the Stocks, remaining there all the firſt Night with Bread and Water.

The next Morning the Biſhop came and examined him himſelf, and perceiving no yielding to his Mind, he ſent Mr. *Harpsfield* to talk with him; who, after long Talk, in the end fell to raging Words, calling the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* peeviſh Boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his Soul or no, *&c.* Unto which the ſaid *Thomas* anſwered, that he was perſuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and deviliſh Kingdom, and not for any Love to Truth. Then *Harpsfield*, being in a mighty Rage, told the Biſhop thereof. Whereat the Biſhop fumed and fretted, that for Anger being ſcarce able to ſpeak, he ſaid, Doſt thou anſwer my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty Boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured; ſo he ſent for a couple of Rods, and cauſed him to kneel againſt a long Bench in an Arbour in his Garden, where the ſaid *Thomas*, without any Inforcement of his Part, offered himſelf to the Beating, and did abide the Fury of the ſaid *Bonner*, ſo long as the fat paunched Biſhop could endure with Breath, and till for Wearineſs he was fain to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhameful Act. He had two Willow Rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* notwithſtanding did ſuſtain divers Conflicts, and Examinations ſundry Times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his Chapel at *Fulham*, there he had procured Witneſſes, and gathered Articles againſt him, which the young Man denied, and would not affirm, or conſent to any Interrogatory there and then miniſtred, do what they could.

About a Fortnight after he fell ſick of a burning Ague, whereby he was delivered upon Entreaty unto his Maſter *Martin Pugſon* in *Paul*'s Church-yard; for then the Biſhop thought verily he was more like to die than to live. Which his Sickneſs endured a Twelvemonth or more, ſo that in the mean Time Queen *Mary* died. Then he ſhortly after recovered Health, and eſcaped Death, being at the writing of this, both Witneſs and Reporter of the ſame.

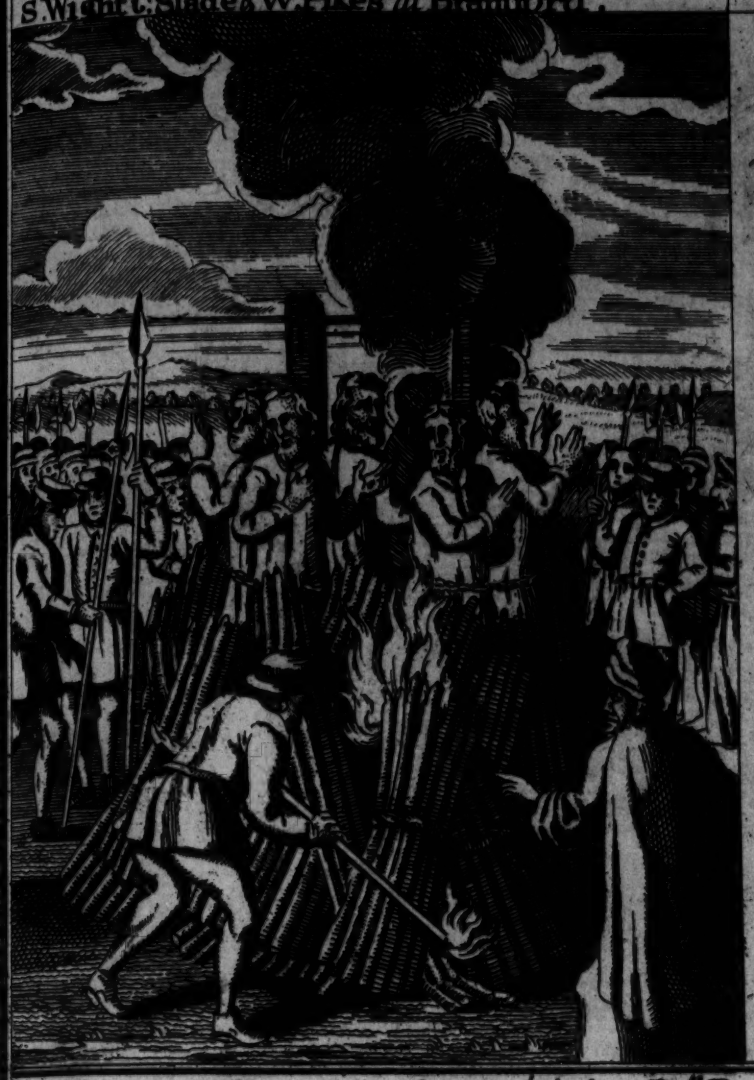
The ſcourging of John Willes, *by Biſhop* Bonner.

BEſides the above-named, was ſcourged alſo by the Hands of the ſaid Biſhop, one *John Willes* a Capper, a true honeſt Man in all his Dealings and Conditions, who was Brother to the aforeſaid *Rich. Willes* burned at *Branford*, as is before-ſaid. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame Number with them at *Iſlington*, as alſo is mention'd before: And being brought before *Bonner*, and there examined, was commanded to the Coalhouſe, with the aforeſaid *Tho. Hinſhaw*, where they remained one Night in the Stocks. From thence he was ſent to *Fulham*, where he, with the ſaid *Hinſhaw*, remained eight or ten Days in the Stocks; during which Time he ſuſtained divers Conflicts with the ſaid *Bonner*, who had him often in Examination, urging him, and with a Stick which he had in his Hand, oftentimes rapping him on the Head, and flirting him under the Chin, and on the Ears, ſaying he looked down like a Thief. Moreover, after he had aſſayed all manner of Ways to cauſe him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his Orchard, there within a little Arbour, with his own Hands beat him firſt with a Willow Rod, and that being worn well nigh to the Stumps, he called for a Birch Rod, which a Lad brought out of his Chamber. The Cauſe why he ſo beat him was this; *Bonner* asked him when he had crept to the Croſs. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the Years of Diſcretion, neither would, though he ſhould be torn with wild Horſes. Then *Bonner* bade him make a Croſs in his Forehead, which he refuſed to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his Orchard, and there calling for Rods, ſhewed his Cruelty upon him, as he had done upon *Thomas Hinſhaw*.

This done, he had him immediately to the Pariſh-church of *Fulham* with the ſaid *Tho. Hinſhaw*, and *Robert Willes*, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtred certain Articles, asking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To which he made his Anſwer according to his Conſcience, denying them all except one Article which was concerning King *Edward*'s Service in *Engliſh*. Shortly after this Beating, *Bonner* ſent a certain old Prieſt lately come from *Rome*, to him in Priſon, to conjure out the evil Spirit from him, who laying his Hand upon his Head, began with certain Words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. *Willes* marvelling what the old Man was about, ſaid, I truſt no evil Spirit is in me, and laughed him to Scorn.

As this *John Willes* was divers Times called before *Bonner*, ſo much Communication paſſed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the Reader laugh to ſee the blind and unſavoury Reaſons with which that Biſhop endeavour'd to delude the Ignorant, ſome of which were in the following Manner: *Bonner* going about to perſuade *Willes* not to meddle with Matters of Scripture, but rather to believe other Mens Teaching, who had more Skill in the ſame, asked him firſt, if he did believe the Scripture: Yea, ſaid he, that I do. Then (quoth the Biſhop) St. *Paul* ſaith, If the Man ſleep, the Woman is at Liberty to go to another Man. If thou wert aſleep having a Wife, wouldſt thou be content thy Wife to take to another Man? And yet this is the Scripture. Alſo, if thou wilt believe *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and ſuch, then thou canſt not go right; but if thou wilt believe me, *&c.* thou canſt not err: And if thou ſhould'ſt err, yet thou art in no Danger, thy Blood ſhould be required at our Hands. As if thou ſhould'ſt go to a far Country, and meet with a fatherly Man, as I am (theſe were

The Martyrdom of R. Millos. S. Cotton R. Dynos S. Wight L. Slade & W. Pikes at Bramford.



The Burning of W. Seaman T. Carman & T. Hidson at Norwich.

Thomas Hinshaw *Scourg'd by* B.^p^ Bonner *in his Orchard at* Fulham.

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were his Words) and ask the Way to the City, and he ſhould ſay, this Way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow *Luther*, and other Hereticks of late Days, and go a contrary Way; how wilt thou come to the Place thou askeſt for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other Hereticks, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to Deſtruction, and burn both Body and Soul. As truly as thou ſeeſt the Bodies of them in *Smithfield* burnt, ſo truly their Souls do burn in Hell, becauſe they err from the true Church.

Oft-times ſpeaking to the ſaid *John Willes*, he would ſay, They call me *Bloody Bonner*. A Vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but you have a Delight in Burning. But if I might have my Will, I would ſew up your Mouths, and put you in Sacks and drown you.

The ſame Day that he was delivered, *Bonner* came to the Stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his Lodging, and his Fare. Well (ſaid *Willes)* if it would pleaſe God I might have a little Straw to lie or ſit upon. Then (ſaid *Bonner)* thou wilt ſhew no Token of a Chriſtian Man. And upon this his Wife came in unknown to him, being very great with Child, every Hour expecting her Labour, and intreated the Biſhop for her Husband, ſaying, that ſhe would not go from thence, but that ſhe would there ſtay, and be deliver'd in the Biſhop's Houſe, unleſs ſhe had her Husband with her. How ſayeſt thou (quoth *Bonner* to *Willes)* If thy Wife miſcarry, or thy Child, or Children, if ſhe be with one or two, ſhould periſh, the Blood of them would he require at thy Hands. Then to this Agreement he came, that he ſhould hire a Bed in the Town of *Fulham*, and her Husband ſhould go home with her the Morrow after, upon this Condition, that his Kinſman there preſent (one *Robert Rouſe)* ſhould bring the ſaid *Willes* to his Houſe at St. *Paul*'s the next Day.

To which *Willes* would not agree, but inſiſted upon going then. At length, his Wife being importunate for her Husband, and *Bonner* ſeeing ſhe would not ſtir without him, fearing belike the Rumour that might come upon his Houſe thereby, and alſo probably fearing to be troubled with a Lying-in Woman, bad *Willes* make a Croſs, and ſay, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

Then *Willes* began to ſay, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*, Amen. No, no (ſaith *Bonner)* ſay it me in *Latin*; *Willes* underſtanding the Matter of that *Latin* to be good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his Wife, his aforeſaid Kinſman being charged to bring him the next Day to St. *Paul*'s; elſe, ſaid *Bonner*, if thou doſt not bring him, thou art an Heretick as well as he. Notwithſtanding, the Charge being no greater, his Kinſman did not bring him, but he of his own Accord came to the Biſhop within a few Days after, where he put to him a certain Writing in *Latin*, to ſubſcribe unto, containing, as it ſeemed to him, no great Matter, that he needed greatly to ſtick at, albeit, what the Bill was, he could not certainly tell: So he ſubſcribed to the Bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at *Iſlington.*

The Hiſtory of Richard Yeoman, *Dr.* Taylor's *Curate at* Hadley.

Richard Yeoman, a devout old Man, was Dr. *Taylor*'s Curate in *Hadley*; with him Dr. *Taylor* left his Cure at his Departure. But as ſoon as Mr. *Newall* had gotten the Benefice, he put out Mr. *Yeoman*, and ſet in a Popiſh Curate to continue their *Romiſh* Religion, which now they thought fully eſtabliſhed. Then he wandred from Place to Place, exhorting all Men to ſtand faithfully to God's Word, earneſtly to give themſelves unto Prayer, with Patience to bear the Croſs now laid upon them for their Trial, with Boldneſs to confeſs the Truth before the Adverſaries, and with an undoubted Hope to wait for the Crown and Reward of eternal Felicity. But when he perceived his Adverſaries to lie in wait for him, he went into *Kent*, and with a little Packet of Laces, Pins and Points, and ſuch like Things, he travelled from Village to Village, ſelling ſuch Things, and by that Shift ſubſiſted himſelf, his Wife and Children.

At laſt Juſtice *Moyle* of *Kent* took Mr. *Yeoman* and ſet him in the Stocks a Day and a Night, but having no evident Matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came ſecretly again to *Hadley*, and tarried with his poor Wife, who kept him ſecretly in a Chamber of the Town-houſe, commonly called the *Guildhall*, more than a Year. All which Time the good old Father abode in a Chamber locked up all the Day, and ſpent his Time in devout Prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of Wool which his Wife did ſpin. His Wife alſo did go and beg Bread and Meat for herſelf and her Children, and by ſuch poor Means they ſuſtained themſelves.

At laſt Parſon *Newall* (I know not by what Means) perceived that *Richard Yeoman* was ſo kept by his poor Wife, and taking with him the Bayliff's Deputies and Servants, came in the Night-time and brake up five Doors upon *Yeoman*, whom he found in Bed with his Wife and Children; whom when he had ſo found, he angrily cried, I thought I ſhould find an Harlot and an Whore together. And he would have plucked the Cloaths off from them; but *Yeoman* held faſt the Cloaths, and ſaid unto his Wife, Wife, ariſe, and put on thy Cloaths. And unto the Parſon he ſaid, Nay, Parſon, no Harlot, nor Whore, but a married Man and his Wife, according to God's Ordinance, and bleſſed be God for lawful Matrimony. I thank God for this great Grace, and I defy the Pope and all his Popery. Then they led *Richard Yeoman* unto the Cage, and ſet him in the Stocks until it was Day.

There was then alſo in the Cage an old Man named *John Dale*, who had ſet there three or four Days, becauſe when the ſaid Parſon *Newall* with his Curate uſed the *Romiſh* Service in the Church, he ſpake openly unto him, and ſaid, *O miſerable and blind Guides, will ye ever be blind Leaders of the Blind? Will ye never amend? Will ye never ſee the Truth of God's Word? Will neither God's Threats nor Promiſes enter into your Hearts? Will the Blood of Martyrs nothing mollify your ſtony Stomach? O indurate, hardhearted, perverſe and crooked Generation. O damnable ſort, whom nothing can do Good unto.*

Theſe, or the like Words he ſpake in Fervency of Spirit againſt the ſuperſtitious Religion of *Rome.* Wherefore Parſon *Newall* cauſed him forthwith to be attached, and ſet in the Stocks in a Cage. So was he kept there till Sir *Henry Doile* a Juſtice came to *Hadley.*

When poor *Yeoman* was taken, the Parſon called earneſtly upon Sir *Henry Doile* to ſend them both to Priſon. Sir *Henry Doile* earneſtly intreated the Parſon, to conſider the Age of the Men and their mean Condition; they were neither Perſons of Note nor Preachers; wherefore he would deſire him to let them be puniſhed a Day or two, and ſo to let them go, at leaſt *John Dale*, who was no Prieſt: And therefore ſeeing he had ſo long ſate in the Cage, he thought it Puniſhment enough for this Time. When the Parſon heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great Rage called them peſtilent Hereticks, unfit to live in the Commonwealth of Chriſtians. *Wherefore I beſeech you, Sir,* (quoth he) *according to*

your Office, defend the holy Church, and help to ſuppreſs theſe Hereſies, &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelves to the evil Example of others, againſt the Queen's gracious Proceedings. Sir *Henry Doile* ſeeing he could do no Good in the Matter, and fearing alſo the Danger of meddling too much in it, made out the Writ, and cauſed the Conſtables to carry them to *Bury* Goal. So they took *Richard Yeoman* and *John Dale* pinioned, and bound them like Thieves, ſet them on Horſeback, and bound their Legs under the Horſes Bellies, and ſo carried them to *Bury* Goal, where they were laid in Irons; and becauſe they continually rebuked Popery, they were thrown into the loweſt Dungeon, where *John Dale*, through Sickneſs of the Priſon, and evil Keeping, died in Priſon, whoſe Body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the Fields. He was a Man of 46 Years of Age, a Weaver by his Occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, and faithful and honeſt in all his Converſation.

After that *John Dale* was dead, *Richard Yeoman* was removed to *Norwich* Priſon, where after ſtrait and evil Keeping, he was examined of his Faith and Religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelf to be of the Faith that was ſet forth by King *Edward* VI, and from that he would in no wiſe vary. Being required to ſubmit himſelf to the holy Father the Pope: *I defy him* (quoth he) *and all his deteſtable Abominations: I will in no wiſe have to do with him, nor any Thing that appertaineth to him.* The chief Articles objected to him, were his Marriage and the Maſs Sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued ſtedfaſt in Confeſſion of the Truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the Fire. So he ended his poor and miſerable Life, and ſo he entered into the bleſſed Boſom of *Abraham*, enjoying with *Lazarus* the comfortable Quietneſs that God hath prepared for his elect Saints.

The Story of John Alcock.

THIS young Man was by Occupation a Shearman, and came to *Hadley* to ſeek Work; he being in Church one *Sunday*, and Parſon *Newal* coming by with the Proceſſion, would not once move his Cap, nor ſhew any Sign of Reverence, but ſtood behind the Font. The Parſon perceiving this, when he was almoſt out of the Church-door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the Conſtable.

Then came *Robert Rolfe*, with whom this young Man had wrought, and ſaid, What hath he done, Mr. Parſon, that ye are in ſuch a Rage with him?

He is an Heretick and Traitor (quoth the Parſon) and deſpiſeth the Queen's Proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queen's Name, have him to the Stocks, and ſee he be forthcoming.

Well (quoth *Rolfe*) he ſhall be forthcoming, proceed in your Buſineſs, and be quiet.

Have him to the Stocks, quoth the Parſon.

I am Conſtable, quoth *Rolfe*, and I may bail him, and will bail him; he ſhall not be put in the Stocks, but he ſhall be forthcoming: So the good Parſon went forth with his holy Proceſſion, and ſo to Maſs.

In the Afternoon *Rolfe* ſaid to this young Man, I am ſorry for thee, for truly the Parſon will ſeek thy Deſtruction, if thou take not good Heed what thou anſwereſt him.

The young Man ſaid, Sir, I am ſorry that it is my hap to be a Trouble to you. As for myſelf, I am not ſorry, but I commit myſelf into God's Hands, and I truſt he will give me Mouth and Wiſdom to anſwer according to Right.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, yet beware of him, for he is malicious and a Blood-ſucker, and beareth an old Hatred againſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, becauſe of Diſpleaſure againſt me.

I fear not, quoth the young Man: He ſhall do no more to me, than God will give him Leave; and happy ſhall I be if God will call me to die for his Truth's Sake.

Then they went to the Parſon, who at the firſt asked him, Fellow, what ſaiſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

I ſay, quoth he, as ye uſe the Matter, ye make a ſhameful Idol of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous Prieſts, all the ſort of you.

I told you (quoth the Parſon) he was a ſtout Heretick.

So after long Talk, the Parſon committed him to Priſon, and the next Day he rode up to *London*, and carried the young Man with him, and ſo the young Man came no more to *Hadley*, but after long Impriſonment in *Newgate*, where after many Examinations and Troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelf to ask Forgiveneſs of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the *Romiſh* Religion, he was caſt into the lower Dungeon, where with ill Keeping and Sickneſs of the Houſe, he died in Priſon. His Body was caſt out and bury'd in a Dunghil; for the Papiſts would in all Things be like themſelves; therefore they would not ſo much as ſuffer the dead Bodies to have convenient Burial.

The Hiſtory of Thomas Benbridge, *Gentleman and Martyr.*

THomas *Benbridge* a Gentleman, (unmarried) in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, although he might have lived a Gentleman's Life, in the wealthy Poſſeſſions of this World; yet to follow Chriſt had rather enter into the ſtrait Gate of Perſecution, than here to enjoy preſent Pleaſures with Unquietneſs of Conſcience. Wherefore manfully ſtanding againſt the Papiſts for the Defence of the ſincere Doctrine of Chriſt's Goſpel, he ſpared not himſelf to confirm the Truth of the ſame. For which Cauſe he being apprehended for an Adverſary to the *Romiſh* Religion, was forthwith had to Examination before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, where he ſuſtained ſundry Conflicts for the Truth againſt the ſaid Biſhop and his Collegue; for which he was condemned, and ſome Time after brought to the Place of Martyrdom by Sir *Richard Peckſal* the Sheriff.

Where ſtanding at the Stake, he began to untie his Points, and to prepare himſelf; then he gave his Gown to the Keeper, being belike his Fee. His Jerkin was laid on with Gold Lace fair and brave, which he gave to Sir *Rich. Peckſal* the High-ſheriff. His Cap of Velvet he took off from his Head and threw it away. Then lifting his Mind to the Lord, he made his Prayers.

That done, being now faſtened to the Stake, Dr. *Seaton* willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his Pardon; but when he ſaw it prevailed not to ſpeak, the ſaid dreaming Doctor willed the People not to pray for him unleſs he would recant, no more than they would pray for a Dog.

Mr. *Benbridge* ſtanding at the Stake with his Hands together in ſuch Manner as the Prieſt holdeth his Hands in his *Memento*, the ſaid Dr. *Seaton* came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: Unto whom he ſaid, *Away Babylonian, away.*

Then ſaid one that ſtood by, Sir, cut out his Tongue, and another being a temporal Man, railed on him worſe than Dr. *Seaton* did, who (as is thought) was ſet on by ſome other.

Thus when they ſaw he would not yield, they bade

bade the Tormentors to ſet fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with Faggots. Firſt, the Fire took away a Piece of his Beard, whereat he did not ſhrink at all. Then it came on the other Side and took his Legs, and the nether Stockings of his Hoſe being Leather, made the Fire to pierce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable Heat thereof made him to cry, *I recant:* And ſuddenly he thruſt the Fire from him. And having two or three of his Friends by that wiſhed his Life, they ſtept to the Fire, and helped to take it from him alſo, who for their Labour were ſent to Priſon. The Sheriff alſo of his own Authority took him from the Stake, and ſent him to Priſon again, for which he was ſent unto the Fleet, and lay there ſome Time. But before he was taken from the Stake, the ſaid Dr. *Seaton* wrote Articles to have him ſubſcribe unto them, as touching the Pope, the Sacrament, and ſuch other Traſh. But the ſaid Mr. *Benbridge* made much ado ere he would ſubſcribe them, inſomuch that Dr. *Seaton* ordered them to ſet to fire again. Then with much Pain and Grief of Heart he ſubſcribed to them upon a Man's Back.

That being done, he had his Gown given him again, and ſo was led to Priſon. Being in Priſon, he wrote a Letter to Dr. *Seaton*, and recanted thoſe Words he ſpake at the Stake, unto which he had ſubſcribed: For he was grieved that ever he ſubſcribed unto them. Whereupon expreſſing his Conſcience, he was the ſame Day Seven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile Tormentors did rather broil than burn him.

The Martyrdom of John Cooke, *a Sawyer*, Robert Miles, *alias* Plummer, *Sheerman*, Alexander Lane, *a Wheelright*, James Aſhley, *Batchelor*.

THE Examination of theſe forenamed Perſons, being ſeverally called before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Edward Walgrave*, with others, was partly upon theſe Articles following.

Firſt, Sir *Edward Walgrave* called *John Cooke* to him, and ſaid, How doth it happen that you go not to your Church?

Cooke. I have been there.

Sir Edw. What is the Cauſe that you go not thither now in theſe Days?

Cooke. Becauſe the Sacrament of the Altar is an abominable Idol, and the Vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edw. O thou rank Traytor, if I had as good Commiſſion to cut out thy Tongue, as I have to ſit here this Day, thou ſhould'ſt be ſure to have it done.

Then he commanded the Conſtable to take him away, ſaying, he was both a Traytor and a Rebel.

Then he called *Robert Miles*, and ſaid, How fortuneth it, that you will not go to Church?

Miles. Becauſe I will follow no falſe Gods.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Who told thee that it is a God?

Even you, quoth *Miles*, and ſuch as you are.

Then the Biſhop commanded him aſide, and to appear before him the next Day.

Then he called *Alexander Lane* before him, and asked him how it chanced, that he would not go to the Church.

He ſaid, that his Conſcience would not ſerve him ſo to do.

Sir *Edward* ſaid, How doſt thou believe?

Lane anſwer'd, Even as it is written in God's Book.

Then Sir *Edward* commanded him to ſay his Belief.

Then *Lane*, being ſomewhat abaſhed, ſaid his Belief to theſe Words, which he miſſed unawares, *Born of the Virgin* Mary.

Then ſaid Sir *Edward*, What? was he not born of the Virgin *Mary?*

Yes, ſaid *Lane*, I would have ſaid ſo.

Nay, ſaid Sir *Edward*, you are one of *Cooke*'s Scholars, and ſo commanded him away, and to come before him the next Day.

After the like Manner they paſſed alſo with *James Aſhley*, whom they warned the next Day likewiſe to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their Condemnation. And thus theſe four bleſſed Martyrs innocently ſuffered together at St. *Edmund's-Bury*, as is aforeſaid, about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, not long before the Sickneſs of Queen *Mary*.

The Martyrdom of Alexander Gouch, *and* Alice Driver, *at* Ipſwich.

MR. *Noone*, a Juſtice in *Suffolk*, dwelling in *Martleſham*, hunting after good Men to apprehend them, at length had Intelligence of one *Alexander Gouch* of *Woodbridge*, and *Driver*'s Wife of *Grosborough* to be at *Grosborough* together, a little from his Houſe, and immediately took his Men with him, and went thither, and made diligent Search for them, where the poor Man and Woman were compelled to get into an Hay-loft to hide themſelves from their Cruelty. At length they came to ſearch the Hay for them, and by gaging thereof with Pitchforks, at laſt found them: So they took them and led them to *Melton* Goal, where they remaining a Time, at laſt were carry'd to *Bury* againſt the Aſſize at St. *James-tide*, and being there examined of Matters of Faith, did boldly ſtand to confeſs Chriſt crucify'd, defying the Pope and his papiſtical Traſh. And among other Things, *Driver*'s Wife likened Queen *Mary* in her Perſecution, to *Jezebel*; and ſo in that Senſe calling her *Jezebel*, for that Sir *Clement Higham*, being chief Judge there, ordered her Ears immediately to be cut off, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhe joyfully yielded herſelf to the Puniſhment, and thought herſelf happy that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Name of Chriſt.

After the Aſſize at *Bury*, they were carried to *Melton* Goal again, where they remained a Time. This *Alexander Gouch* was a Man of the Age of 36 Years, or thereabouts, and by his Occupation a Weaver of ſhredding Coverlets, dwelling at *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, and born at *Uxford* in the ſame County. *Driver*'s Wife was a Woman about the Age of 30 Years, and dwelt at *Grosborough* where they were taken, in *Suffolk*: her Husband did uſe Husbandry. Theſe two were carried from *Melton* Goal to *Ipſwich*, where they remained, and were examined. Which Examination, here followeth.

The Examination of Alice Driver, *before Dr.* Spenſer, *Chancellor of* Norwich.

FIRST, ſhe coming into the Place where ſhe ſhould be examined with a ſmiling Countenance; Dr. *Spenſer* ſaid, Why Woman, doſt thou laugh us to Scorn?

Driver's *Wife.* Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to ſee what Fools ye be.

Then the Chancellor asked her wherefore ſhe was brought

brought before him, and why ſhe was laid in Priſon.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for ye know it better than I.

Spenſ. No, by my Troth, Woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have ye done me much Wrong thus to impriſon me, and know no Cauſe why; for I know no Evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no Man that can accuſe me of any notorious Fact that I have done, juſtly.

Spenſ. Woman, Woman, what ſayſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Doſt thou not believe that it is very Fleſh and Blood, after the Words be ſpoken of Conſecration?

Driver's Wife at thoſe Words held her Peace, and made no Anſwer. Then a great Chuff-headed Prieſt that ſtood by, ſpake, and asked her why ſhe made not the Chancellor Anſwer. With that the ſaid *Driver*'s Wife looked upon him auſterely, and ſaid, Why Prieſt, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy Maſter: But if thou wilt I ſhall talk with thee, command thy Maſter to hold his Peace. And with that the Prieſt put his Noſe in his Cap, and ſpake never a Word more. Then the Chancellor bid her make Anſwer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir, pardon me though I make no Anſwer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby; for in all my Life I never heard nor read of any ſuch Sacrament in all the Scripture.

Spenſ. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read God's Book.

Spenſ. Why, what manner of Book is that you call God's Book.

Dri. It is the *Old* and *New Teſtament.* What call you it?

Spenſ. That is God's Book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That ſame Book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any ſuch Sacrament there; and for that Cauſe I cannot make you Anſwer to that Thing I know not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I will grant you a Sacrament, called the Lord's Supper: And therefore ſeeing I have granted you a Sacrament, I pray you ſhew me what a Sacrament is.

Spenſ. It is a Sign. And one Dr. *Gaſcoine* being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the Sign of an holy Thing.

Dri. You have ſaid the Truth, Sir. It is a Sign indeed, I muſt needs grant it: And therefore ſeeing it is a Sign, it cannot be the Thing ſignify'd alſo. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own Saying.

Then ſtood up the ſaid *Gaſcoine*, and made an Oration with many fair Words, but little to the Purpoſe, both offenſive and odious to the Minds of the Godly. In the End of which long Tale, he asked her if ſhe did not believe the Omnipotency of God, and that he was Almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake. She anſwered, Yes, and ſaid, I do believe that God is Almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake and promiſed.

Gaſcoine. Very well. Then he ſaid to his Diſciples, *Take, eat, this is my Body: Ergo*, it was his Body. For he was able to perform that he ſpake, and God uſeth not to lie.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any ſuch Promiſe to his Diſciples, that he would make the Bread his Body?

Gaſc. Thoſe be the Words. Can you deny it.

Dri. No, they be the very Words indeed, I cannot deny it, but I pray you, was it not Bread that he gave unto them?

Gaſc. No, it was his Body.

Dri. Then was it his Body that they did eat Overnight?

Gaſc. It was his Body.

Dri. What Body was it then that was crucified the next Day?

Gaſc. It was Chriſt's Body.

Dri. How could that be, when the Diſciples had eaten him Over-night? except he had two Bodies, as by your Argument he had; one they did eat Overnight, and he was crucified the next Day. Such a Doctor, ſuch Doctrine. Be you not aſhamed to teach the People, that Chriſt had two Bodies? In the 22d of *Luke*, *He took Bread and brake it to his Diſciples*, ſaying, *Take*, &c. and *do this in Remembrance of me.* St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 11. *Do this in Remembrance of me: For as often as ye ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lord's Death till he come:* And therefore I marvel you bluſh not before all this People, to lie ſo manifeſtly as ye do.

With that *Gaſcoine* held his Peace, and made her no Anſwer; for, as it ſeemed, he was aſhamed of his Doings. Then the Chancellor liſt up his Head off from his Cuſhion, and commanded the Goaler to take her away.

Dri. Now ye be not able to reſiſt the Truth, ye command me to Priſon again. Well, the Lord in the End ſhall judge our Cauſe, and to him I leave it. So away ſhe went with the Goaler.

The ſecond Examination of Alice Driver.

THE next Day ſhe came before them again, and the Chancellor then asked her, what ſhe ſaid to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar?

Dri. I will ſay nothing to it; for you will neither believe me nor yourſelves: For yeſterday I asked you what a Sacrament was, and you ſaid, it was a Sign; and I agreed thereto, and ſaid it was the Truth, confirming it by the Scriptures, ſo that I went not from your own Words; and now ye come and ask me again of ſuch a Sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.

Spenſ. Thou lieſt, naughty Woman, we did not ſay that it was a Sign.

Dri. Why, Maſters, be ye not the Men that you were yeſterday? Will ye eat your own Words? Are ye not aſhamed to lie before all this Multitude here preſent, who heard you ſpeak the ſame?

Then ſtood up Dr. *Gaſcoine*, and ſaid, ſhe was deceived; for there are three Churches, The malignant Church, the Church militant, and the Church triumphant. So he would fain have made Matter, but he could not tell which Way.

Dri. Sir, is there Mention made of ſo many Churches in the Scripture?

Gaſc. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this Word (Church) written in the Scripture?

Gaſc. It is written in the *New Teſtament.*

Dri. I pray you, Sir, ſhew the Place where it is written.

Gaſc. I cannot tell the Place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired him to look in his Teſtament: Then he fumbled and ſought about him for one; but at that Time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At laſt ſhe ſaid, Have ye none here, Sir?

Gaſc. No.

Dri. I thought ſo much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely you be a good Doctor. You ſay you ſit here to judge according to the Law, and how can you give Judgment, and have not the Book of the Law with you? At which Words *Gaſcoine* was out of Countenance, and asked her if ſhe had one.

No, ſaid ſhe.

Then, ſaid he, I am as good a Doctor as you.

Dri. Well, Sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt, if you could) and ſince would ye not ſuffer me to have any Book at all; ſo burning is your Charity. But you may well know that I have exerciſed the ſame; elſe could I not have anſwered you as I have. Thus ſhe put them all to Silence, that one looked on another, and had not a Word to ſpeak.

Dri. Have you no more to ſay? God be honoured. You be not able to reſiſt the Spirit of God in me poor Woman. I was an honeſt poor Man's Daughter, never brought up in the Univerſity as you have been, but I have driven the Plough before my Father many a Time; yet notwithſtanding in the Defence of God's Truth, and in the Cauſe of my Maſter Chriſt, by his Grace I will ſet my Foot againſt the Foot of any of you all, in the Maintenance and Defence of the ſame; and if I had a thouſand Lives, they ſhould go for Payment thereof. So the Chancellor roſe up, and read the Sentence of Condemnation in *Latin*, and committed her to the ſecular Power, and ſo ſhe went to Priſon again as joyful as the Bird of Day, praiſing and glorifying the Name of God.

Alexander Gouch, *Martyr.*

THIS *Alexander Gouch* was examined chiefly of the Sacrament and other Ceremonies of the popiſh Church. And for that his Belief was, that Chriſt was aſcended into Heaven, and there remaineth, and that the Sacrament was the Remembrance of his Death and Paſſion, and for refuſing the Maſs, and the Pope to be ſupreme Head of Chriſt's Church, for theſe Cauſes was he condemned, and died with *Alice Driver* at *Ipſwich*, the 4th of *November*, which was the *Monday* after *All-ſaints*, 1558. Dr. *Miles Spenſer* being Chancellor, they both ended their Lives with earneſt Zeal, nothing fearing to ſpeak their Conſcience when they were commanded to the contrary.

Theſe two Perſons being come to the Place where the Stake was ſet by ſeven of the Clock in the Morning, notwithſtanding they came the ſame Morning from *Melton* Goal, which is ſix Miles from *Ipſwich*, being in their Prayers, and ſinging of Pſalms both of them together, Sir *Henry Dowell* then being Sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the Bayliffs of *Ipſwich* to bid them make an end of Prayers, they kneeling upon a Broom-faggot, one of the Bayliffs, whoſe Name was *Richard Smart*, commanded them to make an end, ſaying, *On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the Stake*; yet they continued in Prayer.

Then Sir *Henry* ſent one of his Men, whoſe Name was *Richard Cove*, that they ſhould make an end.

Then *Gouch* ſtood up and ſaid unto the Sheriff, *I pray you Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little Time to live here.*

Then ſaid the Bayliff, *Come off, have them to the Fire.*

Then the ſaid *Gouch* and *Alice Driver* ſaid, *Why Maſter Sheriff, and Maſter Bayliff, will you not ſuffer us to pray?*

Away, ſaid Sir *Henry*, *to the Stake with them.*

Gouch anſwered, *Take Heed Mr. Sheriff, if you forbid Prayer, the Vengeance of God hangeth over your Heads.* Then they being tied to the Stake, and the Iron Chain being put about *Alice Driver*'s Neck, *O* (ſaid ſhe) *here is a goodly Neckerchief, bleſſed be God for it.*

Then divers came and took them by the Hands as they were bound ſtanding at the Stake. The Sheriff cried, *Lay Hands on them, lay Hands on them.* With that a great Number ran to the Stake. The Sheriff ſeeing that, let them all alone, ſo that there was not one taken.

The Perſecution and Martyrdom of Richard Sharpe, Thomas Banion, *and* Thomas Hale.

Richard Sharp, Weaver of *Briſtow*, was brought the ninth Day of *March* 1556, before Mr. *Dalby*, Chancellor of the Town or City of *Briſtow*, and after Examination concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, was perſuaded by the ſaid *Dalby* and others to recant; and the 29th of the ſame Month was enjoyned to make his Recantation before the Pariſhioners in his Pariſh-church. Which when he had done, he felt in his Conſcience ſuch a tormenting Hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his Occupation, but decayed and changed both in Colour and liking of his Body; who ſhortly after upon *Sunday* came into his Pariſh-church, called *Temple*, and after high Maſs came to the Quire-door, and ſaid with a loud Voice, Neighbours, bear me Record that yonder Idol (and pointed to the Altar) is the greateſt and moſt abominable that ever was; and I am ſorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the Conſtables were commanded to apprehend him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to go out of the Church. After, by Night he was apprehended and carried to *Newgate*, and ſhortly after he was brought before the Lord Chancellor, denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and ſaid, it was an Idol, and therefore was condemned to be burned by the ſaid *Dalby*. He was burnt the 7th of *May*, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the Articles of our Faith.

Thomas Hale, *Martyr.*

THE *Thurſday* Night before *Eaſter*, in the Year 1557, came one Mr. *David Harris*, Alderman, and *John Stone*, to the Houſe of one *Thomas Hale* a Shoemaker of *Briſtow*, and cauſed him to riſe out of his Bed, and brought him forth from his Door. To whom the ſaid *Thomas Hale* ſaid, You have ſought my Blood theſe two Years, and now much Good may it do you. He being committed to the Watchmen, was carry'd to *Newgate* the 24th of *April* in the Year aforeſaid, was brought before Mr. *Dalby* the Chancellor, committed by him to Priſon, and after by him condemned to be burnt for ſaying, The Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol. He was burnt the 7th Day of *May* with the aforeſaid *Richard Sharp*, patiently embracing the Fire with his Arms. They were both bound Back to Back.

Thomas Banion.

Thomas Banion a Weaver, at the Commandment of the Commiſſioners, was brought by a Conſtable, the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, 1557, before Mr. *Dalby* Chancellor of *Briſtow*, who committed him to Priſon for ſaying there was nothing but Bread in the Sacrament, as they uſed it. Wherefore, the 20th Day of *Auguſt* he was condemned by the ſaid *Dalby* to be burnt for denying five of their Sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm. He was burnt the 27th of the ſaid Month in the ſame Year, and died godly, conſtantly, and patiently, with confeſſing the Articles of our chriſtian Faith.

The Martyrdom of John Corneford *of* Wortham, Chriſtopher Brown *of* Maidſtone, John Herſt *of* Aſhford, Alice Snoth, Katherine Knight, *alias* Tynley, *an aged Woman.*

THeſe five were the laſt that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; who although they then might have either well ſpared them, or elſe deferred their Death, knowing of the Sickneſs of Queen *Mary*; yet ſuch was the implacable Spite of that Generation, that there be ſome that ſay, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* the ſame Time being at *London*, and underſtanding the Danger of the Queen, immediately made Poſt-haſte home to diſpatch theſe, whom he had before then in his cruel Cuſtody.

The Matter why they were adjudged to the Fire, was for believing the Body not to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, unleſs it be received; ſaying moreover, that we receive another Thing alſo beſides Chriſt's Body, which we ſee, and is a temporal Thing, according to St. *Paul*, *The Things that be ſeen, be temporal*, &c.

Item, For confeſſing that an evil Man doth not receive Chriſt's Body, *Becauſe no Man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.*

Item, That it is Idolatry to creep to the Croſs, and St. *John* forbidding it, ſaith, Beware of Images.

Item, For confeſſing that we ſhould not pray to our Lady, and other Saints, becauſe they be not omnipotent.

For theſe and other ſuch like Articles of chriſtian Doctrine, were theſe committed to the Fire. Againſt whom when the Sentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the Manner of the Papiſts, one of them, *John Corneford* by Name, ſtirred with a vehement Spirit of the Zeal of God, proceeding in a more true Excommunication againſt the Papiſts, in the Name of them all, pronounced Sentence againſt them in theſe Words as follow:

In the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the moſt mighty God, and by the Power of his Holy Spirit, and the Authority of his holy catholick and apoſtolick Church, we do here give into the Hands of Satan *to be deſtroyed, the Bodies of all thoſe Blaſphemers and Hereticks, that do maintain any Error againſt his moſt holy Word, or do condemn his moſt holy Truth for Hereſy, to the Maintenance of any falſe Church or feigned Religion, ſo that by this thy juſt Judgment, O moſt mighty God, againſt thy Adverſaries, thy true Religion may be known to thy great Glory and our Comfort, and to the edifying of all our Nation. Good Lord ſo be it,* Amen.

This Sentence of Excommunication being the ſame Time openly pronounced and regiſtred, proceeding ſo, as it ſeemeth, from an inward Faith and hearty Zeal to God's Truth and Religion, took ſuch Effect againſt the Enemy, that within ſix Days after Queen *Mary* died, and the Tyranny of all *Engliſh* Papiſts with her. Albeit, notwithſtanding the Sickneſs and Death of that Queen, whereof they were not ignorant, yet the Archdeacon, with others of *Canterbury*, thought to diſpatch the Martyrdom of theſe Men before.

In which Fact, the Tyranny of this Archdeacon ſeemeth to exceed the Cruelty of *Bonner*, who notwithſtanding he had ſome the ſame Time under his Cuſtody, yet he was not ſo importune in haling them to the Fire, as appeareth by Father *Lining* and his Wife, and divers others, who being the ſame Time under the Cuſtody of Biſhop *Bonner*, were delivered by the Death of Queen *Mary*.

Theſe godly Martyrs in their Prayer which they made before their Martyrdom, deſired God that their Blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed, and ſo it was.

This *Katherine Tynley* was the Mother of one *Robert Tynley*, dwelling in *Maidſtone*, which *Robert* was in Trouble all Queen *Mary*'s Time. To whom his Mother coming to viſit him, asked him how he took this Place of Scripture which ſhe had ſeen, not by reading of the Scripture (for ſhe had yet in Manner no Taſte of Religion) but had found it by Chance in a Book of Prayers, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Fleſh, and your Sons and your Daughters ſhall propheſy; your old Men ſhall dream Dreams, and your young Men ſhall ſee Viſions. And alſo upon the Servants and upon the Maids in thoſe Days will I pour my Spirit*, &c. Which Place, after that he had expounded to her, ſhe began to take hold on the Goſpel, growing more and more in Zeal and Love thereof, and ſo continued unto her Martyrdom.

The Hiſtory and Condemnation of John Hunt *and* Richard White, *who eſcaped the Fire by the Death of Queen* Mary.

BEſides theſe Martyrs above-named, there were ſeveral others impriſoned in divers Parts of the Realm; in the Number of whom was one *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, impriſoned at *Salisbury*. Touching which Hiſtory ſomething here is to be ſhewed.

Theſe two good Men, remained a long Time in Priſon at *Salisbury*, and other Places thereabouts, the Space of two Years and more. During which Time, oftentimes they were called to Examination, and manifold Ways was impugned by the Biſhops and Prieſts. All whoſe Examinations, as I thought not much needful here to inſert for the Length of the Volume; ſo neither again did I think it good to take no Notice at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſs, namely of the Examination of *Richard White* before the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, with the Chancellor and other Prieſts.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury* at that Time was Dr. *Capon*. The Biſhop of *Glouceſter* was Dr. *Brookes*. Theſe with Dr. *Geffery* the Chancellor of *Salisbury*, and a great Number of Prieſts ſitting in Judgment, *Richard White* was brought before them. With whom firſt the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, who had the Examination of him began thus.

Brookes. Is this the Priſoner?

Chancellor. Yea, my Lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherefore cameſt thou hither?

White. My Lord, I truſt to know the Cauſe: For the Law ſaith, In the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes Things muſt ſtand.

Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy Faith when thou cameſt hither?

White. No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the *Lollard's Tower*, and that no Man ſhould ſpeak with me. And now I do require mine Accuſer.

Then the Regiſter ſaid, The Mayor of *Marlborough* apprehended you for Words that you ſpake there; and for that I commanded you to be convey'd hither to Priſon.

White. You had the Examination of me in *Marlborough*. Say what I have ſaid. And I will anſwer you.

Chancellor. Thou ſhalt confeſs thy Faith e're thou depart; and therefore ſay thy Mind freely, and be not aſhamed ſo to do.

White. I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, be-

cauſe it is the Power of God to Salvation unto all that believe: And St. *Peter* ſaith, *If any Man do ask thee a Reaſon of the Hope that is in thee, make him a direct Anſwer and that with Meekneſs.* Who ſhall have the Examination of me?

Chancellor. My Lord of *Glouceſter* ſhall have the Examination of thee.

White. My Lord, will you take the Pains to wet your Coat in my Blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you before-hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our Law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you do requeſt at my Hands?

Brookes. I will poſe thee upon certain Articles, and principally upon the Sacrament of the Altar: How doſt thou believe of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Believeſt thou not the real, carnal, and corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, even the very ſame Chriſt that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was hanged on the Croſs, that ſuffered for our Sins? (and at theſe Words they all put off their Caps, and bowed their Bodies.)

White. My Lord, what is a Sacrament?

Brookes. It is the Thing itſelf the which it repreſenteth.

White. That cannot be; for he that repreſenteth a Prince cannot be the Prince himſelf.

Brookes. How many Sacraments findeſt thou in the Scriptures called by the Name of Sacraments?

White. I find two Sacraments in the Scriptures; but not called by the Names of Sacraments. But I think St. *Auguſtin* gave them the firſt Name of Sacraments.

Brookes. Then thou findeſt not that Word Sacrament in the Scriptures.

White. No, my Lord.

Brookes. Did not Chriſt ſay, This is my Body, and are not his Words true?

White. I am ſure the Words are true; but you play by me as the Devil did by Chriſt: For he ſaid, *If thou be*, &c. *Matt.* 4. *For it is*, &c. *Pſal.* 91. But the Words that followed after be clean left out, which are theſe: *Thou ſhalt walk on the Lion and the Aſp*, &c. Theſe Words the Devil left out, becauſe they were ſpoke againſt himſelf; and even ſo do you recite the Scriptures.

Brookes. Declare thy Faith upon the Sacrament.

White. Chriſt and his Sacraments are alike, becauſe of the Natures; for in Chriſt are two Natures, a divine and an human Nature; ſo likewiſe in the Sacraments of Chriſt's Body and Blood there be two Natures, which I divide into two Parts, that is, external and internal. The external Part is the Element of Bread and Wine, according to the Saying of St. *Auguſtine.* The internal Part is the inviſible Grace, which by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an external receiving of the ſame Sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the Hand, the Eye, the Mouth, and the Ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghoſt in the Heart, which worketh in me Faith; whereby I apprehend all the Merits of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly unto my Salvation. If this be the Truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. *Hoskins.* This is *Oecolampadius*'s Doctrine, and *Hooper* taught it the People.

Brookes. Doſt thou not believe, that after the Words of Conſecration there is the natural Preſence of Chriſt's Body?

White. My Lord, I will anſwer you if you will anſwer me to one Queſtion. Is not this Article of our Belief true; *He ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty:* If he be come from thence to Judgment, ſay ſo.

Brookes. No. But if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Chriſt was both in Heaven and in Earth at one Time.

White. As he is God he is in all Places; but as for his Manhood, he is but in one Place.

Brookes. St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 15. *Laſt of all he was ſeen of me*, &c. Here St. *Paul* ſaith he ſaw Chriſt, and St. *Paul* was not in Heaven.

White. St. *Paul*'s chief Purpoſe was by this Place to prove the Reſurrection. But how do you prove that Chriſt, when he appeared to St. *Paul*, was not ſtill in Heaven; like as he was ſeen of *Stephen*, ſitting at the right Hand of God? St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, the Head that was in Heaven, did cry for the Body and Members which were on the Earth, and ſaid, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* And was not *Paul* taken up into the third Heaven, where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth, 1 *Cor.* 15. For there he doth but only ſay he ſaw Chriſt, but concerning the Place he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherefore this Place of Scripture proveth not that Chriſt was both in Heaven and Earth at one Time.

Brookes. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three Opinions, the *Lutherans*, the *Œcolampadians*, and we the *Catholicks.* If you the *Œcolampadians* have the Truth, then the *Lutherans* and we the Catholicks be out of the Way. If the *Lutherans* have the Truth, then you the *Œcolampadians* and we the *Catholicks* be out of the Way. But if we the *Catholicks* have the Truth, as we have indeed, then the *Lutherans* and you the *Œcolampadians* are out of the Way, as you are indeed, for the *Lutherans* do call you Hereticks.

White. My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brookes. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remove him from his Error? Away with him to the *Lollard's Tower*, and diſpatch him as ſoon as ye can.

This was the Effect of my firſt Examination. More Examinations I had after this, which I have no Time now to recite.

Amongſt many other Examinations of the aforeſaid *Richard White*, it happen'd one Time, that Dr. *Blackſtone* Chancellor of *Exeter* ſate upon him, with divers others, who alledging certain Doctors, as *Chryſoſtom*, *Cyprian*, *Tertullian*, againſt the ſaid *Richard White*, and being reproved by him for his falſe patching of the Doctors, fell into ſuch a Trembling and Shaking, (his Conſcience belike accuſing him) that he was fain, ſtooping down, to lay both his Hands upon his Knees to ſtay his Body from Trembling.

Then the ſaid *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, after many Examinations and long Captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. *Geffery* the Biſhop's Chancellor, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The High-Sheriff at that preſent was Sir *Anthony Hungerford*, who being then at the Seſſions, was there charged with theſe two condemned Perſons, with other Malefactors there condemned likewiſe the ſame Time, to ſee them put to Death.

In the mean Time Mr. *Clifford* of *Boſco* in *Wiltſhire*, Son-in-law to the ſaid Sir *Anthony Hungerford* the Sheriff, came to his Father, exhorting and counſelling him in no Caſe to meddle with the Death of theſe two innocent Perſons; and if the Chancellor and Prieſts would needs be inſtant upon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the Writ to be ſent down *De comburendo* for his Diſcharge.

Sir *Anthony Hungerford* hearing this, and underſtanding Juſtice *Brown* to be in the Town the ſame Time, went to him to ask his Advice and Counſel in the Matter, who told him that without the Writ ſent down from the ſuperior Powers, he could not be diſcharged, and if the Writ were ſent, then he muſt by the Law do his Charge.

The Sheriff underſtanding by Juſtice *Brown* how far he might go by Law, and having at that Time no Writ for his Warrant, let them alone, and the next Day after taking his Horſe departed.

The

The Chancellor all this while marvelling what the Sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was rid away, took his Horse and rid after him; who at length overtaking the Sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned Prisoners to his Hand, whose Duty had been to have seen Execution done, the Matter, he said, was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would answer the Matter.

The Sheriff hearing the Chancellor's Words, and seeing him so urging upon him, told him again that he was no Babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any Writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those Men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, saith the Chancellor, did not I give you a Writ, with my Hand and eight more of the Close set unto the same? Well, quoth the Sheriff, that is no sufficient Discharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if ye have a sufficient Writ and Warrant from the superior Powers, I know then what I have to do in my Office; otherwise, if you have no other Writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all, *&c.* After which Words, Dr. *Geffrey* the Chancellor went home, and soon after fell sick.

The Under-Sheriff to this Sir *Anthony Hungerford* above-named, was one Mr. *Michell*, a good Man. So that not long after this came down the Writ to burn the above-named *Richard White*, and *John Hunt*, but the Under-Sheriff receiving the said Writ, said, I will not be guilty of these Mens Blood, and immediately burnt the Writing, and departed his Way. Within four Days after the Chancellor died.

Richard White and *John Hunt*, after the Death of the Chancellor, the Bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in Prison till the happy coming in of Queen *Elizabeth:* and so were at Liberty.

The Martyrdom of a young Lad of eight Years old, scourged to Death in Bishop Bonner's *House in* London.

AMongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the Profession of Christ's Gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the Providence of God, there was one *John Fetty*, a godly poor Man, dwelling in the Parish of *Clarkenwel*, and was by Vocation a Taylor, of the Age of twenty four Years or thereabouts, who was accused and complained of unto one *Brokenbury* a Parson of the same Parish, by his own Wife, because he would not come unto the Church, and be Partaker of their Superstition; and therefore, through the said Priest's Procurement, he was apprehended by *Richard Tanner* and his fellow Constables there, and one *Martin* the Headborough. Howbeit, immediately upon his Apprehension, his Wife (by the just Judgment of God) was stricken Mad, and distract of her Wits, which declared a marvellous Example of the Justice of God against such unnatural Treachery. And although this Example perhaps for lack of Knowledge and Instruction in such Cases little moved the Consciences of those simple poor Men to cease their Persecution; yet natural Pity towards that ungrateful Woman wrought so in their Hearts, that for the Preservation and Support of her and her two Children (like otherwise to perish) they for that present let her Husband alone, and would not carry him to Prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own House. During which Time, he as it were forgetting the unkind Fact of his Wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the Space of three Weeks (through God's merciful Providence) she was well amended, and had recovered again some Stay of her Senses.

But such was the Power of Satan in the malicious Heart of that wicked Woman, that notwithstanding his gentle Dealing with her, yet so soon as she had recovered some Health she did again accuse her Husband; whereupon he was a second Time apprehended, and carried unto Sir *John Mordant*, Knight, one of the Queen's Commissioners, and he upon Examination sent him by *Cluny*, the Bishop's Sumner, unto the *Lollard's Tower:* Where he was put into the painful Stocks, and had a Dish of Water set him, with a Stone put into it. To what Purpose God knoweth, except it were to shew that he should look for little other Sustenance.

After the aforesaid *John Fetty* had thus lain in Prison by the Space of fifteen Days, hanging in the Stocks, sometimes by one Leg and one Arm, sometimes by the other, and sometimes by both, it happened that one of his Children (a Boy of the Age of eight or nine Years) came unto the Bishop's House to see if he could get Leave to speak with his Father. At his coming thither, one of the Bishop's Chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked, and whom he would have. The Child answered, that he came to see his Father. The Chaplain asked again who was his Father. The Boy then told him, and pointing towards *Lollard's Tower*, shewed him that his Father was there in Prison. Why, said the Priest, thy Father is an Heretick: The Child being of a bold and quick Spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his Father in the Knowledge of God, answered and said; my Father is no Heretick; for you have *Balaam*'s Mark.

With that the Priest took the Child by the Hand, and carried him into the Bishop's House, and there amongst them they did most shamefully and without all Pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender Child, that he was all in a gore Blood, and then in jolly Bragg of their catholick Tyranny, they caused *Cluny*, having his Coat upon his Arm, to carry the Child in his Shirt unto his Father being in Prison, the Blood running down his Heels.

At his coming unto his Father, the Child fell down upon his Knees, and asked his Blessing. The poor Man then beholding his Child, and seeing him so cruelly arayed, cried out for Sorrow, and said; alas *Will*, who hath done this to thee? the Boy answered, that as he was seeking how to come to see his Father, a Priest with *Balaam*'s Mark took him into the Bishop's House, and there was he so handled. *Cluny* therewith violently plucked the Child away out of his Father's Hands, and carried him back again into the Bishop's House, where they kept him three Days after.

And at three Days end, *Bonner* (minding to make the Matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor Man, for this their horrible Fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in the Morning to be brought out of *Lollard's Tower* into his Bed-chamber, where he found the Bishop bathing of himself against a great Fire; and at his first entring into the Chamber, *Fetty* said, God be here, and Peace. God be here and Peace, said *Bonner*; that is neither God speed, nor good Morrow. If ye kick against this Peace (said *Fetty*) then this is not the Place that I seek for.

A Chaplain of the Bishop's standing by, turn'd the poor Man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking wise: What have we here, a Player? whilst *Fetty* was thus standing in the Bishop's Chamber, he espied hanging about the Bishop's Bed a great pair of black Beads; whereupon he said, my Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off; for the Halter, pointing

The manner of carrying Nicholas Burton through the City of London to the Clerke of the Counsell

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to the Beads, is here already. At which Words the Biſhop was in a marvellous Rage.

Then he immediately after eſpied alſo ſtanding in the ſaid Biſhop's Chamber in the Window a little Crucifix. Then he asked the Biſhop what it was; and he anſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, ſaid *Fetty?*

Yea, that he was, ſaid the Biſhop.

And even ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you: For you are unto God's People as *Caiaphas* was unto Chriſt.

The Biſhop being in a great Fury, ſaid, Thou art a vile Heretick, and I will burn thee, or elſe I will ſpend all that I have unto my Gown.

Nay, my Lord, ſaid *Fetty*, ye were better to give it to ſome poor Body, that he may pray for you. But yet *Bonner* bethinking himſelf of the Danger that the Child was in by their whipping, and what Peril might enſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him; which Thing was accompliſhed.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch like Talk, the Biſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his Child with him; which he did, and that with a heavy Heart to ſee his poor Boy in ſuch extream Pain and Grief. But within fourteen Days after the Child died, whether through his cruel Scourging, or any other Infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the Truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all Secrets.

The cruel handling of Nicholas Burton, *an* Engliſh *Merchant in* Spain.

I Think it not amiſs in this Place to mention the Story of *Nicholas Burton*, being ſuch as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the Example of his ſingular Conſtancy, as alſo for the noting of the extream Dealing and cruel Revenge of thoſe catholick Inquiſitors of *Spain*, who under the pretenſed Viſor of Religion, do nothing but ſeek their own private Gain and Advantage, with crafty rifling and ſpoiling of other Mens Goods, as by this Story may appear.

The fifth Day of *November*, about the Year of our Lord 1560, this *Nicholas Burton*, Citizen ſometime of *London*, and Merchant, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Little Saint Bartholomew*, peaceably and quietly following his Traffick in the Trade of Merchandiſe, and being in the City of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, there came into his Lodging a *Judas* (or, as they term them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquiſition. Who asking for the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*, feigned that he had a Letter to deliver to his own Hands; by which Means he ſpake with him immediately. And having no Letter to deliver to him, then the ſaid Promoter or Familiar, at the Motion of the Devil his Maſter, whoſe Meſſenger he was, invented another Lie, and ſaid, that he would take Lading for *London* in ſuch Ships as the ſaid *Nicholas Burton* had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his Goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to protract the Time until the Serjeant of the Inquiſition might come and apprehend the Body of the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*; which they did incontinently.

Who then well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoke, or done any Thing there in that Country againſt the eccleſiaſtical or temporal Laws of the ſame Realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his Charge that they did ſo arreſt him, and bade them to declare the Cauſe, and he would anſwer them. Notwithſtanding they anſwered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatning Words to hold his Peace, and not to ſpeak one Word to them. And ſo they carried him to the filthy common Priſon of the Town of *Cadiz*, where he remained in Irons fourteen Days amongſt Thieves.

All which Time he ſo inſtructed the poor Priſoners in the Word of God, according to the good Talent which God had given him in that Behalf, and alſo in the *Spaniſh* Tongue to utter the ſame, that in ſhort Space he had well reclaimed ſeveral of thoſe ſuperſtitious *Spaniards* to embrace the Word of God, and to reject their popiſh Traditions.

Which being known unto the Officers of the Inquiſition, they conveyed him laden with Irons from thence to a City called *Sevil*, into a more cruel and ſtraiter Priſon, where the ſaid Fathers of the Inquiſition proceeded againſt him ſecretly according to their cruel Tyranny, that never after he could be ſuffered to write or to ſpeak to any of his Nation; ſo that to this Day it is unknown who was his Accuſer.

Afterward, the 20th of *December*, they brought the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*, with a great Number of other Priſoners, for profeſſing the true Chriſtian Religion, into the City of *Sevil*, to a Place where the ſaid Inquiſitors ſate in Judgment, which they call'd *Auto*, with a Canvas Coat, whereupon in divers Parts was painted the Figure of a huge Devil, tormenting a Soul in a Flame of Fire, and on his Head a copping Tank of the ſame Work.

His Tongue was forced out of his Mouth with a cloven Stick faſtened upon it, that he ſhould not utter his Conſcience and Faith to the People, and ſo he was ſet with another *Engliſhman* of *Southampton*, and divers other condemned Men for Religion, as well *Frenchmen*, as *Spaniards*, upon a Scaffold over-againſt the ſaid Inquiſition, where their Sentences and Judgments were read and pronounced againſt them.

And immediately after the ſaid Sentences given, they were carried from thence to the Place of Execution without the City, where they moſt cruelly burned him, for whoſe conſtant Faith, God be praiſed.

This *Nicholas Burton* by the way, and in the Flames of Fire had ſo chearful a Countenance, embracing Death with all Patience and Gladneſs, that the Tormentors and Enemies which ſtood by, ſaid, that the Devil had his Soul before he came to the Fire; and therefore they ſaid his Senſes of feeling were paſt him.

A Treatiſe concerning thoſe that were ſcourged by the Papiſts for the Cauſe of the Goſpel.

AFter this bloody Slaughter of God's Servants thus diſcuſſed, let us now proceed to treat of ſuch as for the ſame Cauſe of Religion have been, though not put to Death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the Enemies of God's Word, firſt beginning with *Richard Wilmot* and *Thomas Fairfax*, who about the Time of *Anne Askew*, were miſerably rent and tormented with Scourges and Stripes, for their faithful ſtanding to Chriſt and his Truth.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot *and* Thomas Fairfax.

AFter the firſt Recantation of Dr. *Crome* for his Sermon which he made the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent* at St. *Thomas Acres*, being the Mercer's Chapel, his Sermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame Day, written in the tenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; wherein he very learnedly proved by the ſame Place of Scripture and

others, that Chriſt was the only and ſufficient Sacrifice unto God the Father for the Sins of the whole World, and that there was no more Sacrifice to be offered for Sin by the Prieſts, foraſmuch as Chriſt had offered his Body on the Croſs, and ſhed his Blood for the Sins of the People, and that once for all. For which Sermon he was apprehended by *Bonner*, and brought before *Stephen Gardner* and others of the Council, where he promiſed to recant his Doctrine at *Paul*'s Croſs, the ſecond *Sunday* after *Eaſter*. And accordingly he was there and preached, *Bonner* with all his Doctors ſitting before him: But he ſo preached and handled his Matter, that he rather verify'd his former Saying, than deny'd any part of that which he before had preached. For which the Proteſtants praiſed God, and heartily rejoiced.

Biſhop *Bonner* and his Champions were not at all pleaſed therewith, but yet notwithſtanding they took him home with them, and was ſo handled among the wolfiſh Generation, that they made him come to the Croſs again the next *Sunday*.

And becauſe the Magiſtrates ſhould now hear him, and be witneſs of this Recantation which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſt's Sacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent Sinners, and to ſay that the Sacrifice of the Maſs was good, godly, and an holy Sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the Quick and the Dead: Becauſe (I ſay) that they would have the Nobles to hear this blaſphemous Doctrine, the viperous Generation procured all the Chief of the Council to be there preſent.

Now to come to our Matter; at this Time, the ſame Week, between his firſt Sermon and the laſt, and while Dr. *Crome* was in Durance, one *Richard Wilmot* being Apprentice in *Bow-lane*, of the Age of 18 Years, and ſitting at work in his Maſter's Shop, in the Month of *July*, one *Lewis* a *Welchman*, being one of the Guard, came into the Shop, having Things to do for himſelf.

One asked him what News at the Court, and he anſwered, that the old Heretick Dr. *Crome* had recanted now indeed before the Council, and that he ſhould on *Sunday* next be at *Paul*'s Croſs again, and there declare it.

Then *Wilmot* ſitting at his Maſter's Work, and hearing him ſpeak theſe Words, and rejoycing in the ſame, began to ſpeak unto him, ſaying, that he was ſorry to hear this News: For (ſaid he) if *Crome* ſhould ſay otherwiſe than he hath ſaid, then it is contrary to the Truth of God's Word, and contrary to his own Conſcience, which ſhall before God accuſe him.

Lewis anſwered and ſaid, that he had preached and taught Hereſy; and therefore it was meet that he ſhould in ſuch a Place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he hear him preach any Doctrine contrary to God's written Word, but that he proved his Doctrine, and that ſufficiently, by the Scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot anſwered, By the Scriptures of God, wherein he ſhall find God's Will and Pleaſure, what he willeth all Men to do, and what not to do; and alſo by them he ſhould prove and try all Doctrines, and the falſe Doctrine from the true.

Lewis ſaid, it was never well ſince the Bible was tranſlated into *Engliſh*: And that he was both an Heretick and a Traitor that cauſed it to be tranſlated into *Engliſh* (meaning *Cromwel*) and therefore was rewarded according to his Deſerts.

Wilmot anſwered again, What his Deſerts and Offences were to his Prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any Force whether they do or no; once, he was ſure that he loſt his Life for offending his Prince, and the Law did put it in Execution; adding moreover, concerning that Man, that he thought it pleaſed God to raiſe him from a low Eſtate, and to place him in high Authority, partly unto this, that he ſhould do that which all the Biſhops in the Realm yet never did, in reſtoring again God's holy Word, which being hid long before from the People in a ſtrange Tongue, and now coming abroad amongſt us, will bring our Biſhops and Prieſts, ſaid he, in leſs Eſtimation among the People.

Lewis asked why ſo?

Wilmot ſaid, Becauſe their Doctrine and Living is not agreeable to his Word.

Then ſaid *Lewis*, I never heard but that all Men ſhould learn of the Biſhops and Prieſts, becauſe they are learned Men, and have been brought up in Learning all the Days of their Lives. Wherefore they muſt needs know the Truth, and our Fathers did believe their Doctrine and Learning, and I think they did well, for the World was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot anſwered, I will not ſay ſo: For we muſt not believe them becauſe they are Biſhops, neither becauſe they be learned, neither becauſe our Forefathers did follow their Doctrine. For I have read in God's Book, how that Biſhops and learned Men have taught the People falſe Doctrine, and likewiſe the Prieſts from time to time, and indeed thoſe People our Forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, ſo thought the People. But for all this Chriſt calleth them falſe Prophets, Thieves, and Murderers, blind Leaders of the Blind, willing the People to take Heed of them, leſt they ſhould both fall into the Ditch.

Moreover we read, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and learned Men have been commonly Reſiſters of the Truth from time to time, and have always perſecuted the Prophets in the old Law, as their Succeſſors did perſecute our Saviour Chriſt and his Diſciples in the new Law. We muſt take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our Forefathers otherwiſe than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all People, as well to Kings and Princes, as Biſhops, Prieſts, learned and unlearned Men, a Commandment and Law, unto which he willeth all Men to be obedient. Therefore if any Biſhop or Prieſt preach or teach, or Prince or Magiſtrate command any Thing contrary to his Commandment, we muſt take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than Man.

Marry, Sir, quoth *Lewis*, you are an holy Doctor indeed. By God's Blood, if you were my Man, I would ſet you about your Buſineſs a little better, and not ſuffer you to look upon Books, and ſo would your Maſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his Maſter, and a young Man with him, who was a Servant to Mr. *Daubney* in *Watling-ſtreet*.

His Maſter asked him what the Matter was.

Lewis ſaid, that he had a knaviſh Boy here to his Servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his Houſe.

Then his Maſter being ſomewhat moved, asked his Fellows what the Matter was.

They ſaid, they began to talk about Dr. *Crome*.

Then his Maſter asked what he had ſaid, ſwearing a great Oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He ſaid, that he truſted he had ſaid nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. *Lewis* might juſtly be offended. I pray (quoth *Wilmot*) ask him what I ſaid.

Marry (ſaid *Lewis*) this he ſaid, That Dr. *Crome* did preach and teach nothing but the Truth, and how that if he recanted on *Sunday* next, he ſhould be ſorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it againſt his Conſcience. And more he ſaith, that we muſt not follow our Biſhops Doctrine and Preaching: For, ſaith he, they be Hinderers of God's Word, and Perſecutors of that; and how *Cromwel* (that Traytor) did more Good in ſetting forth the Bible, than

all

all our Biſhops have done theſe hundred Years: Thus reporting the Matter worſe than it really was.

His Maſter hearing this, was in a great Fury, and rated him, ſaying, that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearing that he would take away all his Books and burn them.

The young Man (Mr. *Daubney*'s Servant) ſtanding by hearing this, began to ſpeak on his Part unto *Lewis*; and his Talk confirmed all the Sayings of the other to be true.

This young Man was learned, his Name was *Thomas Fairfax*. *Lewis* hearing this Man's Talk as well as the other's, went his Way in a Rage to the Court.

On the Morrow they heard News, that the ſaid *Wilmot* and *Fairfax* were ſent for to come to the Lord Mayor. The Meſſenger was Mr. *Smart* the Sword-Bearer of *London*. They came before Dinner to the Mayor's Houſe, and were commanded to ſit down at Dinner in the Hall; and when Dinner was done, they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Sir *Roger Cholmley* was, who examined them ſeverally, the one not hearing the other.

The Effect of their Talk was this; Sir *Roger Cholmley* ſaid to *Wilmot*, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a Commandment from the Council, to ſend for him and his Company, and to examine them of certain Things which were laid to their Charge.

Then ſaid Mr. *Cholmley* to him, Sirrah, what Countryman art thou? He anſwered, that he was born in *Cambridgeſhire*, and in ſuch a Town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the City. He told him. Then he asked what Learning he had. He ſaid, little Learning and ſmall Knowledge. Then (deridingly) he asked how long he had known Dr. *Crome*. He ſaid, about two Years. Then he call'd him a lying Boy, and ſaid that he (the ſaid *Wilmot*) was his Son.

The other ſaid unto him, that was unlike, for that he never ſaw his Mother, nor ſhe him. *Cholmley* ſaid he lied. *Wilmot* ſaid he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his Sermon that he made at St. *Thomas Acres* Chappel in Lent. He ſaid that indeed he heard him not. He ſaid yes, and the other nay. Then ſaid he, what ſay you to his Sermon made at the *Croſs* the laſt Day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceived a great Number of People.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he ſhould have recanted his Doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea, Sir, but how ſay you now to him? for he hath recanted before the Council; and hath promiſed on *Sunday* next to be at the *Croſs* again: How think ye in that?

Wilmot. If he ſo did, I am the more ſorry to hear it; and ſaid, he thought he did it for Fear and Safeguard of his Life.

Cholmley. But what ſay you? Was his firſt Sermon Hereſy or not?

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no Hereſy. For if it were, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was Hereſy, and *Paul* an Heretick that preached ſuch Doctrine, but God forbid that any Chriſtian Man ſhould ſo think of the holy Apoſtle; neither do I ſo think.

Cholmley. Why, how knoweſt thou that St. *Paul* wrote thoſe Things that are in *Engliſh* now, to be true, whereas *Paul* never wrote *Engliſh* or *Latin?*

Wilmot. I am certified that learned Men of God, that did ſeek to advance his Word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the *Greek* and *Hebrew* into *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the Senſe of the Scripture of God, and laſt Will and Teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Lord Mayor, being in a great Fury, asked him what he had to do to read ſuch Books, and ſaid, that it was Pity that his Maſter did ſuffer him ſo to do, and that he was not ſet better to Work; and in fine ſaid unto him, that he had ſpoken Evil of my Lord of *Wincheſter* and Biſhop *Bonner*, thoſe reverend and learned Fathers and Counſellors of this Realm, for which his Fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as was due to the ſame. And Mr. *Cholmley* ſaid, yea, my Lord, there are ſuch a Sort of Hereticks and traitorly Knaves taken now in *Eſſex* by my Lord *Rich*, that it is too wonderful to hear. They ſhall be ſent to the Biſhop ſhortly, and ſhall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am ſorry to hear that of my Lord *Rich*, for that he was my Godfather, and gave me my Name at my Baptiſm.

Cholmley asked him when he ſpake with him. He ſaid not theſe twelve Years.

Cholmley. If he knew that you were ſuch a one, he would do the like by you, and in ſo doing he ſhould do God great Service.

Wilmot. I have read the ſame Saying in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, *The Time ſhall come*, ſaith he, *that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he ſhall do God good Service.*

Well Sir, ſaid *Cholmley*, becauſe you are ſo full of your Scripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lack a quiet Place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall go to a Place where you ſhall be moſt quiet, and I would wiſh you to ſtudy how you will anſwer to the Council of thoſe Things which they have to charge you with, for elſe it is like to coſt you your beſt Joynt. I know my Lord of *Wincheſter* will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the Officer called in to have him to the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, and the other to the other *Compter*, not one of them to ſee another; and thus they remained eight Days. In which Time their Maſters made great Suit to the Lord-Mayor, and to Sir *Roger Chomley*, to know their Offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the Wardens of the Company of *Drapers* to labour with them in their Suit to the Mayor. The Mayor went with them to the Council: But at that Time they could find no Grace at *Wincheſter*'s Hand, and Sir *Anthony Browne*'s, but that they had deſerved Death, and that they ſhould have the Law.

At length, through much Intreaty, he granted them this Favour, that they ſhould not die as they had deſerved, but ſhould be tied to a Cart's Tail, and be whipped three Market-Days through the City. Thus they came Home that Day, and went another Day, and the Maſter and Wardens of the Company petition'd on their Knees to have this open Puniſhment releaſed, forſomuch as they were Servants of ſo worſhipful a Company, and that they might be puniſhed in their own Hall before the Wardens and certain of the Company, which at length was granted.

The next Day they appear'd before the Maſters in the Hall, their own Maſters being preſent, where they were charged with Hereſy and Treaſon, for which, they were told, they deſerved Death, and this was declared with a long Proceſs by Mr. *Brookes* the Maſter of the Company, declaring what great Labour and Suit the Mayor and Wardens had made for them, to ſave them from Death, which they (as he ſaid) had deſerved, and from open Shame, which they ſhould have had, being judged by the Council to have been whipped three Days through the City at a Cart's Tail, and from theſe two Dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great Trouble and Charge. For (ſaid he) the Company hath promiſed to the Council for this their Mercy towards them, an hundred Pounds, notwithſtanding we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our Hall within ourſelves for thoſe their Offences. After theſe and many other Words,

Words, he commanded them to prepare themſelves to receive their Puniſhment.

Then they were put aſunder, and ſtripped from the Waſte upward one after another, and had into the midſt of the Hall, where they were wont to make their Fire, there was a great Ring of Iron, to which there was a Rope tied faſt, and one of their Feet ty'd faſt to that.

Then came down two Men diſguiſed in Mummer's Apparel, with Viſors on their Faces, and they beat them with great Rods till the Blood flow'd out of their Bodies. As for *Wilmot*, he could not lie in his Bed for ſix Nights after, for *Brookes* play'd the Tyrant with them; ſo that with the Pain and Fear, they were never in Health afterwards, as the ſaid *Wilmot* with his own Mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no leſs than teſtify the ſame.

The Scourging of Thomas Green, *Printer, written by his own Hand.*

IN the Reign of Queen *Mary*, I *Thomas Green* being brought before Dr. *Story* by my Maſter, whoſe Name is *John Wayland* a Printer, for a Book called *Antichriſt*, which had been diſtributed to certain honeſt Men; he asked me where I had the Book, and ſaid I was a Traytor. I told him I had the Book of a *Frenchman*. Then he asked me more Queſtions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he ſaid, it was no Hereſy, but Treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and ſo he called for *Cluny*, the Keeper of the *Lollard's-Tower*, and bade him ſet me faſt in the Stocks.

I was not in the *Lollard's-Tower* two Hours, but *Cluny* came and took me out, and carried me to the Coal-houſe, and there I found a *Frenchman* lying in the Stocks, and he took him out, and put a Bolt and a Fetter on my right Leg, and another on my left Hand, and ſo he ſet me croſs fettered in the Stocks, and took the *Frenchman* away with him, and there I lay a Day and a Night. On the Morrow after, he came and ſaid, let us ſhift your Hand and your Leg, becauſe you ſhall not be lame; and he made as tho' he pitied me, and ſaid, tell me the Truth and I will be your Friend.

And I ſaid, I had told the Truth, and could tell no otherwiſe. Then he put only my Leg in the Stocks, and ſo went his Way, and there I remained ſix Days, and could come to no Anſwer.

Then Dr. *Story* ſent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the Truth, where I had the Book. I ſaid I had told him, of a *Frenchman*. He asked me where I came acquainted with the *Frenchman*, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the Book. I ſaid, I came acquainted with him in *Newgate*, I coming to my Friends which were put in for God's Word and Truth's Sake, and the *Frenchman* coming to his Friends alſo, there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our Friends in the Fear of God.

Then *Story* ſcoffed at me and ſaid, then there was, Brother in Chriſt, and Brother in Chriſt, and reviled me, and called me an Heretick, and asked me if I had the Book of him in *Newgate*. I ſaid no, and I told him, as I went on my Buſineſs in the Street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him alſo; ſo falling into Diſcourſe, he ſhewed me that Book, and I deſired him that he would let me have it.

In this Examination *Story* ſaid, it was a great Book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he ſaid, I was a Thief, and had ſtolen my Maſter's Money. And I ſaid, a little Money ſerved, for I gave him but four-pence, but I promiſed him, that at our next Meeting I would give twelve-pence more. And he ſaid, that was boldly done, for ſuch a Book as ſpake both Treaſon and Hereſy.

Then *Story* required me to bring him two Sureties, and watch for him that I had the Book of, and I ſhould have no Harm. I made him Anſwer, I would bring no Sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then ſaid he, this is but a Lie, and ſo called for *Cluny*, and bade him lay me faſt in the Cole-houſe, ſaying, he would make me tell another Tale at my next coming: And ſo I lay in the Stocks Day and Night, but only when I eat my Meat, and there remained ten Days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. *Story* ſent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the Truth. I ſaid, I neither could nor would tell him any other Truth than I had done already. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought which I took to be Priſoners.

Then Mrs. *Story* fell in a Rage, and ſware a great Oath, that it were a good Deed to put a hundred or two of theſe heretick Knaves in an Houſe, and I myſelf (ſaid ſhe) would ſet it on Fire. So I was committed to Priſon again, where I remained fourteen Days, and came to no Anſwer.

Then *Story* ſent for me again, and called me into the Garden, where I found with him my Lord of *Windſor*'s Chaplain, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had ſaid and done. They ſaid, the Book was a wondrous evil Book, and had both Treaſon and Hereſy in it. Then they asked me what I ſaid of the Book. And I ſaid, I knew no Evil by it.

At which Words *Story* chafed, and ſaid he would hang me up by the Hands with a Rope, and ſaid alſo he would cut out my Tongue, and mine Ears alſo from my Head. After this they alledged two or three Things unto me out of the Book. And I anſwered, I had not read the Book throughout, and therefore I could give no Judgment of it.

Then my Lord of *Windſor*'s Chaplain and the other two Gentlemen took me aſide, and intreated me very gently, ſaying, Tell us where you had the Book, and of whom, and I will ſave you harmleſs. I made them Anſwer, that I had told all I could to Doctor *Story*, and began to tell it them again: But they ſaid, they knew that already; ſo they left that Talk, and went again with me to *Story*.

Then *Story* burdened me with my Faith, and ſaid I was an Heretick. Whereupon the Chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearſe the Articles of my Belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Chriſt. I made him Anſwer, that I believed in Chriſt who died and roſe again the third Day, and ſitteth on the right Hand of God the Father.

Whereupon *Story* asked me mockingly, what is the right Hand of God? I made him Anſwer, I thought it was his Glory. Then ſaid he, So they ſay all. And he asked me when he would be weary of ſitting there. Then inferred my Lord of *Windſor*'s Chaplain, asking me what I ſaid of the Maſs. I ſaid, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I underſtood it not, becauſe I never learned any *Latin*, and ſince the Time I had any Knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of *Engliſh*, and with ſuch Men as have taught the ſame; with many more Queſtions, which I cannot rehearſe.

Moreover he asked me if there were not the very Body of Chriſt, Fleſh, Blood and Bone in the Maſs, after the Prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him Anſwer; as for the Maſs I cannot underſtand it; but in the *New Teſtament* I read, that as the Apoſtles ſtood looking after the Lord when he aſcended up into Heaven, an Angel ſaid to them, *Even as you ſee him aſcend*

up, ſo ſhall he come again. And I told them another Sentence, where Chriſt ſaith, *The Poor ſhall you have always with you, but me ye ſhall not have always.*

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more Queſtions to me, to which I made no Anſwer. Among others, he brought *Chryſoſtome* and St. *Hierome* for his Purpoſe. To whom I anſwered, that I neither minded nor was able to anſwer their Doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the *New Teſtament* I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to Scorn, and called me Fool, and ſaid, they would reaſon no more with me.

Then Dr. *Story* called for *Cluny*, and bade him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no Man ſpeak with me. So I was ſent to the Cole-houſe; where I had not been a Week, but there came in fourteen Priſoners: But I was kept ſtill alone without Company, in a Priſon call'd *Salt-houſe*, having upon my Leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and my Hands manacled together with Irons, and there continued ten Days, having nothing to lye on, but bare Stones or a Board.

On a Time whilſt I lay there in Priſon, the Biſhop of *London* coming down a Pair of Stairs on the Back-ſide untruſt, in his Hoſe and Doublet, looked thro' the Grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him Anſwer, that I was put in for a Book call'd *Antichriſt*, by Dr. *Story*. And he ſaid, you are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſaid it was a very wicked Book, and bade me confeſs the Truth to *Story*. I ſaid, I had told the Truth to him already, and deſired him to be good unto me, and help me out of Priſon, for they had kept me there a long Time. And he ſaid, he could not meddle with it; *Story* hath begun it, and he muſt end it.

Then I was removed out of the *Salt-houſe* to give Place to two Women, and carried to the *Lollards Tower*, and put in the Stocks; and there I found two Priſoners, one called *Lyon* a *Frenchman*, and another with him: And ſo I was kept in the Stocks more than a Month, both Day and Night, and no Man ſuffer'd to come to me, or to ſpeak with me, but only my Keeper who brought me Meat.

Thus we three being together, *Lyon* the *Frenchman* ſung a Pſalm in the *French* Tongue, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard down in the Street, and the Keeper coming up in a great Rage, ſware that he would put us all in the Stocks, and ſo took the *Frenchman* and commanded him to kneel down upon his Knees, and put both his Hands in the Stocks, where he remained all that Night till the next Day.

After this, I being in *Lollard's Tower* ſeven Days, at my laſt being with *Story*, he ſwore a great Oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the Truth. Then *Story* ſending for me, commanded me to be brought to *Walbrook*, where he and the Commiſſioners dined; and by the Way my Keeper told me that I ſhould go to the *Tower* and be racked. So when they had dined, *Story* called for me in, and there I ſtood before them, and ſome ſaid I was worthy to be hanged for having ſuch Heretical Books. After I had ſtaid a little while before them, *Story* called for the Keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the *Lollard's Tower* again, and ſaid, he had other Matters of the Queen's to do with the Commiſſioners, but he would find another Time for me. Whilſt I lay yet in the *Lollard's Tower*, the Woman which brought the Books over, being taken, and her Books was put in the *Clink* in *Southwark* by *Huſſey*, one of the Arches; and I *Thomas Green* do teſtify before God, now, that I neither diſcovered the Man nor the Woman, of whom I had the Books.

Then I lying in the *Lollard's Tower*, being ſent for before Mr. *Huſſey*, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the *Lollard's Tower*, and by whom. To whom I made Anſwer, that I was put there by Dr. *Story* for a Book called *Antichriſt*. Then he made as though he would be my Friend, and ſaid he knew my Friends, and my Father and Mother, and bid me tell him of whom I had the Book, and ſaid, Come on, tell me the Truth. I told him as I had told Dr. *Story* before.

Then he was very angry, and ſaid, I love thee well, and therefore I ſent for thee, and looked for a further Truth; but I could tell him no other; whereupon he ſent me again to the *Lollard's Tower*. At my going away he called me back again, and ſaid, that *Dixon* gave me the Books being an old Man, dwelling in *Birchin-lane*; and I ſaid he knew the Matter better than I. So he ſent me away to the *Lollard's Tower*, where I remained ſeven Days and more.

Then Mr. *Huſſey* ſent for me again, and required of me to tell him the Truth. I told him I could tell him no other Truth than I had told Dr. *Story* before.

Then he began to tell me of *Dixon*, of whom, he ſaid, I had the Books, who had made the Matter manifeſt before; and he told me of all Things touching *Dixon* and the Books, more then I could myſelf, inſomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a Sack full of the Books in his Houſe, and knew where the Woman lay, better than myſelf. Then I ſaw the Matter ſo open and manifeſt before my Face, that it ſignified nothing for me to ſtand in it. He asked me where I had done the Books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. *Story* had. He ſaid I lied, for I had three at one Time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that *John Beane* had of me, being Prentice with Mr. *Tootle*. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaved before God, that he ſhould have no Harm. And I kneeling down upon my Knees, deſired him to take my Blood, and not to hurt the young Man. Then he ſaid, becauſe you have been ſo ſtubborn, the Matter being made manifeſt by others and not by you, being ſo long in Priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my Judgment. I ſaid, yea, take my Blood, and hurt not the young Man.

Then he told me I ſhould be whipped like a Thief and a Vagabond; and ſo I thanked him, and went my Way with my Keeper to the *Lollard's Tower*, where I remained two or three Days, and ſo was brought by the Keeper *Cluny*, by the Commandment of the Commiſſioners, to *Chriſt's Hoſpital*, ſometime the *Grey Friars*, and accordingly had there for that Time the Correction of Thieves and Vagabonds, and ſo was delivered to *Trinian* the Porter, and put into a ſtinking Dungeon.

And after a few Days, I finding Friendſhip, was let out of the Dungeon, and lay in a Bed in the Night, and walked in a Yard by the Dungeon in the Day-time, and ſo remained Priſoner a Month and more.

At length Dr. *Story* came, and two Gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he ſaid to the Gentlemen, here cometh this Heretick, of whom I had the Book called *Antichriſt*, and began to tell them how many Times I had been before him, and ſaid, I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the Truth till it was found out by others. Then ſaid he, it were a good Deed to cut out thy Tongue, and thy Ears off thy Head, to make thee an Example to all other Heretick Knaves. And the Gentlemen ſaid, nay, that were Pity. Then he asked if I would not become an honeſt Man: And I ſaid, yes; for I have offended God many Ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my Faith, I told him that I had made him Anſwer of my Faith before my Lord *Windſor*'s Chaplain as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be ſtripped, he ſtanding by me, and called for two of the Beadles and the Whips to whip me; and the two Beadles came with a Cord, and bound my Hands together, and the one end of the Cord to a Stone-pillar. Then one of my Friends, called *Nicholas Prieſtman*, hearing them call for Whips, hurled in a Bundle of Rods, which ſeemed ſomething to pacify the Mind of his Cruelty; and they ſcourged me with Rods. But as they were whipping of me, *Story* asked me if I would go unto my Maſter again, and I ſaid nay. And he ſaid, I perceive now he will be worſe than ever he was before: But let me alone (quoth he) I will find him out if he be in *England*. And ſo with many other Things which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my Fees, and go my Ways.

The Scourging of James Harris.

IN this Society of the ſcourged Profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one *James Harris* of *Billerica* in *Eſſex*, a Stripling of the Age of ſeventeen Years; who being apprehended and ſent up to *Bonner* in the Company of *Margaret Ellis*, by Sir *John Mordant*, Knight, and *Edmund Tyrrel*, Juſtices of Peace, was by *Bonner* divers Times ſtrictly examined. In which Examinations he was charged not to have come to his Pariſh-church for the Space of one Year or more. Whereunto he granted, confeſſing therewithal, that once, for Fear, he had been at the Church, and there had received the popiſh Sacrament of the Altar, for which he was heartily ſorry, deteſting the ſame with all his Heart.

After this and ſuch like Anſwers, *Bonner* (the better to try him) perſuaded him to go to Confeſſion. The Lad, ſomewhat to fulfil his Requeſt, conſented to go, and did. But when he came to the Prieſt, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing. Why, quoth the Prieſt, ſayeſt thou nothing? What ſhall I ſay, ſaid *Harris*? Thou muſt confeſs thy Sins, ſaid the Prieſt. My Sins, ſaid he, be ſo many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the Prieſt told *Bonner* what he had ſaid, and he of his accuſtomed Devotion, took the poor Lad into his Garden, and there, with a Rod gathered out of a Cherry-tree, did moſt cruelly whip him.

The Scourging of Robert Williams, *a Smith.*

Robert Williams, who being apprehended in the ſame Company, was ſo tormented after the like Manner with Rods in his Arbour, who there ſubſcribing and yielding himſelf by Promiſe to obey the Laws, after being let go, refuſed ſo to do: Whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himſelf cloſe, and went not abroad but by Stealth: And now in the mean Time of this Perſecution, this *Robert Williams* departed this Life, and ſo eſcaped the Hands of his Enemies.

Beſides theſe abovenamed, divers others alſo ſuffered the like Scourgings and Whippings in their Bodies for their faithful ſtanding in the Truth. Of whom it may be ſaid, as it is written of the Apoſtles in the *Acts*: *Which departed from the Council, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Jeſus.*

The Perſecution and Deliverance of William Living *with his Wife, and of* John Lithal, *Miniſters.*

ABout the latter end of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſhe then being ſick, came one *Cox* a Promoter, to the Houſe of *William Living*, about ſix of the Clock, accompanied with one *John Launce* of the *Greyhound*. They being not ready, they demanded for Buttons, ſaying, they ſhould be as well paid for them as any; and he would come about three Hours after for them again.

In the mean Time he procured one Mr. *Dean* the Conſtable, and *George Hancock* the Beadle of that Ward, and ſearching his Books, found a Book of *Aſtronomy*, called the Work of *Joannes de Sacro Boſco de Sphæra*, with Figures, ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrangle, *&c.* which Book, becauſe it was gilt, ſeemed to him the chief Book there, and that he carried open in the Street, ſaying, I have found him at length. It is no Wonder the Queen be ſick, ſeeing there be ſuch Conjurors in privy Corners; but now I truſt he ſhall conjure no more, and ſo brought him and his Wife from *Shoe-lane* through *Fleet-ſtreet* into *Paul*'s Church-yard, with the Conſtable, the Beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into *Darbyſhire*'s Houſe, who was Biſhop *Bonner*'s Chancellor: And after the Conſtable and they had talked with *Darbyſhire*, he came forth, and walked in his Yard, and ſaid to him,

What is your Name?

Liv. William Living.

Darb. What are you? a Prieſt?

Liv. Yea.

Darb. Is this your Wife that is come with you?

Liv. That ſhe is.

Darb. Where were you made Prieſt?

Liv. At *Obourne.*

Darb. In what Biſhop's Days?

Liv. By the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that was King *Henry*'s ghoſtly Father in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Time.

Darb. You are a Schiſmatick and a Traytor.

Liv. I would be ſorry that were true. I am certain I was never a Traitor, but always have taught Obedience according to the Tenor of God's Word; and when Tumults and Schiſms have been ſtirred, I have preached God's Word, and aſſuaged them as in the Time of King *Edward.*

Darb. What, you are a Schiſmatick. You be not in the Unity of the catholick Church: For you pray not as the Church of *Rome* doth: You pray in *Engliſh.*

Liv. We are certain we be in the true Church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forſomuch as there is but one true Church. Well, you will learn againſt I talk with you again, to know the Church of *Rome*, and to be a Member thereof.

Liv. If the Church of *Rome* be of that Church whereof Chriſt is the Head, then I am Member thereof: For I know no other Church but that.

Darb. Well, *Cluny*, take him with thee to the Colehouſe.

Then he called *Cluny* again, and ſpake ſecretly to him, but what he ſaid I know not.

Then ſaid *Cluny*, Wilt thou not come? And ſo plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own Houſe in *Pater-noſter-row*, where he robbed me of my Purſe, my Girdle, and my Pſalter, and a *New Teſtament* of *Geneva*, and then brought me to the Colehouſe to put me in the Stocks, ſaying, put in both your Legs and your Hands, and except you fine with me, I will put a Collar about your Neck. What is the

the Fine, quoth I? Forty Shillings, quoth he; I am never able to pay it, ſaid I.

Then, ſaid he, you have Friends that be able. I denied it; and ſo he put both my Legs into the Stocks till Supper-time, which was ſix of the Clock, and then a Couſin of my Wife's brought me Meat, who ſeeing me to ſit there, ſaid, I will give you forty-pence, and let him go at Liberty; and he took her Money, and preſently let me forth in her Sight, to eat my Supper. And at ſeven of the Clock, he put me in the Stocks again, and ſo I remained till two of the Clock the next Day, and ſo he let me forth till Night. This Woman above-mentioned, was *Griffin*'s firſt Wife, a Brother dwelling then in *Aldermanbury*, and yet alive in *Cheapſide*.

The *Thurſday* following in the Afternoon was I called to the *Lollard's-Tower*, and there put into the Stocks, having the Honour to put my Leg in that Hole that Mr. *John Philpot*'s Leg was in, and ſo lay all that Night, no Body coming to me either with Meat or Drink.

At eleven of the Clock on the *Friday*, *Cluny* came to me with Meat, and let me forth, and about one of the Clock he brought me to *Darbyſhire*'s Houſe, who drew forth a Scroll of Names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I ſaid, I knew none of them but *Foſter*. And ſo I kneeled down upon my Knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly Women, who ſaid, Mr. *Darbyſhire*, it is enough, and ſo became Sureties for me, and paid to *Cluny* fifteen Shillings for my Fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning *William Living*. After this came his Wife to Examination, whoſe Anſwers to *Darbyſhire* the Chancellor, here likewiſe follow.

The Examination of Julian Living, *Wife to* William Living.

Darbyſhire. AH Sirrah; I ſee by your going you be one of the Siſters.

Julian. I wear not my Gown for Siſterhood, neither for Nunnery, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Nun? No, I dare ſay you be none: Is that Man your Husband?

Julian. Yea.

Darb. He is a Prieſt.

Julian. No, he ſaith no Maſs.

Darb. What then? he is a Prieſt. How dareſt thou marry him?

Then he ſhewed me a Roll of certain Names of Citizens.

To whom I anſwered, I knew none of them.

Then ſaid he, you ſhall be made to know them.

Then ſaid I, do no other but Juſtice and Right, for the Day will come, that thou ſhalt anſwer for it.

Darb. Why Woman, thinkeſt thou not that I have a Soul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a Soul; but whether it be to Salvation or Damnation, I cannot tell.

Darb. Ho *Cluny*, have her to the *Lollard's-Tower*. And ſo he took me, and carried me to his Houſe, where was one *Dale* a Promoter, which ſaid to me, Alas good Woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you, ſaid I.

You be not aſhamed, quoth *Dale*, to tell wherefore you come hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it is for Chriſt's Teſtament.

Chriſt's Teſtament, quoth he? It is the Devil's Teſtament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any Man ſhould ſpeak any ſuch Word.

Well well, quoth he, you ſhall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's Blood, there muſt be ſome other Means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worſe than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope; but your Hope ſhall be ſlope. For though the Queen fail, ſhe that you hope for ſhall never come at it; for there is my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my Hope is in none but God.

Then ſaid *Cluny*, Come with me; and ſo I went to the *Lollard's Tower*. On the next Day *Darbiſhire* ſent for me again, and enquired of thoſe Citizens that he enquired of before.

I anſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on *Sunday* was Fortnight?

And I ſaid, in no Place.

Then the Conſtable of St. *Brides* being there, made Suit for me.

And *Darbiſhire* demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He anſwered, Yea. And ſo he was bound for my Appearance betwixt that and *Chriſtmas*.

Then *Darbiſhire* ſaid, You be Conſtable, and ſhould give her good Counſel.

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to Maſs, and to ſay as you ſay. For by the Maſs, if you ſay the Crow is white, I will ſay ſo too.

And thus much concerning the Examination of *William Living* and his Wife, whom altho' thou ſeeſt here delivered, through the Requeſt of Women, his Sureties, yet it was no Doubt, but that the deadly Sickneſs of Queen *Mary* bridled then the Cruelty of thoſe Papiſts, which otherwiſe would never have let them go.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithall.

AT the taking of *William Living*, it happened that ſome of his Books were in the Cuſtody of one *John Lithall*; which known, the Conſtable of the Ward of *Southwark*, with others of the Queen's Servants, were ſent to his Houſe, who breaking up his Doors and Cheſts, took away not only the Books of the ſaid *William Living*, but alſo all his own Books, Writings, and Bills of Debts, which he never had again. All this while *Lithall* was not at home.

The next *Saturday* after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, *John Avales* and ſome of the Queen's Servants beſet his Houſe all the Night, with ſuch careful Watch, that as he in the Morning iſſued out of Doors, thinking to eſcape their Hands, *John Avales* burſting out upon him, cried, Stop the Traitor, Stop the Traitor. Whereat *Lithall* being amazed, looked back.

And ſo *John Avales* came running to him, with others that were with him, ſaying, Ah Sirrah, you are a pretty traitorly Fellow indeed, we have had ſomewhat to do to get you. To whom he anſwered, that he was a truer Man to the Queen's Majeſty than he. For you, ſaid he, are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you ſeek to ſhed your Neighbours Blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you muſt anſwer it to God. But he ſaid, Come on you Villain, you muſt go before the Council. So was *Lithall* brought into St. *Paul's Church-yard* to the Biſhop's Chancellor, by *John Avales*, ſaying, that he had there caught the Captain of theſe Fellows, and ſo cauſed him to be called to Examination before Dr. *Darbiſhire*, who begun with him in this wiſe:

Chan. What Countryman are you?

Lith.

Lith. I am an *Engliſhman*, born in *Staffordſhire*.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our Country of *England*.

Chan. In what Univerſity?

Lith. In no Univerſity, but in a Free-ſchool.

Chan. We had certain Books from your Houſe, and Writing, wherein is both Treaſon and Hereſy.

Lith. Sir, there is neither Treaſon nor Hereſy in them.

Then the Chancellor asked for certain other Men that I knew.

Lith. If you have ought to lay to my Charge, I will anſwer it; but I will have no other Man's Blood upon my Head.

Chan. Why come you not to the Church? Of what Church be you that you come not to your own Pariſh Church?

Lith. I am of the Church of Chriſt, the Fountain of all Goodneſs.

Chan. Have you no Miniſters of your Church but Chriſt?

Lith. We have others.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole World, diſperſed, preaching and profeſſing the Goſpel and Faith only in our Saviour Jeſus, as he commanded them.

Chan. You boaſt much every one of you of your Faith and Belief: Let me hear therefore the Effect how you believe.

Lith. I believe to be juſtified really by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the Saying of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*, without either Deeds or Works, or any thing that may be invented by Man.

Chan. Faith cannot ſave without Works.

Lith. That is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Chan. John Avales, you and the Keeper have this Fellow to Priſon.

Then *John Avales* and *Cluney* the Keeper had me into St. *Paul*'s, and would have had me ſeen the Apoſtles Maſs.

Lith. I know none the Apoſtles had, and therefore I will ſee none.

Cluny and *John Avales*. Come and kneel down before the Rood, and ſay a *Pater-noſter*, and an *Ave* in the Worſhip of the five Wounds.

Lith. I am forbidden by God's own Mouth to kneel to any Idol or Image: Therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great Extremity, one having me by one Arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that preſent Time more Strength than both theſe, his Name be praiſed for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the Rood, neither to ſee the Maſs, there gathered a great Company about us, and all againſt me. Some ſpit on me, and ſaid, Fie on thee Heretick; and others ſaid, it was Pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to *Lollard's Tower*, and hanged me in a great Pair of Stocks, in which I lay three Days and three Nights, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſtir or move.

Then I offered the Keeper ſome Money and Gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the Stocks: And he ſaid, I would not be ruled by him, either to ſee Maſs, or to kneel before the Rood, and therefore I ſhould lie there ſtill. But I ſaid, I would never do the Thing that ſhould be againſt my Conſcience: And though you have lamed my Body, yet my Conſcience is whole, I praiſe God for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the Stocks, more for the Love of my Money (as it may be thought) than for any other Affection, and within four or five Days my Wife got Leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me ſuch Things as were needful for me; and there I lay five Weeks and odd Days. In which Time divers of my Neighbours and Friends made Suit to the Chancellor for my Deliverance: The Biſhop, as they ſaid, at that Time being ſick at *Fulham*. So my Neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the Chancellor ſent for me out of the *Lollard's Tower* to his own Houſe, and ſaid as follows:

Chan. Lithal, here are ſome of thy Neighbours who have been with me to intreat for thee; and they have informed me, that thou haſt been a very honeſt and quiet Neighbour among them, and I think it be God's Will that I ſhould deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee; for I know his Mind already in that Matter.

Lith. I give you hearty Thanks for your Gentleneſs, and my Neighbours for their good Report.

Chan. Lithal, if thy Neighbours will be bound for thy forth-coming whenſoever thou ſhalt be called for; and alſo if thou wilt be an obedient Subject, I ſhall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it pleaſe your Worſhip, we will be bound for him in Body and Goods.

Chan. I will require no ſuch Bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty Pounds a-piece, that he ſhall come to anſwer when he ſhall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the Church of God did bind any Man for the Profeſſion of his Faith? which Profeſſion you have heard of me, that all our Juſtification, Righteouſneſs, and Salvation cometh only and freely by the Merits of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and all the Inventions and Works of Men, be they never ſo glorious, be altogether vain, as the wiſe Man ſaith.

Chan. Lo, where he is now. I put no ſuch Matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: But yet St. *James* ſaith, *That a Man is juſtified by Works.*

Lith. St. *James* ſpake to them that boaſted themſelves of Faith, and ſhewed no Works of Faith: But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the Promiſes and Propheſies of the holy Scripture, even from the firſt Promiſe that God made to *Adam*, and ſo even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. *John*, do teſtify that in the Name of *Jeſus*, and only by his Merits, all that believe ſhall be ſaved from all their Sins and Offences. *Iſaiah* ſaith, Chap. 65. *I am found of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that ask not after me:* But againſt *Iſrael* he ſaith, *All Day long have I ſtretched out my Hand to a People that believe not.* And when the Jailer asked St. *Paul*, what he ſhould do to be ſaved, the Apoſtle ſaid, *Acts* 16. *Believe on the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, and all thy Houſhold.*

Again, St. *John* ſaith in the *Revelation*, that there was none, neither in Heaven nor in Earth, neither under the Earth, that was able to open the Book nor the Seals thereof, but only the Lamb *Jeſus* our only Saviour. And St. *Paul* ſaith, *Heb.* 9. *With one Offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified.*

Chan. With Vain-glory you rehearſe much Scripture, as all the reſt of you do: But you have no more Underſtanding than many Sheep. But to the Purpoſe. Will you that your Neighbours ſhall enter into Bonds for you, or not?

Lith. By my Mind they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bind me, but let me ſerve God with my Conſcience freely. For it is written, *Rev.* 13. *They that lead into Captivity, ſhall go into Captivity, and they that ſtrike with the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword.*

Alſo it is written in the Goſpel of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Matth.* 18. *That whoſo doth offend one of theſe little Ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a Mill-ſtone were hanged about his Neck, and that he were caſt into the Depth of the Sea.* Of which I am aſſured by his holy

holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch Mercy as you ſhew, unto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Chan. You are a Madman. I would not bind you, but that I muſt needs have ſomewhat to ſhew for your Deliverance. Then he called two of my Neighbours, *Thomas Daniel* and *Saunders Maybe*, who offered themſelves to be bound, and called me before them, and ſaid, I have a Letter of his own Hand-writing, with his Name and Seal at it, with a Book alſo againſt the Regiment of Women, for which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but on my Faith I will him no more Hurt than I mean to my own Soul.

Lith. I deſire you that be my Neighbours and Friends, that you will not enter into Bonds for me: For you know not the Danger thereof, neither I myſelf: It goeth againſt my Conſcience that ye ſhould ſo do.

Chan. Why, I will not bind you to do any Thing againſt your Conſcience.

Then they made the Bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeal to it alſo; and I ſaid that I would not, neither could I obſerve the Bond, and therefore I would not ſet to my Hand.

Chan. It is pity that thou haſt ſo much Favour ſhewed thee: Yet for theſe honeſt Men Sakes I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſembling Words of Mr. *Darbyſhire*, pretending for Favour of his Sureties to ſet him at Liberty, it was no ſuch Thing, nor any Zeal of Charity that moved him ſo to do; but only Fear of the Time, underſtanding the dangerous and irrecoverable Sickneſs of Queen *Mary*, which then began ſomewhat to aſſuage the cruel Proceeding of theſe Perſecutors, whereby they durſt not do that they would: For elſe *Lithall* was not like to have eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Moreover, there was one *Edward Grew*, Prieſt, and *Appline*, his Wife, compelled to fly from their Dwelling at a Town called *Broke*; and the Man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good Conſcience.

At laſt he was taken and laid in *Colcheſter* Caſtle, where he remained till Queen *Elizabeth* came to her regal Seat, and by the Alteration of Religion he was delivered.

William Brown, Parſon of *Little Stanham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, made a Sermon in the ſaid Town, ſoon after the Burial of our good King *Edward*, and in his Sermon he ſaid, There goeth a Report that our good King is buried with a Maſs by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he having a Mitre upon his Head. But if it were ſo, ſaid he, they are all Traytors that ſo do, becauſe it is both againſt the Truth, and the Laws of this Realm, and it is great Idolatry and Blaſphemy, and againſt the Glory of God; and they are no Friends either to God, the King, or yet unto the Realm, that ſo do. For this his preaching, one *Robert Blomefield*, an Adverſary to the Truth, being then Conſtable of the Town, and Bailiff unto Sir *John Jerningham*, Knight (the chief Lord of the Town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one *Edward Golding*, who was then Under-ſheriff, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, being then High-ſheriff.

So the ſaid *Golding* and *Blomefield* ſent for certain Men of the ſame Town, and examined them for the Sermon; Whereupon they made but a ſmall Anſwer. Then the Sheriff made a Bill, and ſo terrify'd the Men, that two or three of them ſet to their Hands, and one of them never enjoy'd himſelf after, but it was a Grief to him till he died.

Then they took Men with them to the Parſon's Houſe, and in the Night they took him, and with Watchmen kept him till it was Day. Then ſhould he have been carry'd the next Day to the Council; but the ſaid *Robert Blomefield* was taken ſo ſick, that he was like to die: So that he could not carry him for his Life.

Then the ſaid Sheriff ſent him to *Ipſwich* again, and there he was for a Time. Then he was ſent to *Bury* Priſon, and from thence to the Council, and then into the *Fleet*: And ſo he lay in Priſon from the Beginning of Harveſt till near *Chriſtmas*, and ſaid, God gave him ſuch Anſwers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with Quietneſs of Conſcience. And having his Liberty, he came again to the aforeſaid Town; and becauſe he would not go to Maſs, his Living was taken away, and he and his Wife were conſtrained to fly here and there for his Life and Conſcience. In the laſt Year of Queen *Mary*'s Reign God took him out of this Life in Peace.

The Perſecution of Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before of the Scourging of *Thomas Green*, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. *Story*, for a certain Book called *Antichriſt*, which he received of a Woman, becauſe he would in no Caſe detect her.

This Woman was one *Elizabeth Young*, who coming from *Emden* to *England*, brought with her divers Books, and diſperſed them abroad in *London*; for which ſhe being at length apprehended and laid faſt, was brought to Examination thirteen Times before the catholick Inquiſitors of heretical Pravity. Some of which Examinations have come to our Hands, and are as follow:

The firſt Examination of Elizabeth Young *before Mr.* Huſſy.

Huſſy. WHere was you born, and who was your Father and Mother?

Eliz. Young. Sir, all this is but vain Talk, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my Head with Fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to anſwer unto ſuch Things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in Priſon to know who is my Father and Mother. But I pray you go to the Matter that I came hither for.

Huſſy. Wherefore wenteſt thou out of the Realm?

Young. To keep my Conſcience clean.

Huſſy. When waſt thou at Maſs?

Young. Not theſe three Years.

Huſſy. Then waſt thou not there three Years before that?

Young. No, Sir, nor yet three Years before that: For if I were I had evil Luck.

Huſſy. How old art thou?

Young. Forty and upwards.

Huſſy. Twenty of thoſe Years you went to Maſs.

Young. Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thither firſt, for I underſtand it not.

Huſſy. Why wilt thou not go to the Maſs?

Young. Sir, my Conſcience will not ſuffer me: For I had rather all the World ſhould accuſe me than mine own Conſcience.

Huſſy. What if a Louſe or a Flea ſtick upon thy Skin, and bite thy Fleſh? thou muſt make a Conſcience in taking her off, is there not a Conſcience in it?

Young. That is but an eaſy Argument to diſplace the Scriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a Part as my Salvation dependeth upon: For it is but an eaſy Conſcience that a Man can make.

Huſſy. But why wilt thou not ſwear upon the Evangeliſts before a Judge?

Young. Becauſe I know not what a Book-oath is.

Then he began to teach her the Book-oath.

Young. Sir, I do not underſtand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Huſſy. Then ſaid he, thou wilt not underſtand it, and with that roſe up and went his Way.

The ſecond Examination of Elizabeth Young, *by Dr.* Martin.

Martin. THou art come from beyond the Sea, and haſt brought with thee Books of Hereſy and Treaſon, and thou muſt confeſs to us who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them over (for once I knew thee to be but a Meſſenger) and in ſo doing the Queen's Highneſs will be good to thee (for ſhe hath forgiven greater Things than this) and thou ſhalt find as much Favour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborn, and wilt not confeſs, thou wilt be very ill handled: For we know the Truth already, but this we do, only to ſee whether thou wilt be true of thy Word or no.

Young. Sir, ye have my Confeſſion, and more than that I cannot ſay.

Martin. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doſt thou think that we will be fully anſwered by this Confeſſion that thou haſt made? Thou rebel Whore, and traitor Heretick, thou doſt refuſe to ſwear upon the Evangeliſts before a Judge, I hear ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked Inch-meal, thou traitorly Whore and Heretick, but thou ſhalt ſwear before a Judge before thou go: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſs how many Books thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Young. Sir, I underſtand not what an Oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch Thing upon me. And no Man hath bought any Books of me as yet, for thoſe Books that I had, your Commiſſioners have them all.

Martin. Thou traitorly Whore, we know that thou haſt ſold a Number of Books, yea, and to whom: And how many Times thou haſt been here, and where thou layeſt, and every Place thou haſt been in: Doſt thou think that thou haſt Fools in hand?

Young. No Sir, ye be too wiſe for me; for I cannot tell how many Places I have been in myſelf, but if it were in *Turkey* I ſhould have Meat and Drink and Lodging for my Money.

Martin. Thou rebel Whore, thou haſt ſpoken evil Words of the Queen, and thou dwelleſt amongſt a ſort of Traitors and Rebels that cannot give the Queen a good Word.

Young. I am not able to accuſe any Man thereof, neither is there any Man that can prove any ſuch Things of me as you lay to my Charge. For God's Word hath taught me my Duty to my Queen, and therefore I am ſure you accuſe me wrongfully.

Martin. Thou Rebel and traitorly Whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and tormented, that thou ſhalt be an Example to all ſuch traitorly Whores and Hereticks; and thou ſhalt be made to ſwear by the holy Evangeliſts, and confeſs to whom thou haſt ſold all and every of theſe heretical Books that thou haſt ſold: For we know what Number thou haſt ſold, and to whom; but thou ſhalt be made to confeſs it in ſpite of thy Blood.

Young. Here is my Carcaſs; do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. *Martin*, ye can have no more than my Blood.

Then he raved as tho' he had been ſtark mad, and ſaid, *Martin?* Why calleſt thou me *Martin?*

Young. Sir, I know you well enough, for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at *Weſtminſter.*

Martin. Where didſt thou dwell then?

Young. I dwelt in the *Minories.*

Martin. I delivered thee and thy Husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldeſt have done otherwiſe than thou doſt now. For if thou haſt been before any Biſhop in *England*, and ſaid the Words that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt fry'd a Fagot: And though thou didſt not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Young. Sir, I promiſed you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown Tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I ſhall feed thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which will be little to thine Eaſe.

Young. Do what God ſhall ſuffer you to do: For more ye ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the Keeper's Houſe, and asked his Wife, whom ſhe had ſuffer'd to come to this traitorly Whore (as he called her). Then ſaid the Keeper's Wife, As God receive my Soul, here came neither Man, Woman, nor Child to ask for her.

Martin. If any Man, Woman, or Child, come to ask for her, I charge thee on pain of Death, that they be laid faſt; and give her one Day Bread, and another Day Water.

Young. If ye take away my Meat, I truſt that God will take away my Hunger: And ſo he departed, ſaying, that was too good for her: And then ſhe was ſhut up under two Locks in the Clink, where ſhe was before.

The third Examination, before Dr. Martin.

Martin. ELizabeth, wilt thou confeſs theſe Things that thou haſt been examined upon; for thou knoweſt that I have been thy Friend, and in ſo doing I will be thy Friend again; giving her many fair Words, and then demanding of her how many Gentlemen were beyond the Seas.

Young. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other Side.

Martin. No, I mean but in *Frankfort* and *Emden*, where thou haſt been.

Young. Sir, I did never take Account of them, it is a Thing that I look not for.

Martin. When ſhall I have a true Word come out of thy Mouth?

Young. I have told you the Truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your Mind, therefore ye will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confeſs? and if thou wilt, that which I have promiſed I will do: And if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt go even hence to the Rack, and therefore confeſs.

Young. I can ſay no more than I have ſaid.

Martin. Well, forſomuch as ſhe will confeſs no more, have her away to the Rack, and then ſhe will be marred.

Then anſwered a Prieſt that ſate there, and ſaid, Woman, take an Oath, and confeſs: Wilt thou be hurt for other Men?

Young. I can confeſs no more than I have. Do with my Carcaſs what ye will.

Martin. Did ye ever hear the like of this Heretick? What a ſtout Heretick is this? We have the Truth, and we know the Truth, and yet look whether ſhe will confeſs. There is no Remedy but ſhe muſt needs to the Rack, and therefore away with her, and ſo commanded her out of the Door, and called her Keeper unto him, and ſaid to him, There is no Remedy but this Heretick muſt be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe did not hear.

Then

Then he called her in again, and ſaid, Wilt thou not confeſs, and keep thee from the Rack? I adviſe thee ſo to do; for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the Pain yet, but thou ſhalt do.

Young. I can confeſs no more; do with my Carcaſe what ye will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſaid. Let her know the Pain of the Rack. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſs, but that ſhe ſhould have gone to the Rack, till ſhe ſaw the Keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their Hearts, and diminiſh their tyrannous Power, unto the Time of further Examinations; for ſhe was brought before the Biſhop, the Dean, and the Chancellor, and other Commiſſioners, firſt and laſt thirteen Times.

The fourth Examination before the Biſhop of London, *Sir* Roger Cholmley, *Dr.* Cook, *the Recorder of* London, *Dr.* Roper *and Dr.* Martin.

FIrſt ſhe being preſented by Dr. *Martin* before the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Martin* began to declare againſt her, ſaying, The Lord Chancellor hath ſent you here a Woman, who hath brought Books over from *Emden*, where all theſe Books of Hereſy and Treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the Land with Treaſon and Hereſy; neither yet will ſhe confeſs who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them over. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of *London*, to do with her as he ſhall think good. For ſhe will confeſs nothing but that ſhe bought theſe ſaid Books in *Amſterdam*, and ſo brought them over to ſell for Gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her Head be truſſed in a ſmall Line, and make her to confeſs.

Martin. The Book is called *Antichriſt*, and ſo may well be called, for it ſpeaketh againſt *Jeſus Chriſt* and the Queen. Beſides that, ſhe hath a certain Spark of the Anabaptiſts, for ſhe refuſeth to ſwear upon the four Evangeliſts before a Judge: For I myſelf and Mr. *Huſſy* have had her before us four Times, but we cannot bring her to ſwear. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that ſhe ſhould abſtain and faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: For ſhe hath lain in the Clink a good while, where ſhe had too much her Liberty.

Then, ſaid the Biſhop, why wilt thou not ſwear before a Judge; that is the right Trade of the Anabaptiſts.

Young. My Lord, I will not ſwear that this Hand is mine.

No, ſaid the Biſhop, and why?

Young. My Lord, Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of Evil. And moreover, I know not what an Oath is: And therefore I will take no ſuch Thing upon me.

Then, ſaid *Cholmley*, twenty Pounds it is a Man in a Woman's Cloaths, twenty Pounds it is a Man.

Bonner. Think you ſo, my Lord.

Cholmley. Yea, my Lord.

Young. My Lord, I am a Woman.

Biſhop. Swear her upon a Book, ſeeing it is but a Queſtion asked.

Then, ſaid *Cholmley*, I will lay twenty Pounds, it is a Man.

Then Dr. *Cook* brought her a Book, commanding her to lay her Hand thereon.

Young. No, my Lord, I will not ſwear, for I know not what an Oath is. But I ſay that I am a Woman, and have Children.

Biſhop. That we know not; wherefore ſwear.

Cholmley. Thou ill-favoured Whore, lay thy Hand upon the Book; I will lay on mine: And ſo he laid his Hand on the Book.

Young. So will not I.

Then the Biſhop ſpake a Word in *Latin* out of St. *Paul*, as concerning ſwearing.

Young. My Lord, if you ſpeak to me of St. *Paul*, then ſpeak *Engliſh*, for I underſtand you not.

Biſhop. I dare ſwear that thou doſt not.

Young. My Lord, St. *Paul* ſaith, that five Words ſpoken in a Language that may be underſtood, are better than many in a ſtrange Tongue.

Cook. Swear before us, whether thou be a Man or a Woman.

Young. If ye will not believe me, then ſend for Women into a ſecret Place, and I will be ſearched.

Cholmley. Thou art an ill-favoured Whore.

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Young. If it will pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my Faith, I will, and if it be not good, teach me a better, and I will believe it.

Cook. That is well ſaid, declare thy Faith.

Young. I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God. I believe all the Articles of my Creed: I believe all Things written in the Scripture, and all Things agreeable to the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the World to ſave Sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him I am made clean from my Sins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, which he did inſtitute and ordain, and left among his Diſciples that Night before he was betrayed; when I do receive this Sacrament in Faith and Spirit, I do receive Chriſt.

Biſhop. No more, I warrant you, but the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, received but in Spirit and Faith, with thoſe Hereticks.

Cholmley. Ah Whore, Spirit and Faith, Whore?

Young. This Sacrament never Man could or did make, but only he, that did what no Man could do.

Martin. Then thou muſt allow that Graſs is a Sacrament; for who could make Graſs but he only?

Young. Sir, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient Sacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his Sacrament ſufficient once for all: For there was never Man that could ſay, *Take, eat, this is my Body that is broken for you*, but only Jeſus Chriſt, who had his Body broken for the Sins of the World; which Sacrament he hath left here amongſt us for a Teſtimony of his Death, even to the World's End.

Martin. Who taught thee this Doctrine? Did *Scory?*

Young. Yea, Biſhop *Scory*, and others that I have heard.

Biſhop. Why is *Scory* Biſhop now?

Young. If that offend you, call him Dr. *Scory* if ye will.

Roper. I knew when he was but a poor Doctor.

Martin. What do ye call *Scory?*

Young. Our Superintendent.

Biſhop. Lo! their Superintendent.

Martin. And what are ye called?

Young. Chriſt's Congregation.

Biſhop. Lo! Chriſt's Congregation I warrant You.

Dr. Cook. What Living hath *Scory?*

Young. As far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no Man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent him out of *England.*

Young. Sir, I know no ſuch Thing.

Cholmley. Hark, Whore, hark; hark, how I do believe.

Young. My Lord, I have told you my Belief.

Cholmley. Hark, thou ill-favoured Whore, how I do believe. When the Prieſt hath ſpoken the Words of Conſecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was hanged on the Croſs, was dead and buried, and deſcended into Hell, and roſe again on the third Day, and aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right Hand of God. The ſame Body when the Prieſt hath ſpoken the Words, cometh down, and when the Prieſt lifteth up his Body on this wiſe (he lifting up his Hands, ſaid) there it is.

Young. I have told you alſo how I do believe.

Martin. Away with her.

Cholmley. Ah ill-favoured Whore! nothing but Spirit and Faith, Whore?

Martin. Away with her, we have more to talk withal.

Then ſhe was carried into the Coal-houſe, and ſearched for Books, and then put into the Stock-houſe, and her Knife, Girdle, and Apron taken from her.

The fifth Examination before the Biſhop of London's *Chancellor.*

Chan. WHAT Age are you of?

Young. Forty Years and upwards.

Chan. Why, thou art a Woman of fair Years; why ſhouldſt thou meddle with the Scriptures? It is neceſſary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy Diſtaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy Belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into Priſon.

Young. Sir, if it will pleaſe you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your Pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any Thing therein that is not fit for a Chriſtian Woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Chan. Well ſaid. But who ſhall judge between thee and me?

Young. The Scripture.

Chan. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Young. Yea, Sir.

Chan. Well go thy Way out at the Door a little while, for I am buſy, and I will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and ſaid, Now Woman, the Time is too long to write. Say thy Mind, and I will bear it in my Head.

Then *Elizabeth* began, and declared her Faith to him as ſhe had done before to the Biſhop.

Chan. Woman, Spirit and Faith I do allow, but doſt not thou believe that thou doſt receive the Body of Chriſt, really, corporally, and ſubſtantially.

Young. Theſe Words, really and corporally, I underſtand not; as for ſubſtantially, I take it, you mean I ſhould believe that I ſhould receive his human Body (which is upon the right Hand of God, and can occupy no more Places at once) and that I believe not.

Chan. Thou muſt believe this, or elſe thou art damned.

Young. Sir, can you give me Belief.

Chan. No, God muſt give it thee.

Young. God hath given me no ſuch Faith or Belief.

The Chancellor then declared a Text of St. *Paul* in *Latin*, and then in *Engliſh*, ſaying, I could make thee believe, but that thou haſt a cankered Heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

Young. You ſaid even now, that Faith or Belief cometh of God, and ſo I believe, and then may not I believe an Untruth to be true.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh?

Young. No Sir, I believe not that; for my Fleſh ſhall putrify and rot.

Chan. Chriſt ſaid, my Fleſh is Fleſh in Fleſh.

Young. Whoſo receiveth him fleſhly, ſhall have a fleſhly Reſurrection.

Chan. Chriſt ſaith in St. *John*, Chap. 6. *My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.*

Young. Chriſt preached to the *Capernaites*, ſaying; *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye ſhall not have Life in you:* And the *Capernaites* murmured at it. And his Diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelves, *This is an hard Saying, and who can abide it?* Chriſt underſtood their Meaning, and ſaid, *Are ye alſo offended? will ye alſo go away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the Son of Man aſcend up to Heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Fleſh profiteth nothing.* I pray you Sir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

Chan. O God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We muſt leave that for our old ancient Fathers, which have ſtudied Scriptures a long Time, and have the Holy Ghoſt given unto them.

Young. Why Sir, have you not the Holy Ghoſt given and revealed unto you?

Chan. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo believe; but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of the Spirit. Will you ſay that you have no Profit in Chriſt's Fleſh?

Young. Sir, we have our Profit in Chriſt's Fleſh, but not as the *Capernaites* did underſtand it: For they underſtood that they muſt eat his Fleſh as they did eat Ox Fleſh and others, and drink his Blood, as we drink Wine or Beer out of a Bowl. But ſo we muſt not receive it. But our Profit that we have by Chriſt, is to believe that his Body was broken upon the Croſs, and his Blood ſhed for our Sins; that is the very Meaning of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, when he ſaid; *My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.*

Chan. How doth thy Body live, if Chriſt's Fleſh is not Fleſh in thy Fleſh?

Young. Sir, I was a Body before I had a Soul; which Body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed Life into me, and by that Life doth my Body live. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolve my Life, my Fleſh will offer itſelf unto the Place from whence it came, and thro' the Merits of Chriſt my Soul will offer itſelf to the Place from whence it came.

Chan. Yea, but if thou do not believe that Chriſt's Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaved.

Young. Sir, I do not believe that.

Chan. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, *My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed?* Canſt thou deny that?

Young. I deny not that; for Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood is Meat and Drink for my Soul, the Food of my Soul. For whoſoever believeth that *Jeſus Chriſt* the Son of God hath died and ſhed his Blood for his Sins, his Soul feedeth thereon for ever.

Chan. When thou receiveſt the Sacrament of the Altar, doſt thou not believe that thou doſt receive Chriſt's Body?

Young. Sir, as often as I receive the Sacrament, I believe, that ſpiritually and by Faith I receive Chriſt. And of this Sacrament, I know Chriſt himſelf to be the Author, and none but he. And this ſame Sacrament is an Eſtabliſhment to my Conſcience, and an Augmentation to my Faith.

Chan. Why, did not Chriſt take Bread, and gave Thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, *Take, eat, this is my Body that is given for you?* Did he give them his Body, or no?

Young. He alſo took the Cup, and gave Thanks to his Father, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, *Drink ye all hereof: For this is the Cup of the New Teſtament in my Blood, which ſhall be ſhed for many.* Now, I pray you, Sir, let me ask you one Queſtion: Did he give the Cup the Name of his Blood, or the Wine that was in the Cup?

Then he was very angry, and ſaid, Doſt thou think that thou haſt an Hedge-prieſt in hand?

Young. No Sir, I take you not to be an Hedge-prieſt; I take you for a Doctor.

Chan. So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Young. No Sir, but I let you know what I know; and by Argument one ſhall know more. Chriſt ſaid, *As oft as you do this, do it in Remembrance of me*; but a Remembrance is not of a Thing preſent, but abſent. Likewiſe St. *Paul* ſaith, *So oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's Death till he come:* Then we muſt not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter Day. Again, is not this Article of our Belief true, *He ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead*? But if he come not before he come to Judgment, how then is he preſent in your Sacrament of the Altar? Wherefore I believe that the human Body of Chriſt occupieth no more than one Place at once; for when he was here he was not there.

The ſixth Examination of Mrs. Young *before the Chancellor.*

Chancellor. WOman, the laſt Time that thou waſt before me, our Talk was concerning the Sacrament.

Young. Sir, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures.

Chan. Yes, thou wilt not believe that Chriſt's Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh.

Young. No Sir, God hath given me no ſuch Belief; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures.

Chan. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many Sacraments doſt thou find in the Scripture?

Young. The Church of Chriſt doth ſet down two.

Chan. I will as well find ſeven by the Scripture, as thou ſhalt find two.

Young. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I ſay that the Church of Chriſt ſetteth out two, and I have been taught no more.

Chan. What are thoſe two?

Young. The Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm?

Chan. What ſayſt thou by the Sacrament of Wedlock?

Young. I have not heard it called a Sacrament, but the holy Eſtate of Matrimony, which ought to be kept of all Men that take it upon them.

Chan. How ſayſt thou by Prieſts? Is it good that they ſhould marry? Is it to be kept of them?

Young. I come not hither to reaſon any ſuch Matter, for I am no Divine, and alſo it is no part of my Faith.

Chan. Can ye not tell? ye ſhall tell or ever you go.

Young. Sir, then muſt ye keep me a good while; for I have not ſtudied the Scriptures for it.

Chan. No? why, ye will not be aſhamed to flee unto the higheſt Myſtery, even to the Sacrament at the firſt Daſh, and ye are not afraid to argue with the beſt Doctor in the Land.

Young. God's Myſteries I will not meddle with, but all Things that are written, are written for our Edification.

Chan. What ſay you by Prayers for the Dead? Is it not meet that if a Man's Friend be dead, his Friend commend his Soul unto God?

Young. There is no Chriſtan Man that will commend his Friend nor his Foe unto the Devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Chan. Then thou alloweſt not Prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not meet that Prayer be made unto God for them?

Young. Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I have heard of Heaven and Hell.

Chan. Why, ye have nothing but the Skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient Fathers could find out in the Bottom of the Scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the *New Teſtament*, that a Prieſt ſhall take the Sacrament, and go to the Altar, and make an Oblation, and offer it up every Day.

Young. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Teſtament as far as ever I could hear.

Chan. Whom doſt thou hear read either the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of Schiſmaticks, bawdy Biſhops, and Hedge-prieſts (which have brought into the Church a ſtinking Communion, which was never heard of in any Place in the World, but here in *England*) which have deceived the King and all the Nobility, and all the whole Realm?

Young. Sir, it is a vile Name that ye give them all.

Chan. Where are all the Hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their Anſwer?

Young. Anſwer Sir? why, they have anſwered both with the Scriptures, and alſo with their Blood; and then where were you that ye came not forth to anſwer in their Times! I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's Word, it was for their Diſobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Young. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Chan. No? did ye never hear that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* loſt his Head for the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome?*

Young. Then he died not for God's Word.

Chan. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's Word. Where canſt thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the Name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath-day will I prove to be *Saturday.* Or where canſt thou find the Articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the Name of the Articles? Or where canſt thou find in the Scripture, that Chriſt went down into Hell?

Young. What Place or Part in the Scripture can ye find to diſprove any of theſe Things.

Chan. What Prieſt haſt thou lain withal that thou haſt ſo much Scripture? Thou art ſome Prieſt's Woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reaſon, and teach the beſt Doctor in all the Land.

Young. I was never yet a Prieſt's Wife, nor yet a Prieſt's Woman.

Chan. Have I touched your Conſcience?

Young. No Sir, ye have not touched my Conſcience, but beware ye hurt not your own.

Chan. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or Teſtament, and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a Doctor, that hath gone to School thirty Years; and before God I think if I had talked thus much with a *Jew* as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this Time. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſaid by *Jeruſalem:* ſaying, O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, *how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens, but thou wouldeſt not.* And ſo would we gather you together in one Faith, and ye will not: And therefore your own Blood be upon

your own Heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankeſt Hereticks that ever I heard; for thou believeſt nothing but what is in the Scripture: And therefore thou art damned.

Young. I do believe all Things written in the Scripture, and all Things agreeable to the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I will not believe an Untruth?

Then the Chancellor called the Keeper, ſaying, *Cluny*, Take her away, thou knoweſt what thou haſt to do with her. And ſo ſhe departed, and was brought again to the Stock-houſe, and there ſhe lay certain Days, and both her Hands manacled in one Iron; and afterward ſhe was removed into the *Lollard's Tower*, and there ſhe remained with both her Feet in the Stocks and Irons till the next Time of Examination.

The ſeventh Examination of Mrs. Young *before the Chancellor and the Biſhop's Scribe.*

Chancellor. WOman, thou haſt been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain Articles that my Lord the Biſhop of *London* would that thou ſhouldſt make Anſwer unto, which are theſe: Firſt, how many Sacraments thou doſt allow?

Young. Sir, as many as Chriſt's Church doth allow, and that is two.

Then ſaid the Scribe, Thou waſt taught ſeven before King *Edward*'s Days.

Chan. Which two Sacraments be thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Young. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the Pope of *Rome* is the ſupream Head of the Church, immediately under God in Earth?

Young. No Sir, no Man can be the Head of Chriſt's Church; for Chriſt himſelf is the Head, and his Word is the Governour of all that be of that Church, whereſoever they be ſcattered abroad.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the Biſhop of *Rome* can forgive thee all thy Sins heretical, deteſtable and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine Infancy unto this Day?

Young. Sir, the Biſhop of *Rome* is a Sinner as I am, and no Man can forgive me my Sins, but he only that is without Sin, and that is *Jeſus Chriſt* who died for my Sins.

Chan. Doſt thou not know that the Pope ſent over his Jubilees, that all that ever would faſt and pray, and go to the Church, ſhould have their Sins forgiven them?

The Scribe. Sir, I think that ſhe was not in the Realm then.

Chan. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thee from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable Enormities?

Young. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Young. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the Maſs was wicked, and the Sacrament of the Altar moſt abominable?

Young. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Young. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the Church, and hear Maſs?

Young. I will not go to the Church, either to Maſs or Mattens, till I may hear it in a Tongue that I can underſtand: For I will be fed no longer in a ſtrange Language. And always the Scribe did write every one of theſe Articles, as they were demanded and anſwered unto.

Then the Scribe asked her from whence ſhe came.

The Chancellor ſaid, this is ſhe that brought over all theſe Books of Hereſy and Treaſon.

Then the Scribe ſaid to her, Woman, where hadſt thou all theſe Books?

Young. I bought them in *Amſterdam*, and brought them over to ſell, thinking to gain thereby.

The Scribe. What is the Name of the Book?

Young. I cannot tell.

Scribe. Why wouldſt thou buy Books and know not their Names?

Then ſaid *Cluny* the Keeper; Sir, my Lord Biſhop did ſend for her by Name that ſhe ſhould come to Maſs, but ſhe would not.

Chan. Yea, did my Lord ſend for her by Name, and would ſhe not go to Maſs?

Young. No Sir, I will never go to Maſs, till I do underſtand it, by the Leave of God.

Chan. Underſtand it! why who the Devil can make thee underſtand *Latin*, thou being ſo old?

Then the Scribe commanded her to ſet her Hand to all theſe Things.

Then ſaid ſhe, Let me hear them read firſt.

Scribe. Maſter Chancellor, ſhall ſhe hear it read?

Chan. Ay, ay, let the Heretick hear it read.

Then ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſign'd it.

The eighth Examination of Mrs. Young *before the Biſhop.*

Biſhop. IS this the Woman that hath three Children?

Keeper. Yea, my Lord.

Biſhop. Woman, here is a Supplication put into my Hands for thee. In like Caſe there was another Supplication put up to me for thee before this, in which thou madeſt as tho' I ſhould keep thy Children.

Young. My Lord, I did not know of this Supplication, nor yet of the other.

Biſhop. Mr. Dean, is this the Woman you have ſued ſo earneſtly for?

Dean. Yea, my Lord.

Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, when and after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the Words of Conſecration?

Young. A piece of Bread. But the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, which he did inſtitute and leave among his Diſciples the Night before he was betray'd, miniſtred according to his Word, that Sacrament I do believe.

Dean. How doſt thou believe concerning the Body of Chriſt? where is his Body, and how many Bodies hath he?

Young. Sir, in Heaven, he ſitteth on the right Hand of God.

Dean. From whence came his human Body?

Young. He took it of the Virgin *Mary*.

Dean. That is Fleſh, Blood, and Bones, as mine is. But what Shape hath his ſpiritual Body? Hath it Face, Hands, and Feet?

Young. I know no other Body that he hath, but that Body whereof he meant when he ſaid, *This is my Body, which is given for you; and this is my Blood which ſhall be ſhed for you.* Whereby he plainly meaneth that Body and no other, which he took of the Virgin *Mary*, having the perfect Shape and Proportion of a human Body.

Story. Thou haſt a wiſe Body: For thou muſt go to the Stake.

Dean. Art thou content to believe in the Faith of Chriſt's Church? But to ask of thee what Chriſt's Church is, or where it is, I let it paſs.

Young. Sir, to that Church I have joined my Faith,

Faith, and from it I purpoſe never to turn by God's Help.

Dean. Wouldſt thou not be at home with thy Children with a good Will?

Young. Sir, if it pleaſe God to give me Leave.

Dean. Art thou willing to confeſs thyſelf to be an ignorant and fooliſh Woman, and to believe as our holy Father the Pope of *Rome* doth, and as the Lord Cardinal doth, and as my Lord the Biſhop of *London* thine Ordinary doth, and as the King and Queen, and all the Nobility of *England* do; yea, and the Emperor, and all the noble Perſons of *Chriſtendom?*

Young. Sir, I was never wiſe, but in few Words I ſhall make you a brief Anſwer how I do believe all Things that are written in the Scriptures given by the Holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my Faith, and not on Man.

Then ſaid *Story*, And who ſhall be Judge?

Young. Sir, the Scripture.

Story. And who ſhall read it?

Young. He unto whom God hath given the Underſtanding.

Biſhop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and Maſter Dean here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have ſued for thee indeed, and I promiſe thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee.

Young. I have been before my Lord Biſhop, and before Maſter Chancellor three Times, and have declared my Faith.

Dean. And yet I know that Maſter Chancellor will ſay, that thou art a rank Heretick.

Story. Away with her.

Biſhop. Maſter Dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her Keeper bring her home to your own Chamber ſoon at four o'Clock at Afternoon, and if that ye find her reaſonable, then let her go, for I would that ſhe were gone.

Then ſaid the Dean, with a good Will my Lord; and ſo ſhe was ſent unto the Place from whence ſhe came, until it was four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The ninth Examination before the Dean, before whom ſhe was delivered.

Dean. ART thou a Fool now, as thou waſt To-day.

Young. Sir, I've learnt but ſmall Wiſdom ſince.

Dean. Doſt thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Young. Yes Sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkeſt thou that I can do thee good?

Young. Yea Sir, and if it pleaſe God that ye will.

Dean. Then I will do thee Good indeed. What doſt thou receive when thou receiveſt the Sacrament which Chriſt left among his Diſciples the Night before he was betrayed?

Young. Sir, that that his Diſciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Young. Sir, that that Chriſt gave them, they received.

Dean. What Anſwer is this? Was Chriſt there preſent?

Young. Sir, he was there preſent; for he inſtituted his own Sacrament.

Dean. He took Bread, and he brake it, and he gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body which ſhall be broken for you.* When thou receiveſt it, doſt thou believe that thou receiveſt his Body.

Young. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through Faith I do receive Chriſt.

Dean. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by Faith I do receive him.

Dean. He alſo took the Cup and gave Thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; *Drink ye all thereof, this is the Cup of the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* When thou doſt receive it after the Inſtitution that Chriſt ordained among his Diſciples, the Night before he was betrayed, doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, by Faith I believe that he is there, and by Faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Now thou haſt anſwered me, Remember that thou ſayeſt, that when thou doſt receive according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, thou doſt receive Chriſt.

Young. Sir, I believe Chriſt not to be abſent from his own Sacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that Belief?

Young. Sir, as long as I do live, by the Help of God, for it is, and hath been my Belief.

Dean. Wilt thou ſay this before my Lord?

Young. Yea, Sir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou Calf, why wouldſt thou not ſay ſo To-day?

Young. Sir, ye asked me no ſuch Queſtion.

Dean. Then ye would ſtand in Diſputation how many Bodies Chriſt had.

Young. Sir, indeed that Queſtion ye did ask me.

Dean. Who ſhall be the Sureties that thou wilt appear before my Lord of *London* and me upon *Friday* next?

Young. Sir, I have no Sureties, nor know I where to have any.

Then ſpake the Dean unto two Women that ſtood there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying: Women, will ye be her Sureties, that ſhe ſhall appear before my Lord of *London* and me upon *Friday* next?

Women. Yea Sir, and it pleaſe you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a Brabler in the Scripture.

Young. Sir, I am no Brabler in the Scripture, nor yet any Man can burthen me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what ye are.

Then ſaid he to the two Women, What if a Man ſhould touch your Conſcience, do ye not ſmell a little of Hereſy alſo?

Women. No, Sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the Frying-pan, or elſe wherefore have ye two ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one Woman anſwered, becauſe that her Children were like to periſh, and therefore God put me in Mind to ſue for her.

Then ſaid the other Woman; And I provided her Child a Nurſe, and I am threatned to ſtand to the Keeping of her Child: And therefore it ſtandeth me in hand to ſue to have her out.

Dean. Woman, give Thanks unto theſe honeſt Women, who have ſo earneſtly ſued for thee, and I promiſe thee ſo have I. Theſe great Hereticks will receive nothing but in Spirit and Faith, and ſo he aroſe and departed.

Young. Sir, God be praiſed, and I thank you for your Goodneſs and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away; and upon the *Friday* next, becauſe ſhe was accuſed, her two Sureties went thither, and were diſcharged.

The Perſecution of Elizabeth Lawſon.

IN the Town of *Bedfield* in the County of *Suffolk*, dwelt an ancient godly Matron, named *Elizabeth Lawſon*, about the Age of ſixty Years, who was apprehended as an Heretick by the Conſtables of the ſame Town, named *Robert Kitrich*, and *Thomas Elas*, in

in the Year 1556, becauſe ſhe would not go to Church to hear Maſs, and receive the Sacrament, and believe in it.

Firſt, they laid her in a Dungeon, and after that ſhe was carried unto *Norwich*, and from thence to *Bury* Goal, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be burnt. In the mean Time Sir *John Sylliard* had her home unto his Houſe, he being High-ſheriff that Year, where ſhe was hardly kept, and wrapped in Irons, till at length, when they could by no Means move her to recant, ſhe was ſent to Priſon again with ſhameful Revilings.

Thus ſhe continued in Priſon the Space of two Years and three Quarters. In the mean Time there was burnt her Son and many more, whereby ſhe would often ſay; *Good Lord, what is the Cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy Children? Well, good Lord, thy bleſſed Will be done, and not mine.*

Not long after this (moſt happily) followed the Death of Queen *Mary*, after whom ſucceeded Queen *Elizabeth*. At which Time this *Elizabeth Lawſon* remained yet ſtill in *Bury* Priſon, till at length ſhe was bailed upon Sureties.

The ſaid *Elizabeth Lawſon* alſo had a Siſter, Wife to one *Robert Hollon* in *Mickfield* in the ſame County of *Suffolk*, who likewiſe was perſecuted and driven out from Houſe to Houſe, and a young Man her Son with her, becauſe they would not go to the Church to hear Maſs, and receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

The Perſecution of Thomas Chriſtenmaſs *and* William Wats.

IN this perilous Rage of Queen *Mary*'s Reign were two Men perſecuted, one called *Thomas Chriſtenmaſs*, and the other *William Wats* of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*. As theſe two Men travelled from Place to Place, not reſting two Nights together in one Place, they happened to go to *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, where they at the Town's End met with a Damſel of eight Years of Age, but whither ſhe went they knew not. It was then Night, and they being weary, were willing to lie in the ſame Town; but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloody Catholicks. At laſt they deviſed to ask the Damſel whether there were any Hereticks in the Town, or no? and ſhe ſaid, Yea. They asked her where. She anſwered them, At ſuch an Inn, telling them the Name, and where the Inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themſelves better, and God ſo moving their Hearts, they went to the Child again, and asked her how ſhe knew that the Innkeeper (of whom ſhe ſpake before) was an Heretick. Marry, quoth ſhe, well enough, and his Wife alſo. How knoweſt thou, pretty Maiden, ſaid they? I pray they tell us. How know I? ſaid ſhe. Marry becauſe they go to the Church; and thoſe that will not hold up their Hands there, they will preſent them, and he himſelf goes from Houſe to Houſe, to compel them to come to Church. When theſe two Men heard this, they gave God Praiſe, and avoided that Houſe, taking the Warning of that Maid (of good bringing up as it ſhould ſeem) to be God's marvellous Providence towards them.

In the laſt Year but one of Queen *Mary*'s Reign *William Wats* lived at *Seale* in *Kent*, where being apprehended, and brought by the Conſtables before the Biſhop and Juſtices at *Tunbridge*, who endeavour'd to perſuade him to turn from the Truth, but all in vain, though they ſpent much Time, and uſed many flattering Words.

At Dinner-Time the Conſtable took *Wats* to a Victualling-houſe, where after they had well filled themſelves, they fell aſleep, ſuppoſing their Priſoner had been ſure enough under their Hands. *Wats*'s Wife being in the Houſe with her Husband, and very careful for his Well-doing, ſeeing them all faſt aſleep, deſired her Husband to go away, as God had given him an Opportunity, but he refuſing ſo long, that at laſt a Stranger hearing ſomething of the Diſpute, asked what the Matter was, and why ſhe was ſo earneſt with her Husband: The Wife told him. Then ſaid the Stranger to *Wats*, Father, go thy Ways in God's Name, and tarry no longer; the Lord hath opened the Way unto thee. Upon which Words he went his Way, and his Wife departed from him, and went home to her Houſe at *Seale*, thinking her Husband had gone another Way. Now as ſhe was going in at her Door, telling her Friends of his Deliverance, immediately came the ſaid *Wats* in alſo, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all Haſte to get him away; for they thought there would be Search for him immediately.

Then *Wats* ſaid, he would eat Meat firſt, and alſo pray; which he did, and afterwards departed thence. So ſoon as he was out of the Doors, and had hid himſelf in an Holly-buſh, immediately came the ſaid Conſtables with thirty Perſons into the ſaid Houſe to ſearch for him, where they pierced the Featherbeds, broke open his Cheſts, and made great Havock; and as they were ſearching, the Conſtable cried, I will have *Wats*, I will have *Wats*, I tell thee, I will have *Wats*; but God be thanked *Wats* could not be found. And when they ſaw it needleſs to ſearch for him, in the End they took his Wife, and ſet her in a Pair of Stocks where ſhe remained two Days, and ſhe was very bold in the Truth, and at laſt delivered thro' the Providence of God; whoſe Name be glorified in all his Works, *Amen*.

There was at *London* a certain honeſt godly Perſon, a Painter, named *Dabney*, whom *John Avales* in the Time of Queen *Mary* had brought before *Bonner* to be examined for his Faith. It happened the ſame Time, when the ſaid *Dabney* was there, that the Biſhop was occupied with the Examination of others, ſo that he was bid to ſtand by, and to wait the Biſhop's Leiſure. Upon the ſame, or not long after, ſuddenly came Word to the Biſhop to prepare him in all Speed, the general Proceſſion tarried for him. The Biſhop hearing that, ſetting all Buſineſs apart, buſtleth himſelf with all Speed poſſible to the Church, there to furniſh Proceſſion. By reaſon whereof *Dabney*, who newly came to the Houſe, was there left alone, while every Man elſe was buſied in preparing and ſetting themſelves forward according as the Caſe required.

To be ſhort, as the Time called on, *Bonner* with his Houſhold makes all poſſible Haſte to the Proceſſion. *Dabney* being left alone, came down to the outward Court next the Gate, there walking heavily by himſelf, looking for nothing leſs than to eſcape that Danger. The Porter, who was only left at home, ſeeing the Man walk alone, ſuppoſing he had been ſome Citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the Gate, went and opened the Wicket, asking if he would go out. Yea, ſaid he, with a good Will, if ye will let me out. With all my Heart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you ſo do.

And thus the ſaid *Dabney* taking the Occaſion offered of God, being let out by the Porter, eſcaped out of the Wolf's Mouth. The Proceſſion being done, when the Biſhop returned home, *Dabney* was gone, and could not be found. Whereupon Search was was made, but eſpecially *John Avales* laid wait for him: Who after long ſearching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen Crowns of his Wife to let him alone when he ſhould ſee him, and ſo that good Man eſcaped.

A like Example of God Almighty's Goodneſs towards his afflicted Servants in that dangerous Time of Perſecution, may alſo appear evidently in one *Alexander Wimſhurſt*, a Prieſt, ſome Time of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, and then a Papiſt, but ſince an earneſt Enemy to *Antichriſt*, and a Man better inſtructed in the true Fear of God. It happened that one had promoted him to Biſhop *Bonner* for Religion, upon what Occaſion I do not underſtand. According to the old Manner in ſuch Caſes provided, he ſent forth *Robin Caly*, otherwiſe called *Robin Papiſt*, one of his Whelps to bring in the Game, and to cauſe this ſilly poor Man to appear before him. Little *Robin*, like a proper Man, beſtirreth himſelf in his Buſineſs, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had taken him, bringeth him along by *Cheapſide*, not ſuffering him to talk with any of his Acquaintance by the Way, tho' they were of his old Friends of *Oxford* that offered to ſpeak unto him.

When they came into St. *Paul*'s, he eſpied Dr. *Chadſey* there walking up and down, and to whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a Caſe to do Pleaſure, and for that he had been of his old Acquaintance in *Oxford*, he was very deſirous to ſpeak to him ere he went through. *Chadſey* perceiving that *Robin Caly* did attend upon him, ſaid that he durſt not meddle in the Matter. Yes (ſaith little *Robin*) you may talk with him if it pleaſe you Maſter Doctor. To be ſhort, *Alexander* openeth his Caſe, and in the End deſireth, for old Acqaintance Sake, that he would find Means he might be rather brought before Dr. *Martin* to be examined, than any other. Nay, ſaith he (alledging the Words of Chriſt unto *Peter* in the laſt Chapter of St. *John*,) You remember, Brother, what is written in the Goſpel; *When thou waſt young, thou didſt gird thyſelf, and wenteſt whither thou wouldeſt: But being aged, other Men ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou would'ſt not.* Thus abuſing the Scripture to his private Meaning, whereas notwithſtanding he might eaſily have accompliſhed ſo ſmall a Requeſt, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to *Story* and *Cook* Commiſſioners, there to learn what ſhould become of him. Before them he did uſe himſelf boldly and ſtoutly, as they on the other Side did urge him, with captious Queſtions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor Man their fill, they asked him where his Whore was. She is not my Whore (ſaid he) but my lawful Wife. She is thy Whore, ſaid they. She is not my Whore (ſaid he again) but my Wife, I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them ſo much as they looked for at his Hand, according to the ordinary Manner, they commanded him to Priſon. And now mark well the Providence of God in his Preſervation.

He was brought into *Cluny*'s Houſe at *Pater-noſter-row*, thence to be carried to *Lollard's-Tower* out of hand, but that *Cluny* (as it happened) his Wife and his Maid were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent Buſineſs, that as then they had not Leiſure to lock up their Priſoner. In the Hall where *Alexander* ſate was a ſtrange Woman, whoſe Husband was then preſently in Trouble for Religion, which perceived by ſome one Occaſion or other, that this Man was brought in for the like Cauſe. Alack, good Man, ſaith ſhe, if you will you may eſcape the cruel Hands of your Enemies, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould look unto. God hath opened the Way unto you for a Deliverance, and therefore loſe not the Opportunity thereof if you be wiſe. Being perſuaded with theſe and ſuch like Words, he went out of the Doors, and eſcaped their Hands.

John Davis, *under twelve Years of Age.*

IN the Year 1546, and the laſt Year of King *Henry* VIII, *John Davis*, a Child of twelve Years and under, who dwelling in the Houſe of Mr. *Johnſon* Apothecary, in the Town of *Worceſter*, his Uncle, uſing ſometimes to read in the Teſtament and other *Engliſh* Books, was complained of by his Miſtreſs; who was an obſtinate Perſon, and conſulted with one *Thomas Parton*, and *Alice Brook*, Wife to *Nicholas Brook*, Organ-maker, with certain of the Canons, and Mr. *Johnſon*, Chancellor to Dr. *Heath* their Biſhop. The Means whereby he was intrapped was wrought by the aforeſaid *Alice Brooks*, who procured her Son *Oliver*, School-fellow with the ſaid *John Davis*, to feign Friendſhip with him, and under Pretence to be inſtructed, to ſee his *Engliſh* Books, and eſpecially to get ſomething of his Writing againſt the ſix Articles: Which being had, was ſoon brought to the Canons of the Church and the Chancellor. Whereupon *Thomas Parton* came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced againſt his Will to bind the poor Boy's Arms behind him; and ſo he was brought to the Officers of the Town, where he lay from the 14th of *Aug.* till the laſt of *September*. Then was he commanded to the Freemans Priſon, where one *Richard Howborough*, coming to perſuade him from burning, willed him to prove firſt with a Candle: Who then holding his Finger, and the other a Candle under it a good Space, yet (as the Party himſelf aſſured him) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the Candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and ſaw no Scorching of the Candle at all appeared.

The Child was removed from thence to an inner Priſon, called *Peephole*, where the low Bayliff, named *Robert Yould*, laid upon him a pair of Bolts, ſo that he could not lift up his little Legs, but leaning on a Staff, ſtipt them forward upon the Ground: With theſe Bolts his lying was upon the cold Ground, having not one Lock of Straw nor Cloth to cover him, ſave only two Sheep-skins, neither durſt Father or Mother, or any of his Friends come to him. Beſides this, and many great Threats of the Papiſts, there was a Madman put to him in the Priſon, with a Knife about him, wherewith he oft-times in his frantick Rage proffered to thruſt him in.

After this come to him one *Joyliff* and *Yewer*, two Canons, who had his Writings againſt the ſix Articles, and his Ballad, called, *Come down for all your ſhaven Crown:* to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging Words, not long after ſate Mr. *Johnſon* the Chancellor in the *Guildhall* upon the poor Lad. Where firſt were brought in his Accuſers and ſworn, then were ſworn alſo twenty-four Men which went on his Queſt, and found him guilty, but he never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was ſent to the common Goal among Thieves and Murderers, there to tarry the coming of the Judges, and ſo to be had ſtrait to Execution. But the mighty Mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the Deſolate and Miſerable when all other Help is paſt, ſo provided for this innocent Lad, that the Purpoſe of all his hard-hearted Enemies was diſappointed: For before the Judges came, God took away *Henry* VIII out of this Life. By reaſon whereof the Force of the Law was then ſtayed, howbeit he was nevertheleſs arraigned, being held up in a Man's Arms at the Bar before the Judges, who were *Portman* and *Marven:* who when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him preſently whipped. But Mr. *Bourne* declared to the Judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a Week more in Priſon, he had him home to his Houſe, his Wife anointed his Legs herſelf with Ointment,

which then were ſtiff and numb'd with Irons, till at length when Mr. *Bourne* and his Wife ſaw they could not win him to the Belief of their Sacrament, they put him away, leſt he ſhould infect their Son *Anthony*, as they thought, with Hereſy.

Thus *John Davis* was mercifully preſerved, after he had ſuffered Impriſonment from the 14th Day of *Auguſt* till within ſeven Days of *Eaſter*, who is yet alive, and a profitable Miniſter this Day in the Church of *England:* Bleſſed be the Lord.

Mrs. Roberts.

MIſtreſs *Roberts*, a Gentlewoman, in the Town of *Hawkhurſt* in *Suſſex*, being earneſtly addicted to the Truth of the Goſpel, and no leſs conſtant in that which ſhe had learned therein, ſo kept herſelf during all the Brunt of Queen *Mary*'s Time, that ſhe never came to their popiſh Service, nor polluted her Conſcience with their idolatrous Maſs. There dwelt at the ſame Time not far off a Juſtice called Sir *John Gilford*, who being as fervent on the contrary Side to ſet forward the Proceedings of Queen *Mary*, thought to prove Maſteries with this Gentlewoman, in forcing her into the Church. And firſt ſending his Wife, he attempted her by fair Words and gentle Perſuaſions to conform herſelf to the Prince's Laws, and to come, as other chriſtian People did, to the Church. Notwithſtanding, ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in the Sincerity of the Truth, would by no Perſuaſions be won to do therein againſt her Conſcience; and ſo kept at home a certain Time till again Mr. *Gilford* thinking not to give her over ſo, ſent his Officers and Servants to her, by Force and Power to hale her out of her Houſe to the Church, and ſo did. Where, by the way, ſhe for Grief of Conſcience ſwooned, and ſo of Neceſſity was brought home again, and falling into an Ague, was for that Time diſpenſed with. When ſhe had recovered her Health again, he came in Perſon to compel her to come to Church whether ſhe would or no. But (as the Proverb goeth) Who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. *Gilford* had purpoſed as pleaſed him, the Lord ſo diſpoſed for this good Woman, that as he was coming up Stairs toward her Chamber, ſuddenly his old Diſeaſe the Gout ſeized him, and ſo terribly tormented him, that he could go no farther: And ſo he, that purpoſed to carry her to the Church againſt her Will, was forced himſelf to be carried home to his Houſe to his Pain, proteſting and ſwearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that Gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

MIſtreſs *Anne Lacy* Widow, in *Nottinghamſhire*, was in great Danger in Queen *Mary*'s Time, inſomuch that the Proceſs was out againſt her, and ſhe ready to have been apprehended, being ſo nearly purſued, that ſhe was driven to hide her Bible and other Books in a Dunghil. Mr. *Lacy* her Brother was then Juſtice of Peace: But to whom (as I have heard) ſhe was but very little beholden. Nevertheleſs, where Kindred faileth, yet God's Grace never faileth ſuch as ſtick to him; for in this mean Time, as the Proceſs came out againſt her, Queen *Mary* died, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

Croſsman's *Wife.*

SHE lived at *Tibnam Longrow* in *Norfolk*, and for not going to Church, was ſought for at her Houſe by the Conſtable of the Hundred, who when he came to her Houſe, ſhe being at home with a Child ſucking in her Arms, ſtept into a Corner on the one ſide of the Chimney, and they ſeeking about the Chambers the Child never cried (altho' before they came, it did) as long as they were there, and ſo by this Means the Lord preſerved her.

The Congregation at Stoke *in* Suffolk.

THere were ſome likewiſe that avoided the violent Rage of the Adverſaries by Means only of their Number, and mutual according in Godlineſs, wherein they did ſo hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: Whereof we have an Example in a certain Town in *Suffolk* called *Stoke*. After the three ſharp Years of Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution being paſt, yet notwithſtanding the Inhabitants of the Town aforeſaid, eſpecially the Women, came not to their Church to receive, after the popiſh Manner, the Sacrament. Who, if they had been but few, they could by no Means have eſcaped Impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the Papiſts thought it not beſt to lay Hands upon them. Only they appointed them ſixteen Days Reſpite after *Eaſter*, wherein as many as would, ſhould receive the Sacrament; thoſe that would not, ſhould ſtand to the Peril that would follow. Of this Company, which were many, giving their Hands together, the Chief were theſe:

Eve, an old Woman of ſixty Years. *Alice Coker*, her Daughter. *Elizabeth Foxe*. *Agnes Cutting*. *Alice Spenſer*. *Henry Canker*. *Joan Fouke*. *Agnes Spaulding*. *John Steyre* and his Brother. *John Foxe*.

Theſe, after the Order was taken for their not coming to the Church, took Counſel among themſelves what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by Promiſe one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet ſome of them afterward, being perſuaded with fair Promiſes that the Communion ſhould be miniſtred unto them according to King *Edward*'s Book, went to the Pariſh-prieſt (whoſe Name was *Cotes*) and asked him after which ſort he would adminiſter the Sacrament. He anſwered to ſuch as he ſavoured, that he would give it after the right ſort; the reſt ſhould have it after the popiſh Manner.

To be ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but only *John Steyre* and *John Foxe*; of which the one gave his Wife Leave to do as ſhe thought beſt. The other went about with Threats to compel his Wife, ſaying, that otherwiſe he would divorce himſelf from her. As for the reſt, they withdrew themſelves from Church, reſorting to their wonted Company, only *Foxe*'s Wife tarried ſtill at home, in Heavineſs, whoſe Husband practiſed with the Curate in the mean Time, the next Day after he ſhould give her the Sacrament, which was the ſeventeenth Day after *Eaſter*. But the very ſame Day, unknowing to her Husband, ſhe went ſecretly to her Company, and with Tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her. The other Women bade her notwithſtanding to be of good Cheer, and ſaid that they would make their earneſt Prayers to God both for her and her Husband; and indeed when they had ſo done, the Matter took very good Succeſs. For the next Day after goodman *Foxe* came of his own Accord unto them, a far other Man than he was before, and bewailed his own Raſhneſs, praying them that they would forgive him, promiſing ever after to be more ſtrong in Faith, to the great rejoycing both of them and his Wife.

About half a Year after this, the Biſhop of *Norwich* ſendeth forth certain of his Officers or Apparators thither, which gave them Warning every one to come to the Church the next *Sunday* following. If they would not come, they ſhould appear before the Commiſſary out of hand, to render Account of their Abſence. But the Women having ſecret Knowledge of this before, kept themſelves out of the Way on purpoſe, to avoid the Summons or Warning. Therefore

when they were not at the Church at the Day appointed, the Commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them, according to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Law, and within three Weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived than an Officer of the Town was ſet to take ſome of them, they conveying themſelves privily out of the Town, eſcaped all Danger.

The Congregation in London.

NO leſs wonderful was the Preſervation of the Congregation in *London*, which from the firſt Beginning of Queen *Mary*, to the latter End thereof, continued, notwithſtanding whatſoever the Malice, Device, ſearching and Inquiſition of Men, or Strictneſs of Laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful Hand of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed Goodneſs, ever working with his People. Of this bountiful Goodneſs of the Lord, many and great Examples appeared in the Congregation which now I ſpeak of. How oft, and in what great Danger did he deliver them?

Firſt, In *Black-friers*, when they ſhould have reſorted to Sir *Thomas Carden*'s Houſe, privy Watch was laid for them, but yet through God's Providence the Miſchief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again, they narrowly eſcaped about *Aldgate*, where Spies were laid for them: and had not *Thom. Simſon* the Deacon eſpied them, and bid them diſperſe themſelves away, they had been taken. For within two Hours the Conſtables coming to the Houſe after they were gone, demanded of the Wife what Company had been there. To whom ſhe, to excuſe the Matter, made Anſwer again, ſaying, that half a dozen good Fellows had been there at Breakfaſt as they went a Maying.

Another Time alſo about the great Conduit, they paſſing there thro' a very narrow Alley, into a Clothworker's Loft, were eſpied, and the Sheriffs ſent for: But before they came, they having privy Knowledge thereof, immediately ſhifted away out of the Alley, *John Avales* ſtanding alone in the Mercer's Chapel ſtaring at them.

Another like Eſcape they made in a Ship at *Billingſgate*, belonging to a certain good Man of *Leigh*, where in the open Sight of the People they were aſſembled together, and yet through God's mighty Power eſcaped.

Betwixt *Ratcliff* and *Redriff*, in a Ship called *Jeſus Ship*, twice or thrice they aſſembled, having there cloſely, after their accuſtomed Manner, both Sermon, Prayer, and Communion, and yet through the Protection of the Lord they returned, altho' not uneſpied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a Cooper's Houſe in *Pudding-Lane*, ſo near they were to Perils and Dangers, that *John Avales* coming into the Houſe where they were, talked with the Man of the Houſe, and after he had asked a Queſtion or two, departed; God ſo working that either he had no Knowledge of them, or no Power to take them.

But they never eſcaped more hardly, than once in *Thames-ſtreet* in the Night-time, where the Houſe being beſet with Enemies, they were delivered by the Means of a Mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame Company, and ſeeing no other Way to avoid, pluckt off his Slops and ſwam to the next Boat, and ſo rowed the Company over, uſing his Shoes inſtead of Oars, and ſo the Jeopardy was diſpatched.

Edward Bennet.

ABout the ſecond Year of Queen *Mary*, *Edward Bennet*, then dwelling at *Queenhith*, was deſired by Mr. *Tingle* Priſoner then in *Newgate*, to bring him a *New Teſtament*. He procuring one of Mr. *Coverdale*'s Tranſlation, wrapt it in a Handkerchief, ſaying to *George* the Keeper, who asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdred Beef. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaying that Book was not lawful, and ſo committed him to *Woodſtreet-Compter*, where he continued 25 Weeks.

Dr. *Story* coming to the Priſon to examine other Priſoners, this *Bennet* looking out at the Grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out, for he had lain long in Priſon. To whom Dr. *Story* anſwered, Waſt thou not before me in Chriſt's-church? Yes forſooth, ſaid *Bennet*. Ah, ſaid *Story*, thou doſt not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? Marry I will help thee out; come, ſaid he to the Keeper, turn him out, I will help him; and ſo took *Bennet* with him, and brought him to *Cluny* in *Pater-noſter-row*, and bade him bring him to the Coal-houſe, and there he was in the Stocks a Week.

Then the Biſhop ſent for him to talk with him, and firſt asked him if he were confeſſed? No, ſaid *Bennet*. He asked him if he would be confeſſed? No, ſaid he. Then he asked him if the Prieſt could take away his Sins. No, ſaid *Bennet*, I do not ſo believe.

Then he and *Harpsfield* laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatſoever the Prieſt here bound in Earth, ſhould be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth in Earth ſhould be looſed in Heaven. No, ſaid *Bennet*; but I believe that the Miniſter of God preaching God's Word truly, and adminiſtring the Sacraments according to the ſame, whatſoever he bindeth in Earth, ſhould be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth, *&c.* Then the Biſhop putting him aſide, ſaid he ſhould go to *Fulham* and be whipped.

Mr. *Buſwell* a Prieſt then came to him lying in the Coalhouſe in the Stocks, and brought *Cranmer*'s Recantation, ſaying, that he had recanted. My Faith, ſaid the other, lieth in no Man's Book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next *Saturday*, *Bennet* with five others were called for to come to Maſs in the Chappel. The Maſs being done, and they coming out, five of them went to Priſon, and were afterwards burned. *Bennet* being behind, and coming toward the Gate, the Porter, opening to a Company going out, asked if there were no Priſoners there. No, ſaid they. *Bennet* ſtanding in open Sight before him, with other ſerving Men who were there by reaſon that *Bonner* made many Prieſts that Day, when the Gates were opened, went out amongſt them and ſo eſcaped.

Again, in the laſt Year of Queen *Mary*, the ſame *Bennet* being taken again with the twenty-four beyond *Iſlington*, and brought to Sir *Roger Cholmley*'s, the People coming very thick did cut off ſome of them, to the Number of eight, which were behind, among whom was *Bennet*. Then he knocked at the Gate to come in, the Porter ſaid, that he was none of the Company. He ſaid, yes, and knocked again. Then there ſtood by one of the Congregation, named *Johnſon*, who ſaid, *Edward*, thou haſt done well, do not tempt God: go thy Way. And ſo he taking the Warning as ſent of God, with a quiet Conſcience eſchewed burning.

Jeffrey Hurſt, *Brother-in-law to* George Marſh, *Martyr.*

IN the Town of *Shakerley* in *Lancaſhire* dwelt one *Jeffery Hurſt*, the Son of an honeſt Yeoman, who had beſides him eleven Children, the ſaid *Jeffery* being the twelfth and eldeſt: And their Father being willing to bring them up, ſo that they ſhould be able another Day to help themſelves, he did bind this *Jeffery* Prentice unto the Craft of Nailing, to make

make all kind of Nails, which Occupation he learned, and ſerved out the Time of ſeven Years, which being expired, he gave himſelf at Times to learn of his other Brethren which went to School: And as he was very willing to the ſame, ſo God ſent him Knowledge; wherein he perſevered and went forwards in ſuch Sort, that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer Continuance came by more Knowledge, and ſo having the Bible and divers other Books in his Houſe, did come to Knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took to Wife the Siſter of Mr. *George Marſh*, of whoſe Martyrdom mention is made before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly mend his Knowledge. Now when Queen *Mary* was entred the firſt Year of her Reign, he kept himſelf away from their Doings, and came not to the Church; whereupon he was laid in wait for and called Heretick, and *Lollard*; and ſo for fear of further Danger he was compelled to leave his Wife and Child, and flie into *Yorkſhire*, and there being not known did lead his Life, returning ſometimes by Night to his Houſe to comfort his Wife, and bringing with him ſome Preacher or other, who uſed to preach unto them ſo long as the Time would ſerve, and ſo departed by Night again. The Names of the Preachers were Mr. *Reneſes*, Mr. *Beſt*, Mr. *Brodbanke*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, and every time they came thither they were about twenty, or twenty-four ſometimes, but ſixteen at leaſt, who had there alſo ſometimes a Communion. And thus in much Fear did he with others lead his Life, till the laſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Then it chanced that the ſaid *Jeffery Hurſt*, after the Death of his Father, came home and kept cloſe for ſeven or eight Weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at *Morleſs*, a certain Juſtice of Peace, and of the Quorum, named *Thomas Lelond*, who hearing of him, appointed a Time to come to his Father's Houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the Houſe for Books, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo did. *Jeffery* and his Company having Knowledge of his coming, took the Books which were in the Houſe, as the *Bible*, the *Communion Book*, and the *New Teſtament* of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a Tub or Fat, conveying alſo the ſaid *Jeffery* under the ſame, with a great deal of Straw underneath him: For as it chanced they had the more Time, becauſe when the Juſtice came almoſt to the Door, he ſtay'd and would not enter the Houſe till he had ſent for *Hurſt*'s Mother's Landlady, Mrs. *Shakerley*; and then with her Conſent intended to go forwards. In the mean Time, *Jeffery* by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his Window the *Teſtament* of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, and a little Book containing the third Part of the *Bible*, with the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, to try what they would ſay unto them.

This done, Miſtreſs *Shakerley* came. Unto whom the Juſtice immediately declared the Cauſe of his coming, and how he was ſorry to attempt any ſuch thing againſt any of her Tenants for her Sake, but notwithſtanding he muſt needs execute his Office. And again you muſt, (ſaid he) note this, that a ſcabbed Sheep is able to infect a great Number; and eſpecially having, as he hath, ſo many Brethren and Siſters, he is able to marr them all, if he be not looked unto in Time. And thus concluding, Mr. *Lelond* entered into the Houſe, and being come in, ſet himſelf in a Chair in the middle of the Houſe; and ſending Sir *Ralph Parkinſon* his Prieſt, and one of his Men, and one of Mrs. *Shakerley*'s Men about the Houſe, to ſearch and rifle the Cheſts (who did ſo) in the mean Time he talked with *Hurſt*'s Mother, almoſt 60 Years of Age; and chiding with her that ſhe would ſuffer her Son ſo to order and behave himſelf like an Heretick, ſaid, Thou old Fool, I know myſelf that this new Learning ſhall come again; but for how long? Even for three Months or four Months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old Fool, in *Lancaſter* Dungeon for this, and well worthy.

Now as concerning the Searchers, they found nothing but *Latin* Books, as Grammar, and ſuch like. Theſe be not what we look for (ſaid they) we muſt ſee farther, and ſo looked into *Hurſt*'s Chamber, where they found the foreſaid Books. Then Sir *Ralph* taking up the *Teſtament*, look'd on it, and ſmiled. His Maſter ſeeing that, ſaid, Now Sir *Ralph*, what have we here? Forſooth, ſaith he, a *Teſtament* of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, plain Hereſy, and none worſe than it. Then ſaid he, all their Goods are loſt to the Queen, and their Bodies to Priſon, and was wonderfully haſty; notwithſtanding through the Means of Mrs. *Shakerley* he was content to ſtay a little.

Then the Prieſt looked on the other Book. What ſay ye to that Sir *Ralph?* Is that as bad as the other? No, ſaid he, but it is not good that they ſhould have ſuch *Engliſh* Books to look on; for this and ſuch others may do much Harm. Then he asked his Mother where her eldeſt Son was, and her Daughter *Alice?* She anſwer'd ſhe could not tell; they had not been with her a long Time. And he ſwore by God's Body, he would make her tell where they were, or he'd lay her in *Lancaſter* Dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithſtanding too. To be ſhort, for Fear, he had his Brother *J. Hurſt* and his Mother bound in an hundred Pound to bring the Parties before him in fourteen Days Time, and ſo he departed, and the Prieſt put both the Books in his Boſom, and carried them away with him. Then *John Hurſt* went after them, deſiring that he might have the Book which the Prieſt found no Fault with; but he ſaid, they ſhould anſwer to them both, and which ſoever was the better, neither was good.

As this paſt on, when the Time was come that *Jeffery Hurſt* and his Siſter ſhould be examined, the Juſtice ſent for them betimes in the Morning, and had prepared a Maſs to begin withal, asking *Jeffery Hurſt* if he would firſt go and ſee his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom *Jeffery* anſwer'd and ſaid, Sir, my Maker is in Heaven, and I am ſure in going to your Maſs I ſhall find no Edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excuſed.

Well, well, ſaid he, I perceive I ſhall find you an Heretick, by God; but I will go to Maſs, and I will not loſe it for all your Prattling. Then he went into his Chapel, and when Maſs was done he ſent for them, and cauſed his Prieſt to read a Scroll unto them as concerning the ſeven Sacraments; and ever as he ſpake of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, he put off his Cap, and ſaid; Lo ye may ſee, you will deny theſe Things, and care not for your Prince; but you ſhall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the Faculty of you, with other Talk more between them, I know not what; but in the End they were licenſed to depart under Sureties to appear again before him within three Weeks, and then to go to *Lancaſter*. Howbeit, in the mean Time it ſo pleaſed God, that within four Days of the Day appointed, it was noiſed that the Queen was dead, and within fourteen Days after the ſaid *Jeffery Hurſt* had ſent home his two Books, and nothing was ſaid unto him.

It followed after this, that God's Word began to take Place, and the Queen's Viſitor came down into that Country, who choſe four Men in the Pariſh, to wit, *Simon Smith*, *Jeffery Hurſt*, *Henry Brown*, *George Eccerſly*, which four were Proteſtants, to ſee the Queen's Proceedings take Place; who according to their Power did ſo, notwithſtanding it little prevailed; and therefore the ſaid *Jeffery* being ſore grieved with the Office, fell ſick, and died.

*

William

William Wood *of* Kent.

William Wood, Baker, dwelling in the County of *Kent*, was examined before Dr. *Kenall*, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Chedſey*, the Mayor of *Rocheſter*, and Mr. *Robinſon* the Scribe on the 19th Day of *October*, and in the ſecond Year of Queen *Mary*, in St. *Nicholas*'s Church in *Rocheſter*.

Scribe. *William Wood*, you are preſented becauſe you will not come to the Church, nor receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, How ſay you, have you received or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now miniſter it.

Kenal. Thou Heretick, what is the Cauſe that thou haſt not received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? And at this Word they all put off their Caps and made low Obeiſance.

Wood. There be three Cauſes that make my Conſcience afraid that I dare not receive it. The firſt, Chriſt did deliver it to his twelve Apoſtles and ſaid, *Take, eat, and drink ye all of this*, &c. and ye eat and drink up all alone. The ſecond Cauſe is; you hold it to be worſhipped, contrary to God's Commandment, thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhip. The third Cauſe is; you miniſter it in a ſtrange Tongue, contrary to St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, I had rather have five Words with Underſtanding, than ten thouſand with Tongues: By reaſon whereof the People be ignorant of the Death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou Heretick, wilt thou have any plainer Words than theſe, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid, but with my Heart I do faithfully believe them. St. *Paul* ſaith, *God calleth thoſe Things that are not, as tho' they were:* and Chriſt ſaith, *I am a Vine: I am a Door.* St. *Paul* ſaith, *The Rock is Chriſt:* All which are figurative Speeches, wherein one Thing is ſpoken, and another Thing is underſtood.

Robinſon. You make a very long Talk of this Matter: learn, *Wood*, learn.

Kenall. Nay, theſe Hereticks will not learn: look how this Heretick glorieth in himſelf: Thou Fool, art thou wiſer than the Queen and her Council, and all the learned Men of this Realm?

Wood. And pleaſe you, Mr. Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have ſuch Glory, to have your Life and Goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the Servant is not greater than his Maſter. And where you do mock me, and ſay that I am wiſer than the Queen and her Council, St. *Paul* ſaith, *The Wiſdom of the Wiſe of this World is Fooliſhneſs before God, and he that will be wiſe in this World, ſhall be accounted but a Fool.*

Kenall. Doſt thou not believe that after theſe Words ſpoken by a Prieſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meum, this is my Body*, there remaineth no more Bread and Wine, but the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, really and ſubſtantially, in Quantity and Quality, as he did hang upon the Croſs?

Wood. I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, give me Leave, for my Learning, to ask you one Queſtion, and I will anſwer you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe Queſtion, I warrant you.

Wood. God ſpake to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, ſaying, *Thou Son of Man, take a Raſor, and ſhave off the Hair of thy Head and of thy Beard, and take one part and caſt it into the Air, take the ſecond part and put it into thy Coat-lap; and take the third part, and caſt it into the Fire: and this is* Jeruſalem. I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, was this Hair that the Prophet did caſt into the Fire, or was it *Jeruſalem?*

Kenall. It did ſignify *Jeruſalem.*

Wood. Even ſo this Word of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, is not to be underſtood, that Chriſt's carnal, natural, and real Body is in the ſame, in Quantity and Quality as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he was crucify'd on the Croſs, is preſent or incloſed in the Sacrament: But it doth ſignify Chriſt's Body, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *So oft as ye eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's Death till he come.* What ſhould the Apoſtle mean by this Word, *Till he come*, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the ſame Quantity and Quality as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he did hang on the Croſs, as you ſay? But St. *Paul* ſaith, *You ſhall ſhew the Lord's Death till he come.* This doth argue that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

Chadſey. I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the Form of Bread, but not in Quantity and Quality.

Kenall. Yes, he is here preſent in Quantity and Quality.

Chadſey. He is here preſent under a Form, and not in Quantity and Quality.

Yes, ſaid *Kenall.*

No, ſaid *Chadſey.*

I will prove him here in Quantity and Quality, ſaid *Kenall.*

I will prove the contrary, ſaid *Chadſey.*

And theſe two Doctors were ſo earneſt in this Matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending ſo fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the Mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in another's Face, ſo that in great Fury and Rage the two Doctors roſe up from the Judgment-ſeat, and Dr. *Kenall* departed out of the Church in great Rage and Fury immediately.

Wood. Behold good People, they would have us to believe, that Chriſt is naturally, really, in Quantity and Quality, preſent in the Sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themſelves, nor agree within themſelves how he is there.

At theſe Words the People made a great Shout, and the Mayor ſtood up and commanded the People to be quiet, and to keep Silence. And the God that did deliver St. *Paul* out of the Hands of the High-prieſts, by the Contention that was between the Phariſees and Sadducees, did even ſo deliver me at that Time out of the Mouths of the bloody Papiſts, by means of the Contention of theſe two Doctors. Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord, who hath promiſed to lay no more upon his People, than he will enable them to bear, and in the midſt of Temptation can make a Way for them (how, and when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all Dangers.

Many other like Examples of God's helping Hand have been declared upon his elect Saints and Children, a remarkable Inſtance of which may be ſeen in *Simon Grinæus*, mentioned in the Commentary of *Melanchthon*, in his own Words as followeth.

The Hiſtory of Simon Grinæus, *collected out of* Melanchthon's *Commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of* Daniel.

WHen I was (ſaith he) at the Aſſembly holden at *Spire*, in the Year of our Lord 1539, by Chance *Simon Grinæus* came thither unto me from the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*, where he heard *Faber* the Biſhop of *Vienna*, in a Sermon defend and maintain many deteſtable Errors. When the Sermon was done, he followed *Faber* out of the Church, and ſaluted him reverently, telling him that he had ſomewhat to ſay to him: The Biſhop was willing to talk with him.

Then *Grinæus* ſaid unto him, that he was very ſorry that a Man of ſuch Learning and Authority ſhould openly maintain ſuch Errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might be refuted by the

manifeſt Teſtimonies of the Scriptures. *Ireneus* writeth (ſaith he) that *Polycarpus* was wont to ſtop his Ears whenſoever he heard any erroneous and wicked Doctrine. With what Mind then (think you) would *Polycarpus* have heard you argue and reaſon what it is that the Mouſe eateth, when he gnaweth the conſecrated Hoſt? Who would not bewail ſuch Ignorance and Blindneſs of the Church? With this the Biſhop break off his Talk, and asked his Name. This Man diſſembling nothing, gently told him, that his Name was *Grinæus*.

This Biſhop (as many well know) was alſo timorous and fearful in the Company of learned Men. Wherefore he fearing the Learning, Eloquence, and fervent Zeal of *Grinæus*, eſpecially in ſuch a Matter as this was, fained as though he had been ſent for by the King, and that he had no Leiſure now to reaſon upon this Matter. He pretended that he was very deſirous of Acquaintance and longer Talk with *Grinæus*, intreating him, that both for his own private Cauſe, and alſo for the Commonwealth, he would come again the next Day unto him, and ſo ſhewed him his Lodging, and appointed him an Hour when he ſhould come: *Grinæus*, thinking that he had ſpoken unfainedly, promiſed ſo to do.

When he was departed from the Biſhop, he immediately came to us, and was ſcarcely ſat at the Table (for it was Supper-time) reciting part of the Talk he had with the Biſhop unto me and others there preſent, when as I ſitting with my Company, was ſuddenly called out of the Parlour by a certain ancient fatherly Man, who ſhewing a ſingular Gravity in his Countenance, Words, and Behaviour, ſpake unto me, and ſaid, that the Serjeants would by and by come unto our Lodging, being ſent by the King's Command, to carry *Grinæus* to Priſon, whom the Biſhop had accuſed to the King; commanding that *Grinæus* ſhould immediately depart out of the Town; and exhorted me, that we ſhould in no caſe delay the Time: And ſo bidding me farewel, departed. But what old Man this was, I neither knew then, nor ever after could underſtand. I returning again to my Company, bade them riſe, and told them what the old Man had ſaid unto me.

By and by, we taking *Grinæus* in the midſt of us, carried him through the Street to the River of *Rhene*, whereas after we had ſtayed upon the hither Bank awhile, until *Grinæus* with his Companion were carried over in a ſmall Boat, returning again to our Lodging, we underſtood that the Serjeants had been there, when we were but a little Way gone out of the Houſe. Now in what great Danger *Grinæus* ſhould have been, if he had been carried to Priſon by this Cruelty of the Biſhop every Man eaſily may conjecture: Wherefore we judged, that that moſt cruel Intent and Purpoſe of him, was diſappointed by God's merciful Providence. And as I cannot ſay, what old Man it was that gave me that Warning, even ſo likewiſe the Serjeants made ſuch quick Speed, that except *Grinæus* had been covered and defended by the Angels thro' the marvellous Providence of God, he could never have eſcaped.

With ſuch like Examples of God's mighty and merciful Cuſtody, the Church of Chriſt in all Ages doth abound, as by manifold Experiences may appear as well among the *Germans*, as alſo in other Places and Ages: But in no Place more, nor in any Time more plentiful, than in this perſecuting Time of Queen *Mary*, in this our Realm of *England*, as partly hath been already ſhewn, and part yet remaineth (God willing) moreover hereunto to be added.

The Lady Katherine *Dutcheſs of* Suffolk.

Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſurmiſing the Lady *Katherine*, Baroneſs of *Willoughby* and *Eresby*, and Dutcheſs Dowager of *Suffolk*, to be one of his ancient Enemies, becauſe he knew he had deſerved no better of her, deviſed, in the holy Time of the firſt *Lent* in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, a holy Practice of Revenge, firſt by touching her in the Perſon of her Husband, *Richard Berty*, Eſquire, for whom he ſent an Attachment (having the great Seal at his Devotion) to the Sheriff of *Lincolnſhire*, with a ſpecial Letter, commanding moſt ſtraitly the ſame Sheriff to attach the ſaid *Richard* immediately, and without Bail to bring him up to *London* to his Lordſhip. Mr. *Berty* being clear in Conſcience, and free from Offence toward the Queen, could not conjecture any Cauſe of this ſtrange Proceſs, unleſs it were ſome Quarrel for Religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the Proceſs pretended.

The Sheriff, notwithſtanding the Commandment, adventured only to take a Bond of Mr. *Berty* with two Sureties in a thouſand Pounds, for his Appearance to be made before the Biſhop on *Good Friday* following, at which Day Mr. *Berty* appeared, the Biſhop then lying at his Houſe by St. *Mary Overy*'s. Of whoſe Preſence when the Biſhop underſtood by a Gentleman of his Chamber, he came out of his Gallery into his Dining-chamber in a great Rage, where he found a Croud of Suitors, ſaying he would not that Day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. *Berty*, how he being a Subject, durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former Proceſſes of the Queen.

Mr. *Berty* anſwered, that albeit my Lord's Words might ſeem to the reſt ſomewhat ſharp toward him, yet he conceived great Comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it Extremity to be attached, having uſed no Obſtinacy or Contumacy, now he gathered of thoſe Words, that my Lord meant not otherwiſe but to have uſed ſome ordinary Proceſs; albeit indeed none came to his Hands.

Yea marry, ſaid the Biſhop, I have ſent you two *Subpœna*'s to appear immediately, and I am ſure you received them, for I committed the Truſt of them to no worſe Man than Mr. Sollicitor, and I ſhall make you an Example to all *Lincolnſhire* for your Obſtinacy.

Mr. *Berty* denying the Receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordſhip to ſuſpend his Diſpleaſure and the Puniſhment till he had good Trial thereof, and then, if it pleaſe him, to double the Pain for the Fault, if any were.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, I have appointed myſelf this Day (according to the Holineſs of the ſame) for Devotion, and I will not further trouble myſelf with you: But I enjoyn you in a thouſand Pounds not to depart without Leave, and to be here again To-morrow at ſeven of the Clock. Mr. *Berty* came at the Time appointed, at which Time the Biſhop had with him Mr. Serjeant *Stampford*, to whom he moved certain Queſtions of the ſaid Mr. *Berty*, becauſe Mr. Serjeant was towards the Lord *Wriotheſley*, late Earl of *Southampton*, and Chancellor of *England*, with whom the ſaid Mr. *Berty* was brought up. Mr. Serjeant made very friendly Report of Mr. *Berty*, of his own Knowledge for the Time of their Converſation together. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed Mr. *Berty* to be brought in, and firſt making a falſe Train (as God would without Fire) before he would deſcend to the Quarrel of Religion, he aſſaulted him in this Manner.

Biſhop of Wincheſter. The Queen's Pleaſure is, that you ſhall make preſent Payment of 4000 *l.* due to her Father

Father by Duke *Charles*, late Husband to the Dutcheſs your Wife, whoſe Executor ſhe was.

Berty. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, that Debt is eſtalled, and is according to that Eſtallment truly anſwered.

Biſhop. Tuſh, the Queen will not be bound to Eſtallments in the Time of *Kett*'s Government: For ſo I eſteem the late Government.

Berty. The Eſtallment was appointed by King *Henry* the eighth: Beſides, the ſame was by ſpecial Commiſſioners confirmed in King *Edward*'s Time; and the Lord Treaſurer being an Executor alſo to the Duke *Charles* ſolely and wholy, took upon him before the ſaid Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Biſhop. If it be true that you ſay, I will ſhew you Favour. But of another Thing Mr. *Berty* I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I hear Evil of your Religion, yet I can hardly think Evil of you, whoſe Mother I know to be as godly and catholick, as any within this Land; yourſelf brought up with a Maſter, whoſe Education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as Author of his Error. Beſides, partly I know you myſelf, and underſtand of my Friends enough to make me your Friend: Wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may ask the Queſtion of my Lady your Wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet up the Maſs, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when ſhe cauſed in her Progreſs, a Dog in a Rochet to be carried, and called by my Name? Or doth ſhe think her Lambs now ſafe enough, who ſaid to me, when I vailed my Bonnet to her out of my Chamber-window in the *Tower*, That it was merry with the Lambs, now the Wolf was ſhut up? Another Time my Lord her Husband, having invited me and divers Ladies to Dinner, deſired every Lady to chuſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: My Lady your Wife, taking me by the Hand, for my Lord would not have her to take himſelf, ſaid, That foraſmuch as ſhe could not ſit down with my Lord, whom ſhe loved beſt, ſhe had choſen him whom ſhe loved worſt.

Of the Device of the Dog, quoth Mr. *Berty*, ſhe was neither the Author nor the Allower. The Words, though in that Seaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you without Offence to know the Cauſe, I am ſure the one will clear the other. As touching ſetting up of Maſs, which ſhe learned, not only by ſtrong Perſuaſions of divers excellent learned Men, but by univerſal Conſent and Order whole ſix Years paſt, inwardly to abhor, if ſhe ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew herſelf a falſe Chriſtian, and to her Prince a maſquing Subject. You know, my Lord, one by Judgment reformed, is more worth than a thouſand transformed Temporiſers. To force a Confeſſion of Religion by Mouth, contrary to that in the Heart, worketh Damnation where Salvation is pretended.

Yea marry (quoth the Biſhop) that Deliberation would do well if ſhe were required to come from an old Religion to a new: But now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient Religion; wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my Lord (ſaid Mr. *Berty*) not long ſince, ſhe anſwered a Friend of hers uſing your Lordſhip's Speech; That Religion went not by Age, but by Truth *: And therefore ſhe was to be turned by Perſuaſion, and not by Commandment.

I pray you (quoth the Biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſuade her?

Yea verily (ſaid Mr. *Berty*) with the Truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The Biſhop thereunto replying, ſaid, It will be a marvellous Grief to the Prince of *Spain*, and to all the Nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two noble Perſonages of the *Spaniſh* Race within this Land, the Queen, and my Lady your Wife, and one of them gone from the Faith.

Mr. *Berty* anſwered that he truſted they ſhould find no Fruits of Infidelity in her.

So the Biſhop perſuaded Mr. *Berty* to labour earneſtly for the Reformation of her Opinion, and offering large Friendſhip, releaſed him of his Bond from further Appearance.

The Dutcheſs and her Husband, daily more and more underſtanding by their Friends that the Biſhop meant to call her to an Account of her Faith, whereby Extremity might follow, deviſed Ways how they might paſs the Seas by the Queen's Licenſe. Mr. *Berty* had a ready Means; for there remained great Sums of Money due to the old Duke of *Suffolk* (one of whoſe Executors the Dutcheſs was) beyond the Seas, the Emperor himſelf being one of thoſe Debtors.

Mr. *Berty* communicated this his purpoſed Suit for Licenſe to paſs the Seas, and the Cauſe to the Biſhop, adding, that he took this Time moſt fit to deal with the Emperor, by reaſon of Likelihood of Marriage between the Queen and his Son.

I like your Device well, ſaid the Biſhop, but I think it better that you tarry the Prince's coming, and I will procure you his Letters alſo to his Father.

Nay, ſaid Mr. *Berty*, under your Lordſhip's Correction, and Pardon for ſo liberal Speech, I ſuppoſe the Time will then be leſs convenient: For when the Marriage is conſummated, the Emperor hath his Deſire, but till then he will refuſe nothing to win Credit with us.

By St. *Mary*, ſaid the Biſhop, ſmiling, you gueſs ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your Suit to the Queen, and it ſhall not lack my helping Hand.

Mr. *Berty* found ſo good Succeſs, that he obtained the Queen's Licence, not only to paſs the Seas, but to paſs and repaſs them as often as ſeemed good unto him, till he had finiſhed all his Buſineſs and Cauſes beyond the Seas. So he paſſed the Seas at *Dover* about the Beginning of *June*, in the firſt Year of her Reign, leaving the Dutcheſs behind, who by Agreement and Conſent betwixt her and her Husband, followed, taking Barge at *Lion-key* very early in the Morning, on the firſt Day of *January* next enſuing, not without ſome Peril.

There was none of thoſe that went with her made privy to her going till the Inſtant, but an old Gentleman, called Mr. *Robert Cranwell*, whom Mr. *Berty* had eſpecially provided for that Purpoſe. She took her Daughter with her, an Infant of one Year old, and the meaneſt of her Servants, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not adventure that Fortune with her. They were in Number four Men, one a *Greek* born, who was a Rider of Horſes, another a Joyner, the third a Brewer, the fourth a Fool, one of the Kitchen, one Gentlewoman and a Laundreſs.

As ſhe departed her Houſe called the *Barbican*, betwixt four and five of the Clock in the Morning, with her Company and Baggage, one *Atkinſon* a Herald, Keeper of her Houſe, hearing a Noiſe, roſe and came out with a Torch in his Hands as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the Gate; wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a Mail with Neceſſaries for her young Daughter, and a Milk-pot with Milk in the ſame Gate-houſe, commanding all her Servants to haſte away before to *Lion-key*: And taking with her only the two Women and her Child, ſo ſoon as ſhe was forth of her own Houſe perceiving the Herald to follow, ſhe ſtept in at the *Charter-houſe* hard by. The Herald coming out of the Dutcheſs's Houſe, and ſeeing no body ſtirring, nor aſſured (tho' by the Mail ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in; and while he ſtayed ranſacking Parcels left in the Mail, the Dutcheſs iſſued into the Streets, and proceeded in her Journey, ſhe knowing the Place only by Name where ſhe ſhould take

* With GOD there's neither Age nor Youth:
He only doth regard the TRUTH.

take her Boat, but not the Way thither, nor any with her. Likewiſe her Servants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the Way to the ſaid *Lion-key*.

So ſhe appeared like a mean Merchant's Wife, and the reſt like mean Servants, walking in the Streets unknown, ſhe took the Way that led to *Finsbury* Fields, and the other walked the City Streets as they lay open before them, till by Chance more than Diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within *Moregate*, from whence they paſſed directly to *Lion-key*, and there took a Barge in a Morning ſo miſty, that the Steer-man was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoon as the Day permitted, the Council was informed of her Departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her Houſe to enquire of the Manner thereof, and took an Inventory of her Goods, beſides further Order deviſed for Search and Watch to apprehend and ſtay her.

The Fame of her Departure reached *Leigh*, a Town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By *Leigh* dwelt one *Goſling* a Merchant of *London*, an old Acquaintance of *Cranwell*'s, whither the ſaid *Cranwell* brought the Dutcheſs, naming her Mrs. *White*, the Daughter of Mr. *Goſling*, for ſuch a Daughter he had who never was in that Country. She there repoſed herſelf, and made no Garments for her Daughter, having loſt her own in the Mail at *Barbican*.

When the Time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that Night to lie at an Inn in *Leigh* (where ſhe was again almoſt betrayed) yet notwithſtanding by God's good Working ſhe eſcaped that Hazard; at length, as the Tide and Wind ſerved, they went aboard, and being carried twice into the Seas, almoſt into the Coaſt of *Zeland*, by contrary Wind were driven to the Place from whence they came; and at the laſt Recoil, certain Perſons came to the Shore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that Ship; yet having examined one of her Company that was on ſhore for freſh Proviſion, and finding by the Simplicity of his Tale only the Appearance of a mean Merchant's Wife to be on Ship-board, he ceaſed to ſearch any further.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoon as the Dutcheſs had landed in *Brabant*, ſhe and her Women were apparelled like the Women of *Netherland* with Hooks; and ſo ſhe and her Husband took their Journey towards *Cleveland*, and being arrived at a Town therein called *Santon*, took a Houſe there, until they might further deviſe of ſome ſure Place where to ſettle themſelves.

About five Miles from *Santon* is a free Town called *Weſell*, under the ſaid Duke of *Cleve*'s Dominion, and one of the *Hans* Towns, privileged with the Company of the *Steel-yard* in *London*, whither divers *Walloons* were fled for Religion, and had for their Miniſter one *Francis Peruſell*, then called *Francis de Rivers*, who had received ſome Courteſy in *England* at the Dutcheſs's Hands. Mr. *Berty* being yet at *Santon*, practiſed with him to obtain a Protection from the Magiſtrates for his Abode and his Wives at *Weſell*; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the State of the Dutcheſs was not diſcovered, but only to the chief Magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them Pleaſure, while this Protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while at the Town of *Santon* was a muttering, that the Dutcheſs and her Husband were greater Perſonages than they gave themſelves forth; and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to Religion, the Biſhop of *Arras* alſo being Dean of the great Minſter, Order was taken that the Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be examined of their Condition and Religion upon the ſudden. Which was diſcovered by a Gentleman of that Country to Mr. *Berty*, he without Delay taking no more than the Dutcheſs, her Daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more than to take the Air, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon in *February*, on foot, without hiring of Horſe or Waggon, for fear of diſcloſing his Purpoſe, meant privily that Night to get to *Weſell*, leaving the reſt of his Family at *Santon*.

After they had travelled one *Engliſh* Mile from the Town, there fell a mighty Rain of Continuance, whereby a long Froſt and Ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the Wearineſs of thoſe new Lacquies. But being now on the Way, and overtaken with the Night, they ſent their two Servants (which only went with them) to Villages as they paſs'd, to hire ſome Carr for their Eaſe, but none could be hired. In the mean Time Mr. *Berry* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutcheſs his Cloak and Rapier. At laſt, betwixt Six and Seven of the Clock in the dark Night, they came to *Weſell*, and repairing to the Inns for Lodging, and ſome Repoſe, after ſuch painful Journey, found hard Entertainment, for going from Inn to Inn, offering large Money for ſmall Lodging, they were refuſed by all the Innholders, ſuſpecting Mr. *Berry* to be a Launce-Knight, and the Dutcheſs to be his Woman. The Child for Cold and Suſtenance cried pitifully, the Mother wept as faſt, the Heavens rained as faſt as the Clouds could pour.

Mr. *Berry*, deſtitute of all other Succour of Hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the Dutcheſs to the Porch of the great Church in the Town, and ſo to buy Coals, Victuals, and Straw for their miſerable Repoſe there that Night, or at leaſt till by God's Help he might provide her better Lodging. Mr. *Berry* at that Time underſtood not much *Dutch*, and by reaſon of bad Weather and late Seaſon of the Night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, or *Latin*, till at laſt going towards the Church-porch, he heard two Striplings talking *Latin*, to whom he approached, and offered them two Stivers to bring him to ſome *Walloon*'s Houſe.

By theſe Boys, and God's good Conduct, he chanced at the firſt upon the Houſe where Mr. *Peruſell* ſupped that Night, who had procured them the Protection of the Magiſtrates of that Town. At the firſt Knock, the good Man of the Houſe himſelf came to the Door, and opening it, asked Mr. *Berty* what he was? Mr. *Berty* ſaid an *Engliſhman*, that ſought for one Mr. *Peruſell*'s Houſe. The *Walloon* deſired Mr. *Berty* to ſtay awhile, who went back, and told Mr. *Peruſell*, that the ſame *Engliſh* Gentleman, of whom they had talked at Supper-time, had ſent by likelihood his Servant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon Mr. *Peruſell* came to the Door, and beholding Mr. *Berry*, the Dutcheſs, and their Child, their Faces, Apparel, and Bodies ſo far from their old Form, deformed with Dirt, Weather, and Heavineſs, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for Tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo joyfully entred the Houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; Mr. *Berty* changing his Apparel with the good Man, the Dutcheſs with the good Wife, and their Child with the Child of the Houſe.

Within few Days after, by Mr. *Peruſell*'s Means, they hired a very fair Houſe in the Town, and did not delay to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good Sort as their preſent Condition permitted. It was by this Time through the whole Town, what Diſcourteſy the Innholders had ſhewed unto them at their Entry, inſomuch as on the *Sunday* following, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharp Terms rebuked that great Incivility toward Strangers, by Allegation of ſundry Places out of the Holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not only Princes ſometime are received in the Image of private Perſons, but Angels in the Shape of Men, and that God of his Juſtice would make them Strangers one Day in another Land, to have more Senſe of the afflicted Heart of a Stranger.

The

The Time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a Watch-Word came from Sir *John Maſon*, then Queen *Mary*'s Embaſſador in the *Netherlands*, that my Lord *Paget* had fained an Errand to the *Baths* that Way: And whereas the Duke of *Brunſwick* was ſhortly with ten Enſigns to paſs by *Weſell* for the Service of the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the *French* King, the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be with the ſame Company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the Cruelty of theſe Enemies, Mr. *Berty* with his Wife and Child departed to a Place called *Wineheim*, under the Palſgrave's Dominion; where under his Protection they continued till their Neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a Burden, began to fail of Hope.

At which Time, in the midſt of their Deſpair, there came ſuddenly Letter to them from the *Palatine* of *Vilva*, and the King of *Poland* being inſtructed of their hard Eſtate by a Baron, named *Joannes Alaſco*, that was ſome Time in *England*, offering them large Courteſy. This Proviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy Spirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many their Countrymen and Acquaintance, to a Place ſo far diſtant, a Country not haunted with the *Engliſh*, and perhaps upon their Arrival not finding as they looked for, the End of their Journey ſhould be worſe than the Beginning; they deviſed thereupon with one Mr. *Carlœ*, late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome Pains therein, they would make him a Fellow of that Journey. So finding him prone, they ſent with him Letters of great Thanks to the King and *Palatine*, and alſo with a few principal Jewels (which only they had left of many) to ſollicit for them, that the King would vouchſafe under his Seal, to aſſure them of the Thing which he ſo honourably by Letters offered.

That Suit, by the Forwardneſs of the *Palatine*, was as ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which Aſſurance the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband, with their Family, entered the Journey in *April* 1557. from the Caſtle of *Wineheim*, where they before lay, towards *Frankfort*. In which their Journey, it were long here to deſcribe what Dangers fell by the Way upon them and their whole Company, by reaſon of the Landgrave's Captain, who, under a Quarrel pretended for a Spaniel of Mr. *Berty*'s, ſet upon them in the Highway with his Horſemen, thruſting their Bore-ſpears thorough the Waggon were the Children and Women were, Maſter *Berty* having but four Horſemen with him. In which Scuffle it happened that the Captain's Horſe was ſlain under him.

Whereupon a Rumour was ſpread immediately through the Towns and Villages about, that the *Landgrave's* Captain ſhould be ſlain by certain *Walloons*, which exaſperated the Countrymen the more fiercely againſt Mr. *Berty*, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his Wife to ſave himſelf by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe, and to recover ſome Town thereby for his Reſcue, he ſo doing, was in worſe Caſe than before: For the Townſmen and the Captain's Brother, ſuppoſing no leſs but that the Captain had been ſlain, preſſed ſo eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murder'd among them, had not he (as God would have it) 'ſpying a Ladder leaning to a Window, by which he got into the Houſe, and went up into the Garret, where, with his Dagger and Rapier he defended himſelf for a Time: But at length the Burgh-maſter coming thither with another Magiſtrate, who could ſpeak *Latin*, he was adviſed to ſubmit himſelf to the Order of the Law. Mr. *Berty* knowing himſelf to be clear, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelf to the Judgment of the Law, upon Condition that the Magiſtrate would receive him under ſafe Conduct, and defend him from the Rage of the Multitude. Which being promiſed, he willingly deliver'd up his Weapons, and peaceably ſurrender'd himſelf into the Hands of the Magiſtrates, and ſo was committed to ſafe Cuſtody till the Truth of his Cauſe could be try'd.

Then Mr. *Berty* wrote a Letter to the Landgrave, and another to the Earl of *Erbagh*, dwelling about eight Miles off, who came early in the Morning to the Town where the Dutcheſs was brought with her Waggon, Mr. *Berty* alſo being in the ſame Town under Cuſtody.

The Earl, who had ſome Intelligence before of the Dutcheſs, after he was come and had ſhewed her ſuch Courteſy as he thought belonged to her Eſtate and Dignity, the Townſmen perceiving the Earl behave himſelf ſo humbly to her, began to conſider more of the Matter, and further underſtanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and eſpecially the Authors of this Stir, drew in their Horns, ſhrunk away, and made all the Friends they could to Mr. *Berty* and his Lady, beſeeching them not to report their Doings after the worſt Manner.

And thus Mr. *Berty* and his Wife, eſcaping that Danger, proceeded in their Journey toward *Poland*, where in Concluſion they were quietly entertained by the King, and placed honourably in the Earldom of the ſaid King of *Poles* in *Sanogelia*, called *Crozan*, where Mr. *Berty* with the Dutcheſs, having the King's abſolute Power of Government over the ſaid Earldom, continu'd in Honour, Peace and Plenty, till the Death of Queen *Mary*.

Thomas Horton, *Miniſter*.

THomas Horton uſed oftentimes to travel between *Germany* and *England*, for the Benefit and Suſtenance of the poor *Engliſh* Exiles there: So he journeying on a Time between *Maeſtricht* and *Cologn*, chanced to be taken by certain Rovers, and ſo being led by them away, was in no little Danger: And yet this Danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent Help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the ſame

Thomas Sprat *of* Kent, *Tanner*.

HE had been ſome Time a Servant to one Juſtice *Brent* a heavy Perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his Maſter for Religion Sake, he went to *Calice* (accompany'd by one *William Porrege*, who was afterwards a Miniſter) from whence they uſed often for their neceſſary Affairs, to have Recourſe into *England*.

In the fourth Year of Queen *Mary* they landed at *Dover*, and taking their Journey together toward *Sandwich*, ſuddenly upon the Way, three Miles from *Dover*, they happened to meet Juſtice *Brent*, the two *Blachendens*, and other Gentlemen with their Servants, to the Number of ten or twelve Horſes. One of the *Blachendens* happened to know *William Porrege*, the other had only heard of his Name.

Sprat firſt eſpying his Maſter *Brent*, was much ſurpriſed, ſaying to his Companion, Yonder is Mr. *Brent*, God have Mercy upon us. Well, quoth *Porrege*, ſeeing now there is no Remedy, let us go on our Way. And ſo thinking to paſs by them, they kept themſelves at a Diſtance, *Sprat* alſo ſhadowing his Face with his Cloak.

One of Mr. *Brent*'s Servants knowing *Sprat*, called out to his Maſter, ſaying, Yonder is *Thomas Sprat*; at which Words they all ſtopt their Horſes, and called for *Thomas Sprat* to come to them. They call you, ſaid *William Porrege*; now there is no Remedy but we are taken: And ſo would have perſuaded him to go to them, being called, for that there was no eſcaping

from ſo many Horſemen in thoſe Plains and Downs, where was no Wood near them by a Mile, and but one Hedge about a Stone's-throw off. All this notwithſtanding, *Sprat* ſtaid, and would not go. Then they called again, ſitting ſtill on Horſeback. Ah Sirrah, quoth the Juſtice, why come ye not hither? And ſtill his Companion moved him to go, ſeeing there was no Hope of getting away. Nay, ſaid *Sprat*, I will not go to them; and therewith took to his Legs, running to the Hedge that was next him. They ſeeing that, ſet Spurs to their Horſes, thinking it impoſſible for him to eſcape their Hands. When he got to the Hedge, ſcrambling through the Buſhes, they were at his Heels, and ſtruck at him with their Swords, one of the *Blachendens* (both of them Haters of God's Word) cruelly crying, Cut one of his Legs off.

He had no ſooner got through the Hedge, but one of Juſtice *Brent*'s Servants (a Fellow that had ſome Time been his Fellow-ſervant) followed him on Foot; the reſt rode up the other ſide of the Hedge to meet him at the End.

While they were following *Sprat*, only one remained with *William Porrege* (which was one of the *Blachendens*, but not he that knew him) who began to queſtion him, not asking what was his Name (as God would have it) for then he had been known and taken: But from whence he came, and how he got into *Sprat*'s Company, and whither he was going? He anſwer'd, that he came from *Calice*, and *Sprat* came over with him in the Paſſage-boat, and they were both going to *Sandwich*: And ſo without any more Queſtions he let him depart. But to return.

As *Sprat* was purſued on the one ſide of the Hedge by his old Fellow-ſervant in his Boots, and on the other ſide by Horſemen, his Fellow-ſervant cry'd out, You had as good tarry, for we will have you, we will have you: Yet notwithſtanding he ſtill kept his Courſe till he came to a ſteep down-hill at the end of the Hedge, down which he ran from them, for the Horſemen could not follow him without fetching a great Compaſs about. After he had ran almoſt a Mile he got to a Wood, but by that Time they were juſt behind him; but Night coming on, and it began to rain, they purſu'd him no further. And thus by the Providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel *Blachendens* was cruelly murder'd by his own Servant.

John Cornet.

THIS young Man was Apprentice to a Muſician at *Colcheſter*, and being ſent by his Maſter to a Wedding (in the ſecond Year of Queen *Mary*) in a Town hard by called *Rough-hedge*, was requeſted by a Company there of good Men, the Conſtables being preſent, to ſing ſome Songs of the Scripture, he happened to ſing a Song called, *News out of London*, which tended againſt the Maſs, and againſt the Queen's Miſproceedings.

Whereupon the next Day he was accuſed by the Parſon of *Rough-hedge*, called *Yackſley*, and ſo committed, firſt to the Conſtable, where his Maſter gave him over, and his Mother forſook and curſed him. From thence was ſent to Juſtice *Cannall*, and then to the Earl of *Oxford*, where he was firſt put in Irons and Chains, and after that ſo manacled, that the Blood ſpirted out of his Fingers ends, becauſe he would not confeſs the Names of thoſe who allured him to ſing. After that, he was ſent again to *Rough-hedge*, and there whipped till the Blood followed, and baniſh'd the Town for ever.

Thomas Bryce.

HE being in the Houſe of *John Seal*, in the Pariſh of *Horting*, the Bailiff and other Neighbours were ſent by Sir *John Baker* to ſearch for, and apprehend him, and though they perfectly knew his Stature and the Colour of his Garments, yet then they had no Power to know him, though he ſtood before their Faces. So miraculouſly did the Almighty dazzle their Eyes, that they asked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly took his Bag of Books, and departed out of the Houſe without any Hand laid upon him.

Alſo another Time, about the ſecond Year of Queen *Mary*, the ſaid *Thomas Bryce*, with *John Bryce* his elder Brother, coming then from *Weſell*, meeting together at their Father's Houſe, as they travel'd towards *London*, to give Warning there to one *Springfield*, which elſe was like to be taken unawares by his Enemies waiting for him upon *Gad's-hill*, fell in Company with a Promoter, who dogged them and followed them again to *Graveſend*, into the Town, and laid the Houſe for them where they were, all the Ways as they ſhould go to the Waters ſide, ſo that it had not been poſſible for them to have avoided the preſent Danger of thoſe Perſecutors, had not God's provident Care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his Servants, through the Hoſtler, of the Inn, covertly to convey them by a ſecret Paſſage; whereby they took Barge a Mile out of Town, and ſo in the End both the Lives of them, and alſo of *Springfield* were preſerved, thro' God's gracious Protection.

Gertrude Crockhay.

GErtrude *Crockhay* dwelling at St. *Katherines* by the *Tower* of *London*, and being then in her Husband's Houſe, it happened in the Year 1556, that the Pope's childiſh Saint *Nicholas* went about the Pariſh. Which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her Door againſt him, not ſuffering him to enter into her Houſe.

Then Doctor *Mallet* hearing thereof, and being then Maſter of the ſaid St. *Katherines*, the next Day came to her with twenty at his Tail, thinking belike to affright her, and asked why ſhe would not the Night before let in St. *Nicholas*, and receive his Bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus: Sir, I know not St. *Nicholas* that came hither. Yes, quoth *Mallet*, here was one that repreſented St. *Nicholas*.

Indeed Sir (ſaid ſhe) here was one that was my Neighbour's Child, but not St. *Nicholas*: For St. *Nicholas* is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my Purſe cut by them: For I have heard of Men robbed by St. *Nicholas*'s Clarks, &c. So *Mallet* perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her Hands, went his Way as he came, and ſhe for that Time ſo eſcaped.

Then in the Year 1557, a little before *Whitſuntide*, it happened that the ſaid *Gertrude* anſwered for a Child that was baptized of one *Thomas Saunders*, which Child was chriſtened ſecretly in a Houſe after the Order of the Service-book in King *Edward*'s Time; and that being ſoon known to her Enemies, ſhe was ſought for. Who underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into *Guelderland*, to ſee certain Lands that ſhould come to her Children in the Right of her firſt Husband, who was a Stranger born: And being there about a quarter of a Year, at length coming homeward by *Antwerp*, ſhe chanced to meet with one *John Johnſon*, a *Dutchman*, alias *John de Villa* of *Antwerp*, Shipper, who ſeeing her there, went out of Malice to the Margrave, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to Priſon. The Cauſe why he did thus, was, becauſe he claimed of Mr. *Crockhay* her Husband, a Piece of Money which

was not his Due, for a Ship that Mr. *Crockhay* bought of him, and becauſe he could not get it, he wrought this Diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in Priſon, lay there a Fortnight. In which Time ſhe ſaw ſome that were Priſoners there, who privily were drowned in *Rheniſh* Wine-fats, and after ſecretly put in Sacks and caſt into the River. Now ſhe, good Woman, expecting to be ſo ſerved, took thereby ſuch Fear, that it brought the Beginning of her Sickneſs, of which at length ſhe died.

Then at laſt was ſhe called before the Margrave, and charged with Anabaptiſtry: Which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the Error, declaring before him in *Dutch* her Faith boldly, without any Fear. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the End being well pleaſed with the Profeſſion, at the Suit of ſome of ſome of her Friends delivered her out of Priſon, but took away her Book, and ſo ſhe came over into *England* again.

Thomas Roſe, *a Preacher.*

HE was a *Devonſhire* Man, born in *Ermouth*, and being made Prieſt in that Country, was brought out of it by one Mr. *Fabian*, to *Polſted* in *Suffolk*, where the ſaid Mr. *Fabian* was Parſon, and in a ſhort Time after by his Means was placed in the Town of *Hadley*, where he, firſt coming to ſome Knowledge of the Goſpel, began there to treat upon the Creed, and thereupon took Occaſion to inveigh againſt Purgatory, praying to Saints and Images, about the Time that Mr. *Latimer* began to preach at *Cambridge*, in the Time of *Bilney* and *Arthur*; inſomuch that many embracing the Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel, againſt the ſaid Purgatory and other Points, and the Number of them daily increaſing, the Adverſaries began to ſtir againſt him, inſomuch that Mr. *Bate* (who afterwards became a godly zealous Man) was then brought to preach againſt the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*; notwithſtanding this, he continued ſtill very vehemently againſt Images, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his Labours, that many began to contrive how they might deface and deſtroy them, and eſpecially four Men, whoſe Names were, *Ring*, *Debnam*, *Marſh*, and *Gard*, who uſually reſorted to his Sermons, by which they were ſo inflamed, that ſoon after they ventured to deſtroy the Rood of the Court of *Dover*, which coſt three of them their Lives, and were hanged in Chains, becauſe they would not accuſe *Thomas Roſe* as their Counſellor. The ſaid *Roſe* had the Coat of the Rood brought to him afterwards, who burnt it. The Rood was ſaid to have done many and great Miracles, yet being in the Fire, could not help himielf, but burned like a Block, as indeed it was.

At this Time there were two ſore Enemies in *Hadley*, *Walter Clerk* and *John Clerk*, two Brethren: Theſe complained to the Council, that an hundred Men were not able to fetch *Thomas Roſe* out of *Hadley*, who then was upon Examination of his Doctrine committed to the Commiſſary's Keeping. And indeed ſuch was the Zeal of a Number towards the Truth then in that Town, that they were much offended that their Miniſter was ſo taken from them, and had therefore by Force brought him from the Commiſſary, if certain wiſe Men had not otherwiſe perſuaded them, who at length alſo with more Quiet placed him in his Office again: which ſo enraged the two Brethren, *Walter Clerk* and *John Clerk*, that they complained to the Council, as aforeſaid; whereupon a Serjeant at Arms was ſent from the Council to arreſt *Thomas Roſe* and bring him before them. Then his Adverſaries laid to his Charge, that he was privy to the burning the Rood at *Dover* Court, upon this he was committed to Priſon in the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Houſe, in *Holbourn*, where he remained from *Shrovetide* to *Whitſuntide*, and great part of the Time in the Stocks.

The Stocks was very high and large, ſo that Day and Night he lay with his Back on the Ground, upon a little Straw, with his Heels ſo high, that the Blood was fallen from his Feet, which were ſo benumb'd that he could hardly feel them for a long Time. By this Treatment he fell ſick, and the Keeper often hearing him cry and groan through Extremity of Pain, was moved with Pity, and went to the Biſhop and told him, that he would not keep him to die under his Hand, and upon this he had ſome more Eaſe and Liberty. Now at this Time his Mother was come from *Hadley* to ſee him, but ſhe was not ſuffer'd to ſpeak with him (ſuch was their Cruelty) but the Biſhop flattered her, and gave her a Pair of Pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for ſhe might not ſee him; which Thing pierced the Hearts both of the Mother and the Son. At this Time alſo certain Men of *Hadley*, very deſirous to ſee him, endeavoured to ſpeak with him, but might not be ſuffered, till at length they gave the Keeper four Shillings, and yet then might not ſpeak to him, or ſee him, otherwiſe than through a Grate. And thus continued he till *Midſummer* in Priſon. Then he was removed to *Lambeth*, in the firſt Year of Dr. *Cranmer*'s Conſecration, who uſed him much more courteouſly than ever the Biſhop of *Lincoln* did, and at length wrought his Deliverance, and ſet him at Liberty: But yet ſo, that he was bound not to come within twenty Miles of *Hadley*. After this he came to *London*, and there preached the Goſpel half a Year, till *Hadley* Men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to *Hadley* again, and indeed by Means of Sir *John Rainford*, Knight, obtained at the Archbiſhop's Houſe to have him thither: Howbeit, by means one was placed in the Cure at *Hadley*, he could not enjoy his Office again there, but went to *Stratford* three Miles off, and there continued in preaching the Word three Years, till at length the Adverſaries procured an Inhibition from the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to put him to Silence. But a great Number laboured to have him continue in preaching, and ſubſcribed a Supplication to the Archbiſhop, with one hundred and twenty Hands, who under their Seals alſo teſtified of his honeſt Demeanor, ſo that the Adverſaries this Way not prevailing, they indicted him at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, ſo that he was conſtrained to flee to *London*, and to uſe the Aid of the Lord *Audly*, then Lord Chancellor, who removed the Matter from them, and called it before him, and after Examination of the Matter, ſet him free, and ſent him by a Token to the Lord *Cromwell*, then Lord Privy Seal, for a Licence from the King to preach: Which Thing obtained by the Lord *Cromwell* his Means (who hereupon alſo had admitted the ſaid *Thomas Roſe* his Chaplain) forthwith he was ſent into *Lincolnſhire* and to *York*. In the mean Time ſuch Complaint was made to the Duke of *Norfolk*, for that he preached againſt auricular Confeſſion, Tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch other Points contained in the ſix Articles (which then to have done, by Law was Death) that the Duke in his own Perſon not only ſought him at *Norwich*, but alſo beſet all the Ports for him, from *Yarmouth* to *London*, and being Lieutenant, commanded, that whoſoever could take the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*, ſhould hang him on the next Tree. Howbeit, the ſaid *Thomas Roſe* at his coming home, having Warning hereof by certain godly Perſons, was convey'd away, and paſſed over into *Flanders*, and ſo to *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, where a Time he remained with Mr. *Bullinger*, and afterwards went to *Baſil*, and there hoſted with Maſter *Grinæus*, till Letters came that Maſter Dr. *Barnes* ſhould be Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Things ſhould be reformed and he reſtored. But when he came into *England* again, it was not ſo, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the Seas, being ſo beſet, as if the mighty Providence of God had not ſent him in a Readineſs to receive him the ſelf-ſame

Man,

Man, Boat, and Boy that before carried him over, it had not been poſſible for him to have eſcaped. But ſuch was the Goodneſs of God towards him, that he ſafely was convey'd, and lived at *Barow* the Space of three Years, till at length purpoſing to come over into *England*, about Buſineſs that he had, he, his Wife, and their Child, being but a Year and three Quarters old, upon the Sea, the Ship being in great Danger, wherein they ſailed (for the Maſt being hewn down in that Peril, they were carried whitherſoever the Waves toſſed them,) they with divers others expected nothing but Death. Howbeit, at length they were taken Priſoners, and carried into *Diepe* in *France*, having all their Stuff taken from them, and forty Pounds in Money. There they remained Priſoners from *Michaelmas* till *Allhallontide*, in great Heavineſs, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's Providence. It pleaſed God at the ſame Time, that one Mr. *Young* of the Town of *Rye* (who had heard him preach before) came thither for the redeeming of certain *Engliſhmen* there taken Priſoners. This Mr. *Young* moved to ſee them in this Caſe, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their Ranſom, and ſo he did, had them away, and brought them to *Rye*, and from thence by Stealth came they to *London*. At length the honourable Earl of *Suſſex*, hearing of the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*, ſent for him, his Wife, and his Child, and had them to his Houſe at *Attleborough*, where they continued; till at length it was blazed abroad, that the Earl was a Maintainer of ſuch a Man to read in his Houſe, as had preached againſt the catholick Faith (as they term it) the Earl being at the Parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a Letter to warn him to make Shift for himſelf, and to avoid. So that from thence he paſſed to *London*, making hard Shift for a Year there and ſomewhat more, till the Death of King *Henry*. After the King's Death, he and others, who in the King's general Pardon were excepted (and therefore dead Men, if they had been taken whilſt King *Henry* lived) by certain of the Council were ſet at Liberty, and at length, after King *Edward* was crowned, were licenſed to preach again by the King; who gave unto the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*, the Benefice of *Weſt-Ham* by *London*. But at the Death of that vertuous and noble Prince, he was deprived of all, and ſo ſhould alſo have been of his Life, had not God appointed him Friends, who received him in *London* ſecretly, as their Teacher in the Congregation, among whom for the poor Priſoners at their Aſſemblies forty-one in a Night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongſt them, and with the Lady *Vane* almoſt a Year in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. But although he oftentimes eſcaped ſecretly whilſt he read to the Godly in ſundry Places of *London*, yet at length through a *Judas* that betrayed them, he with 35 more were taken *Bow-church-yard* at a Shereman's Houſe on *New-years-day* at Night. The reſt being committed to Priſon, the ſaid *Thomas Roſe* was had to *Stephen Gardiner* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* who would not ſpeak with him that Night, but committed him to the Clink till the *Tueſday* after.

The firſt Examination of Thomas Roſe *at St.* Mary Overy's, *before the Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

Roſe. I Wonder, my Lord, that I ſhould be thus troubled for that which by the Word of God hath been eſtabliſhed, and by the Laws of this Realm hath been allowed, and by your own Writing ſo notably in your Book, *De vera obedientia*, confirmed.

Biſhop. Ah Sirrah, haſt thou gotten that?

Roſe. Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and do confeſs myſelf much thereby confirmed. For as touching the Doctrine of Supremacy, againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Authority, no Man hath ſaid further. And as I remember, you confeſs it, that when this Truth was revealed unto you, you thought the Scales to fall from your Eyes.

Biſhop. Thou lieſt like a Varlet, there is no ſuch Thing in my Book: But I ſhall handle thee, and ſuch as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy Maintainers, or elſe I will make thee a Foot longer.

Roſe. My Lord, you ſhall do as much as pleaſeth God, and no more, yet the Law is in your Hand; but I have God for my Maintainer, and none other. At theſe Words one of his Servants ſtepped forth, and ſaid, My Lord, I heard this Man preach by *Norwich* in Sir *John Robſter*'s Houſe, and in his Prayer he deſired God to turn Queen *Mary*'s Heart, or elſe to take her out of the World: And this was in King *Edward*'s Time.

Roſe. My Lord, I made no ſuch Prayer, but next after the King, I mention'd her in this Manner, ſaying, Ye ſhall pray for my Lady *Mary*'s Grace, that God will vouchſafe to endue her with his Spirit, that ſhe graciouſly may perceive the Myſteries contained within his holy Laws, and ſo render unto him her Heart purified with true Faith, and true and loyal Obedience to her Sovereign Lord and King, to the good Example of the inferior Subjects. And this, my Lord, is already anſwered in mine own Handwriting to the Council.

Unto this he ſaid little, but turning his Face to ſome that were by him, This is he, ſaid the Biſhop, that my Lord of *Norwich* told me had gotten his Maid with Child.

Roſe. This is no Hereſy, my Lord, although it be a Lye. Indeed certain wicked Perſons raiſed this Report of me, for the Hatred they bare to the Doctrine which I preached: But for Purgation of myſelf herein I had no leſs than ſix of the Councils Hands, that there might be due and diligent Examination for this Matter in the Country by Men of Worſhip appointed for that Purpoſe, who can all teſtify, I thank God, that I am moſt clear from ſuch Wickedneſs, and indeed they have cleared me from it; and therefore I doubt not but all good Men will eſpy the miſchievous Device of mine Adverſaries, which (when other Ways failed) by ſuch ſiniſter Means went about to draw me into Diſcredit and Hatred: But God, who is the Helper of the Innocent, and Searcher of Mens Hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open Things that were hid, to their Shame. One of the chief Reporters of this, that I ſhould ſo abuſe myſelf, was one Mr. *Clark*, Servant and in ſome Eſtimation with the old Lord Treaſurer of *England*, reputed and taken for a Conjurer, who afterward hanged himſelf in the *Tower*. Then the Biſhop commanded that I ſhould be carried to the *Tower*, and kept ſafely, where I lay till the Week before *Whitſuntide*. After which Time I was twice called, when the Biſhop came to the *Tower* about other Priſoners. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop had no great Talk with me, but ſpake friendly. Howbeit one Sir *Richard Southwell*, Knight, ſtill accuſed me for my Prayer, and ſaid I did put a Difference betwixt Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, for that I prayed in King *Edward*'s Faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady *Elizabeth* in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the Biſhop ſaid little. But in the Week befoae *Pentecoſt*, I was conveyed from the *Tower* to *Norwich*, there to be examined by the Biſhop and his Clergy, as concerning my Faith, the Manner whereof here followeth.

The ſecond Examination of Thomas Roſe *before Dr.* Hopkins, *Biſhop of* Norwich, *in the Preſence of Sir* W. Woodhouſe, *Mr.* Steward *the Chancellor, Dr.* Barrett, *with divers others,* Anno 1553.

AFTER I was preſented by my Keeper, the Biſhop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a Miniſter.

Biſhop. What is this to the Purpoſe, were ye a Friar or a Prieſt?

Roſe. Friar was I never, but a Prieſt have I been, and beneficed by the King's Majeſty.

Biſhop. Where were ye made Prieſt?

Roſe. In *Exeter*, in the County where I was born. Then the Biſhop required of me my Letters of Orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were Things of me not greatly regarded.

Biſhop. Well, you are ſent to me to be examined; what ſay you, will you ſubmit yourſelf to the Order of the Church of *England?*

Roſe. My Lord, I truſt I am not out of the Order of Chriſt's Church in *England*, neither do I know my ſelf an Offender thereagainſt.

Biſhop. What? Yes, ye have here preached moſt damnable and deviliſh Doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord. The Doctrine by me here preached was both true, ſincere and holy. But indeed the Doctrine that is now ſet forth, is moſt wicked and damnable, yea, and that both againſt God's Laws and Man's. But as for the Doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the Word of God, ſet out alſo by the Authority of two moſt mighty Kings, with the Conſent of all the Nobility and Clergy of the ſame; ſo that I preached nothing but their lawful Proceedings, having their lawful Authority under their Broad-Seal for Confirmation of the ſame, for which my Doing ye cannot juſtly charge me. For why, ſince the Law ceaſed, I have kept Silence, ſo that the Council which ſent me unto you have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open Wrong to burden me with that wherein I am free.

Chan. What Sir? Ye are very captious; anſwereſt thou my Lord after ſuch a Sort?

Roſe. Sir, I anſwer for myſelf, and according to the Truth: Wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chan. Thou art an evil Man. Waſt thou not abjured before now?

Roſe. No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wiſe able to prove that which ye have ſpoken: So that your Words appear to proceed altogether of Malice, which I have not deſerved at your Hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an Inſtrument to utter other Men's Malice conceived of old.

Chan. What ſayeſt thou to the real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Roſe. I know right well ye were made an Inſtrument to ſeek innocent Blood; well ye may have it, if God permit, it is preſent at Hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to dye (if God ſee it good) in Defence of that which I have ſaid. Wherefore ye may begin when ye ſhall think good, for I have ſaid nothing but the Truth, and that which in thoſe Days was by all Men allowed for Truth, and againſt which ye at that Time durſt not once whiſper, although ye now brag never ſo much.

Biſhop. Well Father *Roſe*, whatſoever hath been done in Times paſt, ſhall not now be called in Queſtion, ſo that ye now ſubmit yourſelf. For not only you, but all the whole Realm hath been out of the right Way, both high and low, ſpiritual and temporal, but all notwithſtanding have ſubmitted themſelves and acknowledged their Faith. Wherefore if ye will be accounted for an *Engliſhman*, ye muſt likewiſe ſubmit yourſelf.

Roſe. My Lord, I am an *Engliſhman* born, and do moſt humbly require of the Chriſtian Congregation of *England*, to be counted as a particular Member of the ſame, and with all due Reverence ſubmit myſelf as in the Form and Manner following: That whatſoever Law or Laws ſhall be ſet forth in the ſame for the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true Religion, and that according to the Faith and Doctrine of the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles, with the faithful Fathers of Chriſt's primitive Church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but alſo moſt reverently obey it. At which my Aſſertion, the Biſhop ſeemed to be greatly rejoiced, and ſaid, Well, then we ſhall ſoon be at a Point; but you ſhall take this for no Day of Examination, but rather of Communication, ſo that ye ſhall now depart, and conſider with yourſelf until we call for you again: And ſo ended our firſt Meeting.

The third Examination of Thomas Roſe.

ON *Friday* following, I was called again into *Chriſt-Church* within their Lady's Chappel (as they termed it) where was gathered a great Part of the whole City of *Norwich*, and after I was by my Keeper preſented, the Biſhop began with a great Proteſtation, and after many Words demanded of me, Whether according to my former Promiſe I would ſubmit myſelf or no. I anſwered as before I had done, That according to my former Proteſtation, I would moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the Chancellor (to utter his Gentleneſs) I think you do but fain.

Roſe. The Fault then (ſaid I) ſhall be in yourſelf, and not in me. For if ye burden me with nothing but Scriptures, and the Fathers of Chriſt's primitive Church, then as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chancellor. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be Member of the Church of *England*, your Mother here for a Trial of Obedience provoketh you, as Mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little Gift at her Hand.

Roſe. Forſooth, ſaid I, if ſhe offer it me, as received of God my Father, I ſhall gladly receive it, as from the Hand of my very true and ghoſtly Mother.

Chancellor. What ſay you to Ear-confeſſion? Is it not a Law eccleſiaſtical, and neceſſary for the Church of *England.*

Roſe. Some Ways it might be permitted, and ſome Ways not, and that becauſe it had not its Original of God, and his bleſſed Word; and yet I deny not, but that a Man being troubled in his Conſcience, and reſorting to a diſcreet, ſober and chriſtian learned Man for the quieting of his Mind, might well be permitted; but to bind a Man under Pain of Damnation once every Year, to number his Sins into the Ears of a filthy lecherous Prieſt, is not of God, neither can be proved by his Word.

Biſhop. Ah, Sirrah, ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I ſee well.

Roſe. No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the Regimen of the Soul: For why, Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God; and where the Word of God is not, there ought no Belief to be given. For whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin. And here they left off ſpeaking any more of that Matter.

But then, Mr. Chancellor began to whet his Teeth at me, ſaying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and ſubſtantial Preſence of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar: What ſay you to that?

Roſe. Verily, I ſay that you are a bloody Man, and ſeek to quench your Thirſt with the Blood of an Innocent, and therefore to ſatisfy you in that Behalf,

I ſay verily unto you, that ſo I have here preached: And although, contrary to Law, you charge me with the ſame, yet will I in no wiſe deny it, tho' juſtly I might do it, but ſtand thereunto, even to ſeal it with my Blood, deſiring all that be here preſent, to teſtify the ſame, and believe it as the only Truth.

Biſhop. I charge you all to believe it not.

Roſe. Yea, but my Lord, if ye will needs have Credence given you, you muſt bring God's Word to maintain your Sayings.

Biſhop. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* And can there be any plainer Words ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true, my Lords, the Words be as plain as can be; and even ſo be theſe, where it is ſaid, I am a Door, a Vine, and Chriſt called a Stone, a Lion, and yet is he naturally none of theſe: For they be all figurative Speeches, as both the Scriptures and Fathers do ſufficiently prove.

At which Saying the Biſhop would have had me ſtay, ſaying, I ſhould have another Day, wherein I might take better Advice.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord, for I am at a full Point with myſelf in that Matter, and am right well able to prove both your Tranſubſtantiation, with the real Preſence, to be againſt the Scriptures and the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church. For *Juſtin*, which is one of the moſt antient Writers that ever wrote upon the Sacrament, writeth, in his *Second Apology*, that the Bread, Water and Wine, in the Sacrament, are not to be taken as other Meats and Drinks, but are Meats purpoſely ordained to give Thanks unto God, and therefore are called EUCHARISTIA, and alſo have the Names of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; and that it is not lawful for any Man to eat and drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs the Religion of Chriſt, and live alſo according to their Profeſſion: And yet, ſaith he, the ſame Bread and Drink is changed into our Fleſh and Blood, nouriſheth our Bodies. By which Saying it is evident, that *Juſtin* meant, that the Bread and Wine remain ſtill, or elſe they could not have turned into our Fleſh and Blood, and nouriſh our Bodies.

At which my Saying they were greatly troubled, but enforced themſelves to have denied the Doctor, and would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more, but ſtraightway was I carried away unto my Lodging: And ſo ended the ſecond Day of my Appearance, which was the *Friday* in *Whitſun* Week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the *Monday* following. Howbeit, upon what Occaſion I know not, it was deferred unto the *Wedneſday*, which was *Corpus Chriſti* Eve.

In the mean Time the Biſhop ſent two of his Chaplains to me, with whom I had Communication about the real Preſence: And after long Reaſoning to and fro concerning this Point, at length I drave them to this Iſſue, whether they did confeſs that Chriſt in the ſelf-ſame Body which was conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, and wherein he ſuffered and roſe again, do in the ſelf-ſame Body naturally, ſubſtantially, and really ſit at the right Hand of God the Father, without Return from thence, until the Day of the general Judgment or not? Whereunto they anſwered, Yes truly, we confeſs it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, Whether they did affirm, after the Words pronounced by the Miniſter, there to remain Fleſh, Blood, Bones, Hairs, Nails, as is wont moſt groſly to be preached or not? And they with great Deliberation anſwered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of ſuch groſs Doctrine, but alſo would deteſt themſelves, if they ſhould ſo think.

At which two principal Points, wherein they fully condemned my Doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellouſly encouraged. Whereupon I demanded of them again, what manner of Body they then affirmed to be in the Sacrament? Forſooth (ſaid they) not a viſible, palpable, or circumſcriptable Body, for that is always at the Father's right Hand: But in the Sacrament it is inviſible, and can neither be felt, ſeen, nor occupy any Place, but is there by the Omnipotency of God's holy Word, they know not how.

And for this they brought in St. *Auguſtine*, altho' by them not truly underſtood; yet would they admit no other Senſe than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with *Martin Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Bucer*, and *Calvin*: So that I perceiving their Obſtinacy in that Behalf, gave them over for that Time, and afterwards talked with Dr. *Barret*, whom I alſo found of the ſame Opinion. For (ſaid he) if ye would diſſent from the Fathers of the primitive Church, of which St. *Auguſtine* is one, ye ſhall be contented to die out of the Favour of God. Well, I gave them all over, being obſtinate in their Errors; however, to bring them to confeſs that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former Proteſtation, a Preſence, altho' not as they ſuppoſed.

After all this, the honourable Earl of *Suſſex* came to me, and that gentle Knight Sir *William Woodhouſe*, with great Perſuaſions: To whom I ſaid, after long Talk, That I would do all that I might, ſaving my Conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute, and neither have I, as knoweth God, by whom all Men muſt be judged.

The laſt Examination of Thomas Roſe *before the Biſhop.*

NOW to come to my laſt Appearance, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were reſolved, as he had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, that even as always I had ſaid before, even ſo I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my Knee, I gave my due Reverence, and the rather for that the honourable Earl of *Suſſex* was there. Wherewith ſome who would be counted great Goſpellers, were (contrary to all Chriſtianity) ſore offended. Then I ſaid, that whatſoever Laws were ſet forth for the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true Religion, and that according to the Doctrine of Chriſt's holy Apoſtles, and the faithful Fathers of the primitive Church, I did not only obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their Eyes, I ſaid, that if any Thing could juſtly be proved by God's holy Word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruly, either for lack of Learning, unwarily, or Ignorance; yet by better Knowledge when it ſhall juſtly be tried and examined by the ſame, I ſhall not refuſe (the Thing perfectly proved) to revoke the ſame: Provided always, the Word of God herein be my Judge.

All this ſpake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from ſuſpecting that which I went about, and that they ſhould have no Occaſion to judge me of Obſtinacy. Then ſaid I moreover, all you muſt of Force confeſs, that the Doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, beſides the Authority of God's eternal Verity, the Authority of two moſt noble and mighty Princes, with the Advice and Counſel of all the Nobility and Clergy of the Land, and that with great Deliberation from Time to Time, with open Diſputations in both the Univerſities, enacted alſo by Parliament, with the Conſent of the whole Body and Commons of the ſame, and that without any Reſiſtance or Gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a Religion moſt pure and perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely preached by the principal Biſhops and Doctors, and that before the King's Majeſty's Perſons; and I, as one being called to that Office, did the like with all the

reſt,

reſt, and in the Zeal of God, and with a pure Conſcience did ſet forth the ſame as the only and abſolute Truth of God, and the juſt and moſt true Proceedings of my ſovereign Lord and King: And I had then my Head at that preſent even where it now ſtandeth, betwixt mine Ears, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehend with all Diligence that which then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the only and abſolute Truth, and a Thing unto me moſt deſirable, and well willing, without any Deſire to hear the contrary, till now through this my Captivity I am compelled to hear the contrary Part ſpeak, who are even here preſent, and which my Lord ſent unto me.

Of whom, after long Diſputations privately to and fro before this Time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary Doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore muſt confeſs mine own Ignorance in the ſame. For (quoth I) after I had inforced theſe Men here preſent (meaning the Biſhop's two Chaplains) to confeſs *Jeſus Chriſt's* natural Body with his full compleat Members in due Order and Proportion of a perfect Man's Body to be preſent at the right Hand of God the Father, and that without Return from thence, until the laſt Judgment, and alſo that after the Words pronounced by the Prieſt, there remaineth no ſuch groſs Preſence of Fleſh, Blood, Bones, Hair, and Nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of Body they affirmed to be preſent, they ſaid, a Body inviſible by the Omnipotency of God's Word, which neither can be felt or ſeen, nor that hath any Diſtinction of Members, but ſuch a Body as occupieth no Place, but is there they know not how; Neceſſity compell'd me to confeſs mine Ignorance in that Behalf, although in very Deed they perceived not my Meaning therein, neither was it in my Thought they ſhould ſo do. For by this their Confeſſion, and my Silence, afterward I perceived their horrid Blaſphemies.

And methought in this I had well diſcharged at that Time my Conſcience, in cauſing them in open Audience to confeſs the ſame, and ſo I granted a Preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed.

For I only ſaid, that Chriſt, after the Words pronounced, is preſent in the lawful Uſe and right Diſtribution of his holy Supper; which Thing I never denied, or any godly Man that ever I heard of. For (ſaid I) *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, a Man of ſingular Fame and Learning, about three hundred Years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, ſaith, that the Converſion of the viſible Creatures of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, is like unto our Converſion in Baptiſm. Where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the Change is inwardly by the mighty Working of the Holy Ghoſt, which faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the Heart and Mind of Man, as by the Example of *Peter* preaching to the People, *Acts* 2. by which he ſo pierced their Conſcience, that they openly with moſt earneſt Repentance confeſſed their Sins, ſaying, *Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do? repent, and be baptized every one of you, ſaid* Peter, *in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo that at this Sermon there were turned unto Chriſt three thouſand Perſons; in whom Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like Manner ſaid I, is Chriſt preſent in the lawful Uſe and right Diſtribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſaid, according to the Truth, that Chriſt dwelt in every one of theſe Perſons rehearſed, yet meant I nothing leſs than that he in them ſhould have a groſs, carnal, or fleſhly Dwelling.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or ſpiritually to be in the Sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former Proteſtation, that is, to the ſpiritual Nouriſhment of all ſuch as worthily come unto that holy Supper, receiving it according to his holy Inſtitution.

And thus I ended; which the Papiſts moſt malicioufly and ſlanderouſly named a Recantation: Which I never meant, nor thought (as God knoweth).

Now after I had thus concluded my Speech, the Biſhop taking me by the Hand, ſaid, Father *Roſe*, you may be a worthy Inſtrument in God's Church, and we will ſee to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his Journey in Viſitation of his Dioceſs) and they feared much at this very Time, leſt Queen *Mary* ſhould have miſcarried in her Child-travel, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with Child, ſo that they were not ſo fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of ſome Stir, if I ſhould have ſuffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, ſo that by any colourable Means for their own Diſcharge it might be; ſo the Night following was I only committed to mine own Lodging.

On the Morrow, when the Biſhop was ready to ride forth in Viſitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir *W. Woodhouſe* did bear me great Favour, ſaid, he was ſorry for me and my Expences; and therefore wiſhed that I were ſomewhere, where I might ſpend no more Money till his Return Why, my Lord, ſaid Sir *William Woodhouſe*, he ſhall have Meat and Drink, and Lodging with me, till you return again, ſeeing you now break up Houſe; and hereupon I went home with Sir *William* that good Knight, who moſt gently entertained me, and I had great Liberty. Upon this the popiſh Prieſts of the College of Chriſt's Church in *Norwich*, for that they ſaw me at Liberty in Sir *William*'s Abſence (who had been from Home a Fortnight) blazed it abroad, that Sir *William* was bounden for me in Body and Lands. At his coming home therefore I asked Sir *William* if he were ſo bounden for me; and he denied it. Then ſaid I; Sir, but for Reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred Miles from you ere this. But I truſt now, Sir, ſeeing you be not bound for me, I may go viſit my Friends. Go where you will, ſaid Sir *William*, for, ſaid he, I told the Biſhop I would not be his Jaylor, but promiſed only Meat, Drink, and Lodging for you. Shortly after, upon the Device of ſome Friends, I was cloſely conveyed to a Friend's Houſe, where almoſt a Month I was ſecretly kept, till Rumours were over. For at the Biſhop's Return Search was made for me, inſomuch as all Houſes, where it was known I had been acquainted, were ſearched, and the Ships at *Yarmouth*.

At the length the Biſhop ſent to a Conjurer, to know of him which Way I was gone, and he anſwered, that I was gone over a Water, and in the Keeping of a Woman. And in very deed I was paſſed over a ſmall Water, and was hid by a bleſſed Woman, who lived in a ſmall Cottage, the Space of three Weeks, till all the great Heat was over.

Then was I conveyed to *London*, and from thence paſſed over the Seas, where I lived till the Death of Queen *Mary*, and till that it pleaſed God for the Comfort of his Church, and reſtoring of all poor Exiles and Priſoners for his Name's Sake, to bleſs this Realm with the Government of our noble Queen, whom God to the Glory of his own Name, and the Defence of his Church according to his good Will and Pleaſure, long preſerve and continue over us.

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Troubles and happy Deliverance of Dr. Sands, *firſt Biſhop of* Worceſter, *next of* London, *afterwards Archbiſhop of* York.

AT King *Edward*'s Death, the Duke of *Northumberland* came down to *Cambridge* with an Army of

of Men, having Commiſſion to proclaim Lady *Jane* Queen, and by Power to ſuppreſs Lady *Mary*, who took upon her that Dignity, and was proclaimed Queen in *Norfolk*. The Duke ſent for Dr. *Sands*, being Vicechancellor, Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *Bill*, and Mr. *Leaver* to ſup with him. Amongſt other Speeches, he ſaid, Maſters, pray for us, that we may ſpeed well: If not, you ſhall be made Biſhops, and we Deacons. And even ſo it came to paſs: Dr. *Parker* and Dr. *Sands* were made Biſhops, and he and Sir *John Gates*, who was then at the Table, were made Deacons, ere it was long after on *Tower-hill*. Dr. *Sands* being Vicechancellor, was required to preach on the Morrow. The Warning was ſhort for ſuch an Auditory, and to ſpeak of ſuch a Matter; yet he refuſed not the Thing, but went into his Chamber, and ſo to Bed. He roſe at three of the Clock in the Morning, took his Bible in his Hand, and after he had pray'd a conſiderable Time, he ſhut his Eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earneſtly pray'd to God, that it might fall open, where a moſt fit Text ſhould be for him to treat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the firſt Chapter of *Joſhua*, the three laſt Verſes, where he found ſo convenient a Place of Scripture for that Time, that the like he could not find in the whole Bible. His Text was thus; *And they anſwered* Joſhua, *ſaying, All that thou commandeſt us, we will do, and whither ſoever thou ſendeſt us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto* Moſes *in all Things, ſo will we hearken unto thee: Only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with* Moſes. *Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy Commandment, and will not hearken unto thy Words, in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to Death: Only be ſtrong and of a good Courage.*

Whoever ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as called themſelves the State, and withal, the Auditory, the Time, and other Circumſtances, he may eaſily ſee that this Text moſt fitly ſerved for the Purpoſe. And as God gave the Text, ſo gave he ſuch Order and Utterance, as drew many Tears out of the Eyes of the biggeſt of them.

In the Time of his Sermon one of the Guard lifted up to him into the Pulpit a Maſs-book and a Grail, which Sir *George Haward* with certain of the Guard had taken that Night in Mr. *Hurleſtone*'s Houſe, where Lady *Mary* had been a little before, and there had Maſs. The Duke, with the reſt of the Nobility, required Dr. *Sands* to put his Sermon in Writing, and appointed Mr. *Leaver* to go to *London* with it, and to put it in Print. Doctor *Sands* required one Day and a half for writing of it. At the Time appointed he had made it ready, and Mr. *Leaver* was ready booted to receive it at his Hands, and carry it to *London*. As he was delivering of it, one of the Beadles, named *Adams*, came weeping to him, and prayed him to ſhift for himſelf, for the Duke was retired, and Queen *Mary* proclaimed.

Dr. *Sands* was not troubled thereat. But gave the Sermon written to Mr. *Layfield*. Mr. *Leaver* departed home, and he went to Dinner to one Mr. *More*'s a Beadle, his great Friend. At the Dinner Mrs. *More* ſeeing him merry and pleaſant (for he had ever a Man's Courage, and could not be terrified) drank unto him, ſaying; Maſter Vicechancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the laſt Time that I ſhall ſee you. And ſo it was; for ſhe was dead before Dr. *Sands* returned out of *Germany*. The Duke that Night retired to *Cambridge*, and ſent for Dr. *Sands* to go with him to the Market-place to proclaim Queen *Mary*. The Duke caſt up his Cap with others, and ſo laughed, that the Tears ran down his Cheeks for Grief. He told Doctor *Sands* that Queen *Mary* was a merciful Woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had ſent unto her to know her Pleaſure, and looked for a general Pardon. Dr. *Sands* anſwered; my Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or ſaid any Thing that urgeth my Conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the State, I have Inſtructions warranted by the Subſcription of ſixteen Counſellors, neither can Speech be Treaſon, neither yet have I ſpoken further than the Word of God, and the Laws of the Realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you aſſured, you ſhall never eſcape Death, for if ſhe would ſave you, thoſe that now ſhall rule will kill you.

That Night the Guard apprehended the Duke, and certain Grooms of the Stable were as buſy with Dr. *Sands*, as if they would take a Priſoner. But Sir *John Gates*, who lay then in Dr. *Sands*'s Houſe, ſharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Dr. *Sands*, by the Advice of Sir *John Gates*, walked in the Fields. In the mean Time the Univerſity, contrary to all Order, had met together in Conſultation, and ordered that Dr. *Mouſe* and Dr. *Hatcher* ſhould repair to Dr. *Sands*'s Lodging, and bring away the Statute Book of the Univerſity; the Keys, and ſuch other Things that were in his Keeping, and ſo they did: for Dr. *Mouſe* being an earneſt Proteſtant the Day before, and whom Dr. *Sands* had done much for, was now become a Papiſt, and his great Enemy. Certain of the Univerſity had appointed a Congregation at Afternoon. As the Bell rang to it, Dr. *Sands* came out of the Fields, and ſending for the Beadles, asketh what the Matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the Schools, according to their Duty. So they did. And ſo ſoon as Dr. *Sands*, the Beadles going before him, came into the Regent-houſe and took his Chair, one Mr. *Mitch*, with a Rabble of unlearned Papiſts, went into a By-ſchool, and conſpired together to pull him out of his Chair, and to uſe Violence unto him. Dr. *Sands* began his Oration, expoſtulating with the Univerſity, charging them with great Ingratitude, declaring, that he had ſaid nothing in his Sermon, but that he was ready to juſtify, and their Caſe was all one with his: For they had not only concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

And thus while he remembred them how beneficial he had been to the Univerſity, and their Unthankfulneſs to him again, in came Mr. *Mitch* with his Conſpirators, about twenty in Number. One laid Hands on the Chair to pull it from him; another told him, that that was not his Place, and another call'd him Traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they uſed Violence, and being of great Courage, groped to his Dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as God's Enemies, if Dr. *Bill* and Dr. *Blith* had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for God's Sake to hold his Hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered Wrong. He was perſuaded by them, and after that Tumult was ceaſed, he ended his Oration, and having ſome Money of the Univerſity's in his Hands, he there delivered the ſame every Farthing. He gave up the Books, Reckonings, and Keys pertaining to the Univerſity, and withal yielded up his Office, praying God to give the Univerſity a better Officer, and to give them better and more thankful Hearts, and ſo repaired home to his own College.

On the Morrow after there came unto him one Mr. *Gerningham*, and Mr. *Thomas Mildmay*. *Gerningham* told him, that it was the Queen's Pleaſure, that two of the Guard ſhould attend upon him, and that he muſt be carried Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London* with the Duke. Mr. *Mildmay* ſaid, he marvelled that a learned Man would ſpeak ſo unadviſedly againſt ſo good a Prince, and wilfully run into ſuch a Danger. Dr. *Sands* anſwered, I ſhall not be aſhamed of Bonds, but if I could do as Mr. *Mildmay* can, I needed not to fear Bonds: For he came down in Payment againſt Queen *Mary*, and armed in the Field, and now he returneth in Payment for Queen *Mary*; before a Traitor, and now a great Friend, I cannot with one Mouth blow hot and cold after this Manner.

Upon

Upon this his Stable was robbed of four very good Geldings, the beſt of them Mr. *Huddleſtone* took for his own Saddle, and rode on him to *London* in his Sight. An Inventory was taken of all his Goods by Mr. *More*, Beadle for the Univerſity. He was ſet upon a lame Horſe that halted to the Ground; which Thing a Friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a Nag. The Yeomen of the Guard were contented. As he departed forth at the Town's End, ſome Papiſts reſorted thither to jeer at him; ſome of his Friends to mourn for him. He came in the Rank to *London*, the People being full of Out-cries. And as he came in at *Biſhopſgate*, one like a Milk-woman hurled a Stone at him, and hit him on the Breaſt, with ſuch a Blow, that he was like to fall off his Horſe. To whom he mildly ſaid; Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that Journey and evil Intreating ſo mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through *Tower-hill-ſtreet*, one Woman ſtanding in her Door, cried; Fie on thee thou Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretick. Whereat he ſmiled. Look, the deſperate Heretick, ſaid ſhe, laughed at this Jeer. A Woman on the other ſide of the Street anſwered, ſaying; Fie on thee Neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a Woman, railing upon this Gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, nor the Cauſe why he is thus treated. Then ſhe ſaid, Good Gentleman, God be thy Comfort, and give thee Strength to ſtand in God's Cauſe, even to the End. And thus he paſſed through rough and ſmooth to the *Tower*, the firſt Priſoner that enter'd in that Day, which was St. *James*'s Day. The Yeomen of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nag, and what elſe ſoever he had. His Man, one *Quinting Suainton*, brought after him a Bible, and ſome Shirts, and ſuch like Things. The Bible was ſent into him, but the Shirts and ſuch like ſerved the Yeomen of the Guard.

After he had been in the *Tower* three Weeks in a bad Priſon: He was brought up into *Nuns-Bower* a better Priſon, where was put to him Mr. *John Bradford*.

At the Day of Queen *Mary*'s Coronation their Priſon-door was ſet open, ever ſhut before. One Mr. *Mitchell* his old Acquaintance, who had been Priſoner before in the ſame Place, came in to him, and ſaid; Maſter *Sands*, there is ſuch a Stir in the *Tower*, that neither Gates, Doors, nor Priſoners are looked to this Day. Take my Cloak, my Hat, and my Rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the Gates without queſtioning, ſave yourſelf, and let me do as well as I can. A rare Friendſhip; but he refuſed the Offer, ſaying; I know no juſt Cauſe why I ſhould be in Priſon. And thus to do were to make myſelf guilty. I will expect God's good Will, yet muſt I think myſelf much obliged to you: And ſo Mr. *Mitchell* departed.

While Dr. *Sands* and Mr. *Bradford* were thus in cloſe Priſon twenty-nine Weeks, one *John Bowler* was their Keeper, a very perverſe Papiſt, yet by often perſuading of him, for he would give Ear, and by gentle uſing of him, at length he began to miſlike Popery, and to favour the Goſpel, and was ſo perſuaded in true Religion, that on a *Sunday* when they had Maſs in the Chappel, he brought up a Service-book, a Manchet, and a Glaſs of Wine, and there Dr. *Sands* miniſtred the Communion to *Bradford* and to *Bowler*. Thus *Bowler* was their Son begotten in Bonds. When *Wyat* was in Arms, and the old Duke of *Norfolk* ſent forth with a Power of Men to apprehend him; that Room might be made in the *Tower* for him and other his Accomplices, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Bradford* were caſt into one Priſon, and Dr. *Sands* with nine other Preachers were ſent unto the *Marſhalſea*.

The Keeper of the *Marſhalſea* appointed to every Preacher a Man to lead him in the Street, he cauſed them to go far before, and he and Dr. *Sands* came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. *Sands* was known, and the People every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to ſtrengthen him in the Truth. By that Time the Peoples Minds were altered, Popery began to be unſavory. After they paſſed the Bridge, the Keeper ſaid to Dr. *Sands*, I perceive the vain People would ſet you forward to the Fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you, being a young Man, will ſtand in your own Conceit, and prefer your own Judgment before that of ſo many worthy Prelates, ancient, learned, and grave Men as be in this Realm. If you ſo do, you ſhall find me a ſevere Keeper, as one that utterly diſliketh your Religion. Dr. *Sands* anſwered, I know my Years to be young, and my Learning but ſmall, it is enough to know Chriſt crucified, and he hath learned nothing who ſeeth not the great Blaſphemy that is in Popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto Man: I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous Keeper: God may make you one; if not, I truſt he will give me Strength and Patience to bear your hard Uſage. Then ſaid the Keeper, Are you reſolv'd to ſtand to your Religion? Yes, quoth the Doctor, by God's Grace. Truly, ſaid the Keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: What Favour I can ſhew you ye ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall think myſelf happy if I might die at the Stake with you. He was as good as his Word, for he truſted the Doctor to walk in the Fields alone, where he met with Mr. *Bradford*, who was alſo a Priſoner in the *King's-Bench*, and had found the ſame Favour from his Keeper: He laid him in the beſt Chamber in the Houſe; he would not ſuffer the Knight-marſhal's Man to lay Fetters on him, as others had. And, at his Requeſt, he put Mr. *Sanders* in to him, to be his Bedfellow, and ſundry Times after he ſuffered his Wife, who was Mr. *Sands* Daughter of *Eſſex*, a Gentlewoman beautiful both in Body and Soul, to reſort to him. There was great Reſort to Dr. *Sands* and Mr. *Saunders*; they had much Money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the Communion there three or four Times, and a great Number of Communicants. Dr. *Sands* gave ſuch Exhortation to the People (for at that Time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many Tears, and made the People abhor the Maſs, and defy all Popery.

When *Wyat* with his Army came into *Southwark*, he ſent two Gentlemen into the *Marſhalſea* to Dr. *Sands*, ſaying, that Mr. *Wyat* would be glad of his Company and Advice, and that the Gates ſhould be ſet open for all the Priſoners. He anſwered, Tell Mr. *Wyat*, if this his riſing be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my Part, I was committed hither by Order, I will be diſcharged by like Order, or I will never depart hence. So anſwered Mr. *Saunders*, and the reſt of the Preachers, being there Priſoners.

After that Dr. *Sands* had been nine Weeks Priſoner in the *Marſhalſea* by the Mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Knight-marſhal, was ſet at Liberty, Sir *Thomas* ſued earneſtly to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Gardiner*, for his Deliverence after many Repulſes: But he could not prevail, except Dr. *Sands* would be one of their Sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at laſt, that if the Queen could like of his Deliverance, he would not be againſt it; for that was Sir *Thomas* his laſt Requeſt. In the mean Time he had procured two Ladies of the privy Chamber to move the Queen in it; who was contented if the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* would like of it. The next Time that the Biſhop went into the Privy-chamber to ſpeak with the Queen, Mr. *Holcroft* followed, and had his Warrant for Dr. *Sands*'s Remiſſion ready, and prayed the two

Ladies, when the Biſhop ſhould take his Leave, to put the Queen in mind of Dr. *Sands*. So they did, and the Queen ſaid; *Wincheſter*, what think you by Dr. *Sands*, is he not ſufficiently puniſhed? As it pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaith *Wincheſter*. That he ſpake, remembering his former Promiſe to Mr. *Holcroft*, that he would not be againſt Dr. *Sands*, if the Queen ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the Queen; then truly, we would that he were ſet at Liberty. Immediately Mr. *Holcroft* offered the Queen the Warrant. Who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called *Wincheſter* to put to his Hand, and ſo he did. The Warrant was given to the Knight-marſhal again, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*. As the Biſhop went forth of the Privy-chamber Door; he called Mr. *Holcroft* to him, commanding him not to ſet Dr. *Sands* at Liberty, until he had taken Sureties of two Gentlemen of this Country with him, every one bound in 500 Pounds, that Dr. *Sands* ſhould not depart out of the Realm without Licenſe. Mr. *Holcroft* immediately after met with two Gentlemen of the *North*, Friends and Couſins to Dr. *Sands*, who offered to be bound in Body, Goods, and Lands for him. After Dinner, the ſame Day, Mr. *Holcroft* ſent for Dr. *Sands* to his Lodging at *Weſtminſter*, requiring the Keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. *Holcroft* alone walking in his Garden. Mr. *Holcroft* imparted his long Sute, with the whole Proceeding, and what Effect it had taken, to Dr. *Sands*: Much rejoycing that it was his good Hap to do him good, and to procure his Liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into Bonds with his two Sureties, for not departing out of the Realm. Dr. *Sands* anſwered; I give God Thanks, who hath moved your Heart to mind me ſo well, and I think myſelf moſt bound unto you. God ſhall requite, and I ſhall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will alſo deal plainly with you. I came a Freeman into Priſon; I will not go forth a Bondman. As I cannot benefit my Friends, ſo will I not hurt them. And if I be ſet at Liberty, I will not tarry ſix Days in this Realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, ſend me to the *Marſhalſea* again, and there ye ſhall be ſure of me.

This Anſwer Mr. *Holcroft* much miſliked: He told *Sands* that the Time would not long continue, a Change would ſhortly come, the State was but a Cloud, and would ſoon ſhake away. And that his Couſin Sir *Edward Bray* would gladly receive him and his Wife into his Houſe, where he ſhould never need to come at Church, and the Lady *Bray* was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Popery. Adding, that he would not ſo deal with him to loſe all his Labour. When Dr. *Sands* could not be removed from his former Saying, Mr. *Holcroft* ſaid; ſeeing you cannot be altered, I will change my Purpoſe and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will ſet you at Liberty: And ſeeing you mind to go over Sea, get you gone as quick as you can. One Thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for ſo you may undo me. He friendly kiſſed Dr *Sands*, bade him farewel, and commanded the Keeper to take no Fees of him, ſaying, Let me anſwer *Wincheſter* as I may. Dr. *Sands* returning with the Keeper to the *Marſhalſea*, tarried all Night, and on the Morrow he gave a Dinner to all the Priſoners, to which he invited his Bedfellow, and ſworn Stakefellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God. When he took his Leave, he ſaid, Mr. *Saunders*, farewel, with many Tears and Kiſſings, the one falling on the other's Neck, and ſo departed, clearly delivered without Examination or Bond. From thence he went to the *King's-Bench*, and there talked with Mr. *Bradford* and Dr. *Farrer* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, then Priſoners. Then he comforted them, and they praiſed God for his happy Deliverance. He went by *Wincheſter*'s Houſe, and there took Boat, and came to a Friend's Houſe in *London*, called *William Banks*, and tarried there one Night. On the Morrow at Night he ſhifted to another Friend's Houſe, and there he heard that Search was made for him.

Dr. *Watſon* and Mr. *Chriſtopherſon* coming to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, told him, that he had ſet the greateſt Heretick in *England* at Liberty, and one that had of all others, moſt corrupted the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, namely, Dr. *Sands*. Whereupon the Biſhop, being Chancellor of *England*, ſent for all the Conſtables of *London*, commanding them to watch for Dr. *Sands*, who was then within the City, and to apprehend him, and whoſoever of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, he ſhould have five Pounds for his Labour. Dr. *Sands* ſuſpecting the Matter, conveyed himſelf by Night to one Mr. *Berty*'s Houſe a Stranger, who was in the *Marſhalſea* Priſon with him awhile, he was a good Proteſtant, and dwelt in *Mark-lane*. There he was ſix Days, and had one or two of his Friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his Acquaintance in *Cornhil*; he cauſed his Man *Quinting* to provide two Geldings for him, minding on the Morrow to ride into *Eſſex*, to Mr. *Sands* his Father-in-law, where his Wife was.

At going to Bed he found that a Pair of Hoſe which he had newly bought were too long for him: He deſired the good Woman of the Houſe to ſend for ſomebody that could cut them two Inches ſhorter. The Wife required the Boy of the Houſe to carry them to the next Taylor; which he accordingly did: And he chanced (or rather God ſo provided) to go to the very Perſon that firſt made them (whoſe Name was *Benjamin*, a good Proteſtant in *Birchin-lane*) and the Boy deſired him to cut the Hoſe. Said he, I am not thy Maſter's Taylor. Said the Boy, Becauſe you are our next Neighbour, and my Maſter's Taylor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the Night, for he muſt put them on betimes in the Morning. *Benjamin* took the Hoſe, and looking upon them, knew his handy Work, and ſaid, Theſe are not thy Maſter's Hoſe, they belong to Dr. *Sands*, I made them for him in the *Tower*. The Boy confeſſed it to be ſo. Said he, go to thy Miſtreſs, pray her to ſit up till twelve of the Clock, and then I will bring the Hoſe and ſpeak with the Doctor for his Good.

At Midnight the good Wife of the Houſe, and *Benjamin* came to Dr. *Sands*'s Chamber: The good Woman deſired him not to be ſurpriſed at their coming. He anſwered, nothing can be amiſs; what God will that ſhall be done. Then *Benjamin* told him that he was the Man that made his Hoſe, and by good Chance they now came to his Hands. God uſed the Means, that he might admoniſh him of his Danger, and adviſe him how to eſcape, telling him, that all the Conſtables of *London*, whereof he was one, watched for him, and ſome were ſo greedily ſet, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the Carriage of him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and he ſhould have the five Pounds. It is well known (quoth *Benjamin*) that your Man hath provided two Geldings, and that you intend to ride out at *Aldgate* To-morrow Morning, and there then you are ſure to be taken. Follow mine Advice, and by God's Grace ye ſhall eſcape their Hands. Let your Man walk all the Day To-morrow in the Street where your Horſes ſtand, booted and ready to ride. The good Man's Servant of the Houſe ſhall take the Horſes, and carry them to *Bednal-green*. The good Man ſhall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you To-morrow about eight of the Clock, it is both Term and Parliament Time, here we will break our Faſt, and when the Streets is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your Brother in the Streets, ſhun him not, but out-face him, and know him not. Accordingly Dr. *Sands* did, cloathed

like a Gentleman in all Reſpects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in Priſon out of the Light, *Benjamin* carried him through *Birchin-lane*, and from one Lane to another till he came to *Moregate*. There they went forth until they came to *Bednal Green*, where the Horſes were ready, and Mr. *Hurleſtone* to ride with him as his Man. Dr. *Sands* pulled on his Boots, and taking Leave of his Friend *Benjamin*, with Tears they kiſſed each other: He put his Hand in his Purſe, and would have given *Benjamin* a great part of that little he had, but *Benjamin* would take none. Yet ſince Dr. *Sands* hath remembred him thankfully. He rode that Night to his Father-in-law Mr. *Sands*, where his Wife was: He had not been there two Hours, but it was told Mr. *Sands*, that there were two of the Guard which would that Night apprehend Dr. *Sands*, and ſo they were appointed.

That Night Dr. *Sands* was guided to an honeſt Farmer near the Sea, where he tarried two Days and two Nights in a Chamber without Company. After that he had ſhifted to one *James Mower* a Shipmaſter, who dwelt at *Milton-Shore*, where he expected Wind for the *Engliſh* Fleet ready into *Flanders*. While he was there, *James Mower* brought to him forty or fifty Mariners, to whom he gave an Exhortation; they liked him ſo well, that they promiſed to die for it, ere that he ſhould be apprehended.

The ſixth of *May*, being *Sunday*, the Wind ſerved. He took his Leave of his Hoſt and Hoſteſs, and went towards the Ship. In taking his Leave of his Hoſteſs who was barren, and had been married eight Years, he gave her a fine Handkerchief and an old Royal of Gold in it, thanking her much, and ſaid, be of good Comfort, ere that one whole Year be paſt, God ſhall give you a Child; a Boy. And it came to paſs, for that Day Twelvemonth lacking one Day, God gave her a fair Son.

At the Shore Dr. *Sands* met with Mr. *Iſaac* of *Kent*, who had his eldeſt Son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. *Sands*, ſent his Son with him, who afterward died in his Father's Houſe in *Frankfort*. Dr. *Sands* and Dr. *Coxe* were both in one Ship, being one *Cockrel*'s Ship, they were within the Kenning, when two of the Guard came thither to apprehend Dr. *Sands*. They arrived at *Antwerp*, being bid to Dinner to Mr. *Locke*. And at Dinner-time one *George Gilpin* being Secretary to the *Engliſh* Houſe, and Kinſman to Dr. *Sands*, came to him, and rounded him in his Ear, and ſaid, King *Philip* hath ſent to make Search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they roſe from their Dinner in a marvellous great Shower, and went out at the Gate toward the Land of *Cleve*. They found a Waggon, and haſted away, and came ſafe to *Ausburge* in *Cleveland*, where Dr. *Sands* tarried fourteen Days, and then travelled towards *Strasbourgh*, where after he had lived one Year, his Wife came to him. He fell ſore ſick of a Flux, which kept him nine Months, and brought him to Death's Door. He had a Child which fell ſick of the Plague, and died. His Wife at length fell ſick of a Conſumption, and died in his Arms; no Man had a more godly Woman to his Wife.

After this, Mr. *Sampſon* went away to *Emanuel*, a Man skilful in *Hebrew*. Mr. *Grindall* went into the Country to learn the *Dutch* Tongue. Dr. *Sands* ſtill remained in *Strasbourgh*, whoſe Suſtentation was chiefly from one Mr. *Iſaac*, who loved him moſt dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that Space above an hundred Marks, which Sum the ſaid Dr. *Sands* paid him again, and by his other Gifts and Friendlineſs ſhewed himſelf to be a thankful Man. When his Wife was dead, he went to *Zurik*, and there was in *Peter Martyr*'s Houſe for the Space of five Weeks. Being there, as they ſate at Dinner, Word ſuddenly came that Queen *Mary* was dead, and Dr. *Sands* was ſent for by his Friends at *Strasbourgh*. That News made Mr. *Martyr*, and Mr. *Jarret* then there, very joyful; but Dr. *Sands* could not rejoyce, it ſmote into his Heart that he ſhould be called to Miſery.

Mr. *Bullinger* and the Miniſters feaſted him, and he took his Leave and returned to *Strasbourgh* where he preached; and ſo Mr. *Grindall* and he came towards *England*, and came to *London* the ſame Day that Queen *Elizabeth* was crowned.

The miraculous Preſervation of the Lady ELIZABETH, *afterwards Queen of* England, *in the Time of Queen* MARY, *her Siſter.*

BUT when all hath been ſaid and told, whatſoever can be recited touching the admirable Working of God's preſent Hand in defending and delivering any one Perſon out of Thraldom, never was there, ſince the Memory of our Fathers, any Example to be ſhewed, wherein the Lord's mighty Power hath more admirably ſhewed itſelf, to the Glory of his own Name, to the Comfort of all good Hearts, and to the publick Felicity of this whole Realm, than in the miraculous Eſcape of the Lady *Elizabeth*, in the Time of Queen *Mary* her Siſter.

In which Story we firſt have to conſider in what extream Miſery, Sickneſs, Fear, and Peril her Highneſs was; into what Care, what Trouble of Mind, and what Danger of Death ſhe was brought: Firſt, with great Bands of armed Men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her) being fetched up as the greateſt Traitor in the World, clapped in the *Tower*, and again toſſed from thence, and from Houſe to Houſe, from Priſon to Priſon, from Poſt to Pillar, at length alſo Priſoner in her own Houſe, and guarded with a ſort of Cut-throats, who ever gaped for the Spoil, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondly, we have to conſider again, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſly, ſhe was delivered from Danger, what Favour and Grace ſhe found with the Almighty; who, when all the Help of Man and Hope of Recovery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty Protection, and preſerved her Highneſs, and placed her in her princely Seat of Reſt and Quietneſs.

In which Story, if I ſhould ſet forth at large all the Particulars and Circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as juſt Occaſion of the Hiſtory requireth; beſide the importunate Length of the Story diſcourſed, peradventure it might move Offence to ſome and Truth might get me Hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intend (by the Grace of Chriſt) therein to uſe ſuch Brevity and Moderation, as both may be to the Glory of God, the Diſcharge of the Story, the Profit of the Reader, and Hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the Names of ſome, whom here altho' I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their Names, than the Queen hath been merciful in pardoning their Lives.

Therefore now to enter into the Diſcourſe of this tragical Matter, firſt here is to be noted, that Queen *Mary* when ſhe was firſt Queen, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the Hand, and ſend for her to Dinner and Supper; but after ſhe was crowned ſhe never dined nor ſupped with her, but kept her apart from her, *&c.* After this it happened immediately upon the riſing of Sir *Thomas Wyat* (as before was mentioned) that the Lady *Elizabeth* and Lord *Courtney* were charged with falſe Suſpicion of Sir *Thomas Wyat*'s riſing. Whereupon Queen

Queen *Mary*, whether for that Surmiſe, or for what other Cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* her Siſter, at that Time lying in her Houſe at *Aſhbridge*, the next Day after the riſing of *Wyat*, ſent to her three of her Counſellors, to wit, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, then Maſter of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, with their Retinue and Troop of Horſemen, to the Number of two hundred and fifty, who at their ſudden and unprovided coming, found her at the ſame Time ſick in her Bed, and very feeble and weak of Body. Whither when they came, aſcending up to her Grace's Chamber, they deſired one of her Ladies, whom they met, to declare to her Grace, that there were divers come from the Court, who had a Meſſage from the Queen.

Her Grace having Knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; howbeit being then very ſick, and the Night far ſpent (which was at ten of the Clock) ſhe requeſted them by the Meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the Morning. To this they anſwered, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would ſo do, in what Caſe ſoever ſhe were. Whereat the Lady being ſurprized, went to ſhew her Grace their Words; but they, haſtily following her, came ruſhing as ſoon as ſhe into her Grace's Chamber unbidden.

At whoſe ſudden coming into her Bed-chamber, her Grace, being greatly amazed, ſaid unto them, Is the Haſte ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to come To-morrow in the Morning.

They made Anſwer, that they were right ſorry to ſee her in that Caſe, and I (ſaid ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this Time of Night. Whereunto they anſwered, that they came from the Queen to do their Meſſage and Duty, which was to this Effect, that the Queen's Pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at *London* the ſeventh Day of that preſent Month. Whereunto ſhe ſaid, certainly, no Creature more glad than I to come to her Majeſty, being right ſorry that I am not in a Caſe at this Time to wait on her, as you yourſelves do ſee, and can well teſtify.

Indeed we ſee it true, ſaid they, that you do ſay; for which we are very ſorry. Albeit, we let you to underſtand, that our Commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraitneth us, that we muſt needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, that their Commiſſion was very ſore; but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrait. Yes verily, ſaid they. Whereupon they calling for two Phyſicians, Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Wendy*, demanded of them whether ſhe might be removed from thence with Life, or no. Whoſe Anſwer and Judgment was, that there was no Impediment in their Judgment to the contrary, but that ſhe might travel without Danger of Life.

In Concluſion, they deſired her to prepare againſt the next Morning at nine of the Clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queen's Letter for her. After much Talk, the Meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of Times and Days, ſo departed to their Chamber, being entertained and cheared, as appertained to their Worſhips.

On the next Morrow, at the Time preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhe was, very faint and feeble, and in ſuch Caſe that ſhe was ready to ſwoon three or four Times between them. What ſhould I ſpeak here, that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heavy Houſe there was to behold the unreverend and doleful dealing of theſe Men, but eſpecially the Fear and Captivity of their innocent Lady and Miſtreſs.

Now to proceed in her Journey from *Aſhbridge*, ſick in the Litter, ſhe came to *Redborne*, where ſhe was guarded all Night. From thence to St. *Alban*'s to Sir *Ralph Rowlet*'s Houſe, where ſhe tarried that Night, both feeble in Body, and comfortleſs in Mind. From that Place they paſſed to Mr. *Dod*'s Houſe at *Myms*, where alſo they remained that Night; and ſo from thence ſhe came to *Highgate*, where ſhe being very ſick, tarried that Night and the next Day. During which Time of her Abode, there came many Purſuivants and Meſſengers from the Court, but for what Purpoſe I cannot tell.

From that Place ſhe was conveyed to the Court, where by the Way came to meet her many Gentlemen to accompany her Highneſs, who were very ſorry to ſee her in that Caſe. But eſpecially a great Multitude of People were ſtanding by the Way, who then flocking about her Litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her Eſtate. Now when ſhe came to the Court, her Grace was there ſtraightways ſhut up, and kept as cloſe Priſoner a Fortnight, which was till *Palm-Sunday*, ſeeing neither King, nor Queen, nor Lord, nor Friend, all that Time, but only the then Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *John Gage*, and the Vice-Chamberlain, which were attendant unto the Doors. About which time Sir *William Sentlowe* was called before the Council. To whoſe Charge was laid, that he knew of *Wyat*'s Rebellion: Which he ſtoutly denied, proteſting that he was a true Man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels, but being ſtraitly examined, he was in Concluſion committed to the *Tower*.

The *Friday* before *Palm-Sunday*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with nineteen others of the Council, (who ſhall be here nameleſs) came unto her Grace from the Queen's Majeſty, and burdened her with *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy; which ſhe utterly deny'd, affirming that ſhe was altogether guiltleſs therein. They being not contented with this, charged her Grace with Buſineſs made by Sir *Peter Carew*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Weſt Country: Which alſo ſhe utterly denying, cleared her Innocency therein.

In Concluſion, after long debating of Matters, they declared unto her, that it was the Queen's Will and Pleaſure that ſhe ſhould go unto the *Tower*, while the Matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſaid, that ſhe truſted the Queen's Majeſty would be a more gracious Lady unto her, and that her Highneſs would not otherwiſe conceive of her but that ſhe was a true Woman; declaring furthermore to the Lords, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe Matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therefore to be a further Mean to the Queen her Siſter, that ſhe being a true Woman in Thought, Word, and Deed, towards her Majeſty, might not be committed to ſo notorious and doleful a Place; proteſting that ſhe would requeſt no Favour at her Hand, if ſhe ſhould be proved to have conſented unto any ſuch kind of Matter as they laid unto her Charge; and therefore in fine, deſired their Lordſhips to think of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not be ſo extremely dealt withal for her Truth.

Whereunto the Lords anſwered again, that there was no Remedy, for that the Queen's Majeſty was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go unto the *Tower*. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their Caps hanging over their Eyes. But not long after, within the Space of an Hour or little more, came four of the aforeſaid Lords of the Council, which were the Lord-Treaſurer, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Lord-Steward, the Earl of *Suſſex*, with the Guard; who warding the next Chamber to her, ſecluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladies and Gentlewomen; except that for one Gentleman Uſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Grooms of her Chamber, were appointed in their Rooms, three other Men of the Queen's, and three waiting Women to give Attendance upon her, that none ſhould have Acceſs to her Grace.

At which Time there were an hundred of Northern Soldiers in white Coats, watching and warding about the Gardens all that Night, and a great Fire being made in the midſt of the Hall, and two certain Lords watching there alſo with their Band and Company.

Upon *Saturday* following, two Lords of the Council, (the one was the Earl of *Suſſex*, the other ſhall be nameleſs) came and certified her Grace, that ſhe muſt forthwith unto the *Tower*, the Barge being prepared for her, and the Tide now ready, which tarrieth for no body. In heavy Mood her Grace requeſted the Lords that ſhe might tarry another Tide, truſting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither Time nor Tide was to be delayed.

And when her Grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queen's Majeſty, he anſwered, that he durſt not permit that: Adding, that in his Judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace in ſo doing.

But the other Lord, more courteous and favourable (who was the Earl of *Suſſex*) kneeling down, told her Grace that ſhe ſhould have Liberty to write, and as he was a true Man, he would deliver it to the Queen's Highneſs, and bring an Anſwer of the ſame, whatſoever came thereof. Whereupon ſhe wrote, albeit ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeak with the Queen, to her great Diſcomfort, being no Offender againſt the Queen's Majeſty.

And thus the Time and Tide paſſed away for that Seaſon, they privily appointing all Things ready that ſhe ſhould go the next Tide, which fell about Midnight; but for Fear ſhe ſhould be taken by the Way, they durſt not. So they ſtayed till the next Day, being *Palm-Sunday*, when about nine of the Clock theſe two returned again, declaring that it was Time for her Grace to depart. She anſwered, if there be no Remedy, I muſt be contented, willing the Lords to go on before. Being come forth into the Garden, ſhe did caſt her Eyes towards the Window, thinking to ſee the Queen, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſaid, ſhe marvelled much what the Nobility of the Realm meant, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into Captivity, the Lord knew whither, for ſhe did not. In the mean Time Commandment was given in all *London*, that every one ſhould keep the Church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean Seaſon ſhe might be conveyed without all recourſe of People in the *Tower*.

After this, ſhe took her Barge with the two foreſaid Lords, three of the Queen's Gentlewomen, and three of her own, her Gentleman-uſher, and two of her Grooms, lying and hovering upon the Water a certain Space, for that they could not ſhoot the Bridge, the Bargemen being very unwilling to ſhoot the ſame, ſo ſoon as they did, becauſe of the Danger thereof: For the Stern of the Boat ſtruck upon the Ground, the Fall was ſo big, and the Water was ſo ſhallow, that the Boat being under the Bridge, there ſtay'd again awhile. At landing ſhe firſt ſtay'd and denied to land at thoſe Stairs where all Traytors and Offenders cuſtomably uſed to land, neither could ſhe well, unleſs ſhe ſhould go over her Shoes. The Lords were gone out of the Boat before, and asked why ſhe came not. One of the Lords went back again to her, and brought Word ſhe would not come.

Then ſaid one of the Lords, who ſhall be nameleſs, that ſhe ſhould not chuſe; and becauſe it did then rain, he offered to her his Cloak, which ſhe, putting it back with her Hand with a good Daſh, refuſed. So ſhe coming not, having one Foot upon the Stairs, ſaid, here landeth as true a Subject, being Priſoner, as ever landed at theſe Stairs: And before thee, O God, I ſpeak it, having no other Friends but thee alone.

To whom the ſame Lord anſwered again, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great Multitude of their Servants and Warders ſtanding in their Order. What needed all this, ſaid ſhe? It is the Uſe ſaid ſome ſo to be when any Priſoner came thither. And if it be, quoth ſhe, for my Cauſe, I beſeech you that they may be diſmiſſed. Whereat the poor Men kneeled down, and with one Voice deſired God to preſerve her Grace, who the next Day were releaſed of their cold Coats.

After this, paſſing a little further, ſhe ſat down upon a cold Stone, and there reſted herſelf. To whom the Lieutenant then being, ſaid, Madam, you were beſt to come out of the Rain, for you ſit unwholſomely. She then replying, anſwered again, It is better ſitting here, than in a worſe Place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her Gentleman-uſher wept; ſhe demanding of him what he meant ſo uncomfortably to uſe her, ſeeing ſhe took him to be her Comfort, and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her Truth to be ſuch that no Man ſhould have Cauſe to weep for her. But forth ſhe went into Priſon.

The Doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly diſcomforted and diſmayed her Grace. At which Time ſhe called to her Gentlewoman for her Book, deſiring God not to ſuffer her to build her Foundation upon the Sands, but upon the Rock, whereby all Blaſts of bluſtring Weather ſhould have no Power againſt her. The Doors being thus locked, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up, the Lords had great Conference how to keep Ward and Watch, every Man declaring his own Opinion in that Behalf, agreeing ſtraitly and circumſpectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of *Suſſex*, ſwearing, ſaid: My Lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our Commiſſion will bear us out in, whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let us conſider that ſhe was the King our Maſter's Daughter; and therefore let us uſe ſuch Dealing, that we may anſwer it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen: For juſt dealing (quoth he) is always anſwerable; whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well ſaid of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the *Tower*, within two Days Commandment was that ſhe ſhould have Maſs within her Houſe. One Mr. *Young* was then her Chaplain, and becauſe there were none of her Men ſo well learned to help the Prieſt to ſay Maſs, the Maſs ſtay'd for that Day.

The next Day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to School before, and were learned, had two Abcies provided, and delivered them, ſo that upon the Abcies they ſhould help the Prieſt. One of the ſaid Yeomen, holding the Abcie in his Hand, pretending Ignorance at *Kyrie Eleyſon*, ſet the Prieſt, making as tho' he could anſwer no farther.

It would make a pitiful and a ſtrange Story, here by the way to touch and recite what Examination and Rackings of poor Men there were to find out that Knife that ſhould cut her Throat; what gaping among my Lords of the Clergy, to ſee the Day wherein they might waſh their goodly white Rochets in her innocent Blood; but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Stephen Gardiner*, then Lord Chancellor, who then within five Days after came unto her, with divers others of the Council, and examined her of the Talk that was at *Aſhbridge*, betwixt her and Sir *James Acroft*, concerning her removing from thence to *Dunnington* Caſtle, requiring her to declare what ſhe meant thereby.

At the firſt ſhe being ſo ſuddenly asked, did not well remember any ſuch Houſe; but within awhile, well adviſing herſelf, ſhe ſaid; indeed I do now remember that I have ſuch a Place, but I never lay in it in all my Life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the Matter they brought forth Sir

James Acroft. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* demanded of her what ſhe ſaid to that Man. She anſwered, that ſhe had little to ſay to him, or to the reſt that were then Priſoners in the *Tower*. But my Lords, ſaid ſhe, you do examine every mean Priſoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great Injury. If they have done Evil, and offended the Queen's Majeſty, let them anſwer to it accordingly. I beſeech you, my Lords, joyn not me in this Sort with any of theſe Offenders. And as concerning my going unto *Dunnington* Caſtle, I do remember that Mr. *Hobby* and mine Officers, and you Sir *James Acroft* had ſuch Talk, but what is that to the purpoſe, my Lords, but that I may go to mine own Houſes at all Times?

The Lord of *Arundel* kneeling down, ſaid, your Grace ſaith true, and certainly we are very ſorry that we have ſo troubled you about ſo vain Matters. She then ſaid; my Lords, you do ſift me very narrowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and ſo God forgive you all.

At their Departure Sir *James Acroft* kneeled down, declaring that he was ſorry to ſee the Day in which he ſhould be brought as a Witneſs againſt her Grace. But I aſſure your Grace, ſaid he, I have been marvelouſly toſſed and examined touching your Highneſs, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtrange to me. For I take God to record before all your Honours, I do not know any thing of that Crime that you have laid to my Charge, and will thereupon take my Death, if I ſhould be driven to ſo ſtrict a Trial.

That Day, or thereabouts, divers of her own Officers, who had made Proviſion for her Diet, brought the ſame to the outer Gate of the *Tower*, the common raſcal Soldiers receiving it; which was no ſmall Grief unto the Gentlemen, the Bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to ſpeak with the Lord Chamberlain, being then Conſtable of the *Tower*. Who, coming before his Preſence, declared unto his Lordſhip, that they were much afraid to bring her Grace's Diet, and to deliver it unto ſuch common and deſperate Perſons as they were which did receive it, beſeeching his Honour to conſider her Grace, and to give ſuch Order, that her Viands might at all Times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yea, Sirs, ſaid he? who appointed you this Office? They anſwered, her Grace's Council. Council, quoth he? there is none of them which hath to do either in that Caſe, or any thing elſe within this Place; and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a Priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerved with the Lieutenant's Men, as other the Priſoners are. Whereat the Gentleman ſaid, that they truſted for more Favour from his Hands, conſidering her Perſonage, ſaying, That they miſtruſted not, but the Queen and her Council would be better to her Grace than ſo, and therewith ſhewed themſelves to be offended at the ungrateful Words of the Lord Chamberlain towards their Lady and Miſtreſs.

At this he ſware by God, ſtriking himſelf upon the Breaſt, that if they did either frown or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neither Sun nor Moon. Thus taking their Leave, they deſired God to bring him into a better Mind toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the Occaſion whereof, her Grace's Officers made great Sute unto the Queen's Council, that ſome might be appointed to bring her Diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto her by the common Soldiers of the *Tower*. Which being reaſonably conſidered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerk of her Kitchin, and her two Purveyors to bring in her Proviſion once a Day. All which was done, the Warders ever waiting upon the Bringers thereof.

The Lord Chamberlain himſelf being always with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gave heed that they ſhould have no Talk with any of her Grace's waiting Servants, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſaid Sute of her Officers were ſent by the Commandment of the Council, to wait upon her Grace, two Yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantry and Ewry, one of her Buttry, another of her Cellar, two of her Kitchin, and one of her Larder, all which continued with her the Time of her Trouble.

Here the Conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the coming in of ſuch a Company againſt his Will, would have had his Men ſtill to have ſerved with her Grace's Men. Which her Servants by no Means would ſuffer, deſiring his Lordſhip to be contented, for that Order was taken, that no Stranger ſhould come within their Offices. At which Anſwer being ſore diſpleaſed, he break out into theſe threatning Words: Well I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the Kitchen, and there would needs have his Meat roaſted with her Grace's Meat, and ſaid, that his Cook ſhould come thither and dreſs it. To that her Grace's Cook anſwered; my Lord, I will never ſuffer any Stranger to come about her Diet, but her own ſworn Men, ſo long as I live. He ſaid they ſhould. But the Cook ſaid, his Lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that Matter. Thus did he trouble her poor Servants very ſtoutly; though afterward he were otherwiſe adviſed, and they more courteouſly uſed at his Hands. And good Cauſe why. For he had good Chear, and fared of the beſt, and her Grace payed well for it. Wherefore he uſed himſelf afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

Having been a whole Month there in cloſe Priſon, and being uneaſy there, ſhe ſent for the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Chandois* to come and ſpeak with her. Who coming, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might have Liberty to walk in ſome Place, for that ſhe felt herſelf not well. To which they anſwered, That they were right ſorry that they could not ſatisfy her Grace's Requeſt, for that they had Commandment to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe break. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that ſhe might walk but into the Queen's Lodging. No, nor yet that (they anſwered) could by any Means be obtained without a further Sute to the Queen and her Council. Well, ſaid ſhe, my Lords, if the Matter be ſo hard that they muſt be ſued unto for ſo ſmall a Thing, and that Friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, ſhe remaining in her old Dungeon ſtill, without any kind of Comfort but only God.

The next Day after the Lord *Chandois* came again unto her Grace, declaring unto her that he had uſed unto the Council for further Liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many Priſoners in the *Tower*. But in Concluſion, they did all agree that her Grace might walk into thoſe Lodgings, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlain, and three of the Queen's Gentlewomen did accompany her, the Windows being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to look out at any of them: Wherewith ſhe contented herſelf, and gave him Thanks for his good Will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was Liberty granted to her Grace to walk in a little Garden, the Doors and Gates being ſhut up, which notwithſtanding was as much Diſcomfort unto her, as the Walk in the Garden was pleaſant and acceptable. At which Times of her walking there, the Priſoners on that Side ſtraitly were commanded not to ſpeak or look out at the Windows into the Garden, till her Grace was gone out again, having in Conſideration thereof their Keepers waiting upon them for that Time. Thus her Grace with this ſmall Liberty contented herſelf in God, to whom be Praiſe therefore.

During this Time, there uſed a little Boy, a Man's

Child

Child in the *Tower*, to reſort to their Chambers, and many times to bring her Grace Flowers, which likewiſe he did to the other Priſoners that were there. Whereupon naughty and ſuſpicious Heads, thinking to make and wring out ſome Matter thereof, called on a Time the Child unto them, promiſing him Figs and Apples, and asked of him when he had been with the Earl of *Devonſhire*, not ignorant of the Child's wonted frequenting unto him. The Boy anſwered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace. He anſwered every Day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the Lord of *Devonſhire* ſent by him to her Grace. The Child ſaid, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the Diſcretion of the Child, being yet but four Years of Age. This ſame is a crafty Boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlain. How ſay you my Lord *Chandois?* I pray you my Lord, quoth the Boy, give me the Figs you promiſed me. No marry, quoth he, thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady *Elizabeth*, or the Lord *Courtney*. The Boy anſwered, I will bring my Lady my Miſtreſs more Flowers. Whereupon the Child's Father was commanded to permit the Boy no more to come up into their Chambers.

The next Day, as her Grace was walking in the Garden, the Child peeping in at a Hole in the Door, cried unto her, ſaying, Miſtreſs, I can bring you no more Flowers. Whereat ſhe ſmiled, but ſaid nothing, underſtanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the Chamberlain rebuked highly his Father, commanding him to put him out of the Houſe. Alas poor Infant! quoth the Father. It is a crafty Knave, quoth the Lord Chamberlain; let me ſee him here no more.

The fifth Day of *May*, the Conſtable of the *Tower* was diſcharged of his Office, and one Sir *Henry Benifield* placed in his Room, a Man unknown to her Grace, and therefore the more feared; which ſo ſudden Mutation was unto her no little Surprize. He brought with him an hundred Soldiers in blue Coats, wherewith ſhe was marvellouſly diſcomfited, and demanded of ſuch as were about her, whether the Lady *Jane*'s Scaffold was taken away or no, fearing by reaſon of their Coming, leſt ſhe ſhould have play'd her Part. To whom Anſwer was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, and that her Grace needed not to doubt of any ſuch Tyranny, for God would not ſuffer any ſuch Treaſon againſt her Perſon. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether ſatisfied, ſhe asked what Sir *Henry Benifield* was, and whether he was of that Conſcience, or no, that if her murdering were ſecretly committed to his Charge, he would ſee the Execution thereof.

She was anſwered, that they were ignorant what manner of Man he was. Howbeit they perſuaded her that God would not ſuffer ſuch Wickedneſs to proceed. Well, quoth ſhe, God grant it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollify all ſuch tyrannous Hearts, and diſappoint all ſuch cruel Purpoſes; and I beſeech thee to hear me thy Creature, who am thy Servant, and at thy Commandment, truſting by thy Grace ever ſo to remain.

About which Time it was ſpread abroad, that her Grace ſhould be carried from thence by this new jolly Captain and his Soldiers; but whither, it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great Grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a Company was appointed to her Guard, requeſting rather to continue there ſtill, than to be led thence with ſuch a ſort of Raſcals. At laſt, plain Anſwer was made by the Lord *Chandois*, that there was no Remedy, but from thence ſhe muſt needs depart to the Manor of *Woodſtock*, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what Cauſe; for that, quoth he, the *Tower* is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He anſwered, with ſuch Matter as the Queen and Council were determined in that Behalf, whereof he had no Knowledge; and ſo departed.

In Concluſion, on *Trinity-Sunday*, being the nineteenth Day of *May*, ſhe was removed from the *Tower*, the Lord-Treaſurer being there for the lading of her Carts, and diſcharging the Place of the ſame, where Sir *Henry Benifield* (being appointed her Gaoler) receiv'd her with a Company of Rake-hells to guard her, beſides the Lord of *Darby*'s Band, waiting in the Country about for the Moon-ſhine in the Water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of *Tame*, joyn'd in Commiſſion with the ſaid Sir *Henry*, for the ſafe guiding of her to Priſon; and they together convey'd her Grace to *Woodſtock*, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt Day they conducted her to *Richmond*, where ſhe continued all Night, being reſtrained of her own Men, which were lodged in Out-chambers, and Sir *Henry Benifield*'s Soldiers appointed in their Rooms to give Attendance on her Perſon. Whereat ſhe being marvellouſly diſmay'd, thinking verily ſome ſecret Miſchief to be working towards her, called her Gentleman-Uſher, and deſired him with the reſt of his Company to pray for her. For this Night, quoth ſhe, I think to die. Wherewith he being ſtruck to the Heart, ſaying, God forbid that any ſuch Wickedneſs ſhould be pretended againſt your Grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at laſt he burſt out into Tears, and went from her down into the Court, where were walking the Lord of *Tame*, and Sir *Henry Benifield*.

Then he coming to the Lord of *Tame* (who had proffered to him much Friendſhip) deſired to ſpeak with him a Word or two. Unto whom he familiarly ſaid, he would with all his Heart. Which when Sir *Henry*, ſtanding by, heard, he asked what the Matter was. To whom the Gentleman-Uſher anſwered, No great Matter, Sir, but to ſpeak with my Lord a Word or two.

Then when the Lord of *Tame* came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe, My Lord, quoth he, you have been always my good Lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remain. The Cauſe why I come to you at this Time, is to deſire your Honour unfeignedly to declare unto me whether any Danger is meant towards my Miſtreſs this Night, or not, that I and my poor Fellows may take ſuch Part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: For certainly we will rather die, than ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcarry. Marry, ſaid the Lord of *Tame*, God forbid that any ſuch wicked Purpoſe ſhould be wrought; and rather than it ſhould be ſo, I with my Men are ready to die at her Feet alſo: And ſo (praiſed be God) they paſſed that doleful Night with no little Heavineſs of Heart.

Afterwards paſſing over the Water at *Richmond*, going towards *Windſor*, her Grace eſpied certain of her poor Servants ſtanding on the other ſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhe beheld, turning to one of her Men ſtanding by, ſhe ſaid, ſaid, Yonder I ſee certain of my Men; go to them, and ſay theſe Words from me, *Tanquam Ovis*; that is, Like a Sheep to the Slaughter.

So ſhe paſſing forward to *Windſor*, was lodged there that Night in the Dean of *Windſor*'s Houſe, a Place more meet indeed for a Prieſt than a Princeſs.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next Night to Mr. *Dormer*'s Houſe, where much People ſtanding by the Way, ſome preſented to her one Gift, and ſome another, ſo that Sir *Henry* was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor People very ſore, for ſhewing their loving Hearts in ſuch a Manner, calling them Rebels and Traitors, with ſuch vile Words.

Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through the Villages, the Townſmen

Townſmen rang the Bells, as being joyful of her Coming, thinking that it had been otherwiſe than it was indeed, as the Sequel proved after to the ſaid poor Men. For immediately the ſaid Sir *Henry* hearing the ſame, ſent his Soldiers thither, who apprehended ſome of the Ringers, ſetting them in the Stocks, and otherwiſe uncourteouſly miſuſing otherſome for their good Wills.

On the Morrow her Grace paſſing from Mr. *Dormer*'s (where was for the Time of her abode there, a ſtrait Watch kept) came to the Lord of *Tame*'s Houſe, where ſhe lay all Night, being very princely entertained both by Knights and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Sir *Henry Benifield* grumbled, and was highly offended, ſaying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to anſwer their Doings in that behalf, letting them to underſtand, that ſhe was the Queen's Priſoner, and no otherwiſe; adviſing them therefore to take heed and beware of After-claps. Whereunto the Lord of *Tame* anſwered in this wiſe; That he was well adviſed of his Doings, being joyned in Commiſſion as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and ſhould in his Houſe be merry.

The next Day, as ſhe ſhould take her Journey from *Richmond* towards *Woodſtock*, the Lord of *Tame* with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dropping vie Crowns, the Lady *Elizabeth* paſſing by, ſtay'd, and ſaid ſhe would ſee the Game play'd out, which Sir *Henry Bonifield* would ſcarce permit. The Game running long about, and the playing, drop vie Crowns, Come on, ſaith he; I will tarry, ſaith ſhe, and will ſee this Game out.

After this, Sir *Henry Benifield* went up into a Chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a Chair, two Cuſhions, and a Foot-carpet very fair and Prince like, wherein preſumptuouſly he ſate, and called one *Barwick* his Man to pull off his Boots. Which as ſoon as it was known among the Ladies and Gentlemen, every one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorn, obſerving his undiſcreet Manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When Supper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies ſhould withdraw themſelves every one to his Lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there ſuch a Company, conſidering ſo great a Charge committed to him.

Sir *Henry*, quoth my Lord, content yourſelf, all ſhall be voided, your Men and all. Nay, my Soldiers, quoth Sir *Henry*, ſhall watch all Night. The Lord of *Tame* anſwered, There is no need. Well, ſaid he, Need or need not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſting belike the Company, which God knoweth was without Cauſe.

The next Day her Grace took her Journey from thence to *Woodſtock*, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the *Tower* of *London*, the Soldiers guarding both within and without the Walls, every Day to the Number of ſixty; and in the Night without the Walls forty, during the Time of her Impriſonment there.

At length ſhe had Gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always when ſhe recreated herſelf therein, the Doors were faſt locked up, in as ſtrict Manner as they were in the *Tower*, being at leaſt five or ſix Locks between her Lodging and her Walks; Sir *Henry* himſelf keeping the Keys, and truſting no Man therewith. Whereupon ſhe called him her Jaylor; and he kneeling down, deſired her Grace not to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From ſuch Officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliver me.

And now by the way, as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the Reader, if it be lawful in ſo ſerious a Story to recite a Matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame; Occaſion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the ſame Place and Time by a certain merry conceited Man, being then about her Grace: Who noting the ſtrict and ſtrange Keeping of his Lady and Miſtreſs by the ſaid Sir *Thomas Benifield*, with ſo many Locks and Doors, with ſuch Watch and Ward about her, as was ſtrange and wonderful, ſpied a Goat in the Ward where her Grace was; and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed Mind, or to notify her ſtrait handling by Sir *Henry*; or elſe both, he took it upon his Neck, and followed her Grace therewith as ſhe was going into her Lodging.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe asked him what he would do with it, deſiring him to let it alone. The Man anſwer'd, No, by St. *Mary* (if it pleaſe your Grace) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the Queen's Friends or not. I will carry him to Sir *Henry Benifield* (God willing) to know what he is: So leaving her Grace, he went with the Goat on his Neck, and carry'd it to Sir *Henry*; who when he ſaw him coming with it, ask'd him, half angerly, what he had there.

Unto whom the Party anſwered, ſaying; Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the Place where my Lady's Grace was walking, and what Talk they have had I cannot tell. For I underſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeem to me to be ſome Stranger, and I think verily a *Welchman*, for he hath a white frize Coat on his Back. And forſomuch as I being the Queen's Subject, and perceiving the ſtrait Charge committed to you, that no Stranger ſhould have Acceſs to her without ſufficient Licenſe, I have here found a Stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the Place where her Grace was walking; and therefore for the neceſſary Diſcharge of my Duty, I thought it good to bring the ſaid Stranger to you, to examine as you ſee Cauſe, and ſo he ſet him down. At this Sir *Henry* ſeem'd much diſpleaſed, and ſaid, Well, well, you will never leave this Gear, I ſee: And ſo they departed.

Now to return to the Matter from whence we have digreſſed, after her Grace had been there a Time, ſhe made Sute to the Council that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queen. Which at laſt was permitted: So Sir *Henry Benifield* brought her Pen, Ink, and Paper; and ſtanding by her while ſhe wrote (which he ſtrictly obſerved) always ſhe being weary, he would carry away her Letters, and bring them again when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhing thereof, he would have been Meſſenger to the Queen of the ſame. Whoſe Requeſt her Grace denied, ſaying, one of her own Men ſhould carry them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor any of his there.

Then he anſwered again, ſaying, None of them durſt be ſo bold (he thought) to carry her Letters being in that Caſe. Yes, quoth ſhe, I am aſſured I have none ſo diſhoneſt that would deny my Requeſt in that behalf, but will be as willing to ſerve me now as before. Well, ſaid he, my Commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her Grace replying again, ſaid, You charge me very often with your Commiſſion. I pray God you may juſtly anſwer the cruel Dealing you uſe towards me.

Then he kneeling down, deſired her Grace to think and conſider how he was a Servant, and put in Truſt there by the Queen to ſerve her Majeſty; proteſting that if the Caſe were hers, he would as willingly ſerve her Grace, as now he did the Queen's Highneſs. For which Anſwer her Grace thanked him, deſiring God that ſhe might never have need of ſuch Servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his Doings towards her were not good nor anſwerable, but more than all the Friends he had would ſtand by.

To whom Sir *Henry* replied, and ſaid, that there

was no Remedy but his Doings muſt be anſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſting to make good Account thereof. The Cauſe which moved her Grace ſo to ſay, was, for that he would not permit her Letters to be carried four or five Days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to ſend for her Gentleman from the Town of *Woodſtock*, demanding of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the Carriage of her Grace's Letters to the Queen, or no: And he anſwered, Yea Sir, that I dare, and will with all my Heart. Whereupon Sir *Henry*, half againſt his Stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of *June* came down Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Wendy*, ſent by the Queen to her Grace, for that ſhe was ſickly; who miniſtring to her, and letting her Blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or ſix Days. Then ſhe being well amended, they returned again to the Court, making their good Report to the Queen and the Council of her Grace's Behaviour and Humility towards the Queen's Highneſs. Which her Majeſty hearing, took very thankfully; but the Biſhops repined thereat, looked black in the Mouth, and told the Queen, they marvelled that ſhe ſubmitted not herſelf to her Majeſty's Mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended her Highneſs.

About this Time, her Grace was requeſted by a ſecret Friend, to ſubmit herſelf to the Queen's Majeſty, which would be well taken, and to her great Quiet and Advantage. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would never ſubmit herſelf to them whom ſhe never offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no Mercy, but the Law, which I am certain (quoth ſhe) I ſhould have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myſelf (I thank God) to be out of the Danger thereof, wiſhing that I were as clear out of the Peril of my Enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted up within Walls and Doors as I am. God give them a better Mind when it pleaſeth him.

About this Time there was a great Conſultation among the Biſhops and Gentlemen, touching a Marriage for her Grace, which ſome of the *Spaniards* wiſhed to be with ſome Stranger, that ſhe might go out of the Realm with her Portion; ſome ſaying one Thing, and ſome another.

A Lord (who ſhall be here nameleſs) being there, at laſt ſaid, that the King ſhould never have any quiet Common-wealth in *England*, unleſs her Head were ſtricken from her Shoulders. Whereunto the *Spaniards* anſwered, ſaying, God forbid that their King and Maſter ſhould have that Mind to conſent to ſuch a Miſchief.

This was the courteous Anſwer of the *Spaniards* to the *Engliſhmen*, ſpeaking after that ſort againſt their own Country. From that Day the *Spaniards* never left off their good Perſuaſions to the King, that the like Honour he ſhould never obtain, as he ſhould in delivering the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace out of Priſon; whereby at length ſhe was happily releaſed from the ſame. Here is a plain and evident Example of the good Clemency and Nature of the King and his Counſellors toward her Grace (praiſed be God therefore) who moved their Hearts therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to *Hampton-court*.

But before her removing away from *Woodſtock*, we will a little ſtay to declare in what Dangers her Life was, during this Time ſhe there remained: Firſt thro' Fire, which began to kindle between the Boards and Cieling under the Chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a Spark of Fire got into a Cranny, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that meant her no Good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheleſs a worſhipful Knight of *Oxfordſhire*, which was there joyned the ſame Time with Sir *Henry Benifield* in keeping that Lady (who then took up the Boards and quenched the Fire) verily ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it be true) of one *Paul Penny*, a Keeper of *Woodſtock*, a notorious Ruffian and a butcherly Wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*: Who both ſaw the Man being often in her Sight, and alſo knew thereof.

Another Time one of the Privy-chamber, a great Man about the Queen, and chief Darling of *Stephen Gardiner*, named *James Baſſet*, came to *Blandenbridge* a Mile from *Woodſtock*, with twenty or thirty Privy-coats, and ſent for Sir *Henry Benifield* to come and ſpeak with him. But as God would, who diſpoſeth all Things according to his own Will, ſo it happened, that a little before, the ſaid Sir *Henry Benifield* was ſent for by Poſt to the Council, leaving ſtrict Word behind him with his Brother, that no Man, whoſoever he were, though coming with a Note of the Queen's Hand, or any other Warrant, ſhould have Acceſs to her before his Return again. By reaſon whereof it ſo fell out, that Mr. *Benifield*'s Brother, coming to him at the Bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approach in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent Lady.

In the Life of *Stephen Gardiner* we declared before, how that the Lady *Elizabeth* being in the *Tower*, a Writ came down, ſubſcribed with certain Hands of the Council for her Execution: Which if it were certain, as it is reported, *Wincheſter* (no doubt) was Deviſer of that miſchievous Drift: And doubtleſs the ſame *Achitophel* had brought his impious Purpoſe that Day to paſs, had not the fatherly Purpoſe of Almighty God ſtirred up Mr. *Bridges*, Lieutenant the ſame Time of the *Tower*, to come in haſte to the Queen to give Certificate thereof, and to know further her Conſent touching her Siſter's Death. Whereupon it followed, that all that Device was diſappointed, and *Wincheſter*'s deviliſh Platform, which he ſaid he had caſt, through the Lord's great Goodneſs came to no Effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the Impriſonment of this Lady and Princeſs, one Mr. *Edmund Tremaine* was on the Rack, and Mr. *Smithwike*, and divers others in the *Tower* were examined, and divers Offers made to them to accuſe the guiltleſs Lady, being in her Captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithſtanding, no Matter could be proved by all Examinations, as ſhe the ſame Time lying at *Woodſtock* had certain Intelligence by the Means of one *John Gayer*; who under a colourable Pretence of a Letter to Mrs. *Cleve* from her Father, was let in, and ſo gave them ſecretly to underſtand of all this Matter. Whereupon the Lady *Elizabeth*, at her departing out from *Woodſtock*, wrote theſe Verſes with her Diamond in a glaſs Window,

Much ſuſpected by me:
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth *Elizabeth*, Priſoner.

And thus much touching the Troubles of Lady *Elizabeth*, at *Woodſtock*. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the ſame Time, the Lord of *Tame* had laboured to the Queen, and became Surety for her, to have her from *Woodſtock* to his Houſe, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon Preparation was made accordingly, and all Things ready in Expectation of her coming. But through the Procurement either of Mr. *Benifield*, or by the Advice of *Wincheſter* her mortal Enemy, Letters came over-night to the contrary; whereby her Journey was ſtopped.

Thus this worthy Lady, oppreſſed with continual Sorrow, could not be permitted to have Recourſe to

any Friends ſhe had, but ſtill in the Hands of her Enemies was left deſolate, and utterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a doleful Heart, fraught full of Terror and Thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if ſhe hearing upon a Time, out of her Garden at *Woodſtock*, a certain Milkmaid ſinging pleaſantly, wiſhed herſelf to be a Milkmaid as ſhe was, ſaying that her Caſe was better, and Life more merry than was hers, in that State as ſhe was.

Now after theſe Things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir *Henry Benifield* and his Soldiers, with the Lord of *Tame*, and Sir *Ralph Chamberline*, guarding and waiting upon her, the firſt Night from *Woodſtock* ſhe came to *Ricot*. In which Journey ſuch a mighty Wind did blow, that her Servants were fain to hold down her Cloaths about her: Inſomuch that her Hood was twice or thrice blown from her Head. Whereupon ſhe deſiring to return to a certain Gentleman's Houſe there near, could not be ſuffered by Sir *Henry Benifield* ſo to do, but was conſtrained under an Hedge to trim her Head as well as ſhe could.

After this, the next Night they journeyed to Mr. *Dormer*'s, and ſo to *Colbroke*, where ſhe lay all that Night at the *George*, and by the Way coming to *Colbroke*, certain of her Grace's Gentlemen and Yeomen met her, to the Number of threeſcore, much to all their Comforts, who had not ſeen her Grace of long Seaſon before: Notwithſtanding they were commanded in the Queen's Name immediately to depart the Town, to both their, and her Grace's no little Heavineſs, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeak with them. So that Night all her Men were taken from her, ſaving her Gentleman-uſher, three Gentlewomen, two Grooms, and one of her Wardrobe, the Soldiers watching and warding about the Houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up within her Priſon.

The next Day following, her Grace enter'd *Hampton-court* on the Back-ſide into the Prince's Lodging, the Doors being ſhut to her, and ſhe guarded with Soldiers, as before, lay there a Fortnight at leaſt, ere any had Recourſe unto her: At length came the Lord *William Haward*, who marvellous honourably uſed her Grace. Whereat ſhe took much Comfort, and requeſted him to be a Means that ſhe might ſpeak with ſome of the Council. To whom (not long after) came the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Lord of *Arundel*, the Lord of *Shrewsbury*, Secretary *Peter*, who with great Humility humbled themſelves to her Grace. She again likewiſe ſaluting them, ſaid, My Lords, I am glad to ſee you: For methinks I have been kept a great while from you deſolately alone. Wherefore I would deſire you to be a Means to the King and Queen, that I may be delivered from Priſon, wherein I have been kept a long Time, as to you my Lords is well known.

When ſhe had ſpoken, *Stephen Gardiner* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* kneeled down, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to the Queen's Grace, and in ſo doing he had no doubt, but that her Majeſty would be good to her: She made Anſwer, that rather than ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lie in Priſon all the Days of her Life; adding, that ſhe craved no Mercy at her Majeſty's Hand, but rather deſired the Law, if ever ſhe did offend her Majeſty in Thought, Word or Deed: And beſides this, in yielding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeak againſt myſelf, and confeſs myſelf to be an Offender, which I never was towards her Majeſty, by occaſion whereof the King and the Queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil Opinion: And therefore I ſay, my Lords, it were better for me to lie in Priſon for the Truth, than to be abroad and ſuſpected of my Prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her Meſſage to the Queen.

On the next Day the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came again to her Grace, and kneeling down declared that the Queen marvelled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly uſe herſelf, not confeſſing that ſhe had offended: So that it ſhould ſeem that the Queen's Majeſty had wrongfully impriſoned her Grace.

Nay, quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well, quoth *Gardiner*, her Majeſty willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell her another Tale ere that you be ſet at Liberty.

Her Grace anſwered, that ſhe had as lief be in Priſon with Honeſty and Truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected of her Majeſty; and this that I have ſaid, I will (ſaid ſhe) ſtand unto, for I will never bely myſelf.

Wincheſter again kneeled down, and ſaid, then your Grace hath the Advantage of me and other the Lords for your wrong and long Impriſonment.

What Advantage I have (quoth ſhe) you know, taking God to record, I ſeek no Advantage at your Hands for your ſo dealing with me, but God forgive you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiring her Grace that all might be forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhe being faſt locked up again.

A ſeven-night after the Queen ſent for her Grace at ten of the Clock in the Night to ſpeak with her: For ſhe had not ſeen her for two Years before. Yet for all that, ſhe amazed at the Suddenneſs of the Meſſage, thinking it had been worſe than afterwards it proved, deſired her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether ever ſhe ſhould ſee them again or no.

At which Time Sir *Henry Benifield* with Mrs. *Clarencius* coming in, her Grace was brought into the Garden unto a Stairs-foot that went into the Queen's Lodging, her Grace's Gentlewoman waiting upon her, her Gentleman-uſher and her Grooms going before with Torches; where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen being commanded to ſtay, all ſaving one Woman, Mrs. *Clarencius* conducted her to the Queen's Bed-chamber where her Majeſty was.

At the Sight of whom her Grace kneeled down, and deſired God to preſerve her Majeſty, not miſtruſting but that ſhe ſhould try herſelf as true a Subject towards her Majeſty as ever did any, and deſired her Majeſty even ſo to judge of her; and ſaid, that ſhe ſhould not find her to the contrary, whatſoever Report otherwiſe had gone of her.

To whom the Queen anſwered, you will not confeſs your Offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your Truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If it doth not (quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*) I requeſt neither Favour nor Pardon at your Majeſty's Hands. Well (ſaid the Queen) you ſtiffly ſtill perſevere in your Truth. Belike you will not confeſs but that you have been wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your Majeſty) to you.

Why then (ſaid the Queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it pleaſe your Majeſty (quoth ſhe) I have born the Burden and muſt bear it. I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have a good Opinion of me, and to think me to be your true Subject, not only from the Beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as Life laſteth: And ſo they departed with very few comfortable Words of the Queen, in *Engliſh*: But what ſhe ſaid in *Spaniſh*, God knoweth. It is thought that King *Philip* was there behind a Cloth, and not ſeen, and that he ſhewed himſelf a very Friend in that Matter, *&c.*

Thus her Grace departing, went to her Lodging again, and that Day ſeven-night was releaſed of Sir *Henry Benifield* her Gaoler (as ſhe termed him) and his Soldiers, and ſo her Grace being ſet at Liberty from Impriſonment went into the Country, and had appointed to go with her Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of Queen *Mary*'s Counſellors, and one of her Gentlemen-

uſhers, Mr. *Gage*, and thus ſtrictly was ſhe looked to all Queen *Mary*'s Time. And this is the Diſcourſe of her Highneſs's Impriſonment.

Then there came to *Lambeyre*, Mr. *Jerningham*, and Mr. *Noris* Gentleman-uſher, Queen *Mary*'s Men, who took away from her Grace, Mrs. *Aſhly* to the *Fleet*, and three other of her Gentlewomen to the *Tower*; which Thing was no little Trouble to her Grace, ſaying, that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the End. But God be praiſed, ſhortly after was fetched away *Gardiner* through the merciful Providence of the Lord's Goodneſs, by occaſion of whoſe opportune Deceaſe (as is partly touched in this Story before) the Life of this excellent Princeſs, the Wealth of all *England* was preſerved. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid wicked *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* had long laboured his Wits, and to this only moſt principal Mark bent all his Devices, to take this our happy and dear Sovereign out of the Way; as both by his Words and Doings before notified, may ſufficiently appear.

But ſuch was the gracious and favourable Providence of the Lord, to the Preſervation not only of her Royal Majeſty, but alſo of the miſerable and woful State of this whole Iſland, and poor Subjects of the ſame, whereby the proud Platforms and peeviſh Practices of this wicked *Achitophel* prevailed not: But contrariwiſe, both he, and all the Snares and Traps of his pernicious Counſel laid againſt another, were turned to a Net to catch himſelf, according to the Proverb, *Malum conſilium conſultori peliſſimum.*

After the Death of this *Gardiner*, followed the Death alſo and drooping away of other her Enemies, where by little and little her Jeopardy decreaſed, Fear diminiſhed, hope of Comfort began to appear as out of a dark Cloud: And albeit as yet her Grace had no full Aſſurance of perfect Safety, yet more gentle Entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the Month of *November*, and ſeventeenth Day of the ſame, three Years after the Death of *Stephen Gardiner*, followed the Death of Queen *Mary*.

Although this Hiſtory following be not directly appertaining to the former Matter, yet the ſame may here not unaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcover and ſhew forth the malicious Hearts of the Papiſts to the Lady *Elizabeth* in the Time of Queen *Mary* her Siſter, which is reported, by ſundry honeſt Perſons, of unqueſtionable Credit. The Matter whereof is this.

Soon after the Stir of *Wyat*, and the Troubles that happen'd to the Lady *Elizabeth* for that Cauſe, it happened that one *Robert Farrer* a Haberdaſher of *London*, dwelling near *Newgate-market*, in a certain Morning to be at the *Roſe* Tavern, where chanced to meet him one *Laurence Shiriff*, Grocer, dwelling alſo not far from thence, they drinking together as good Friends (as they had been for a long Time before) *Farrer* being a little elevated, and not conſidering who were preſent, began to talk at large againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*, and ſaid, That Jilt hath been one of the chief Doers in this Rebellion of *Wyat*, and before all be done, ſhe and all the Hereticks ſhall well underſtand it. Some of them hope that ſhe ſhall have the Crown, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hop headleſs, or be fry'd with Faggots before ſhe come to it.

Laurence the Grocer being ſworn Servant to the Lady *Elizabeth*, could no longer bear theſe ſcandalous Expreſſions of his old Acquaintance concerning his Miſtreſs, but ſaid to him, *Farrer*, I have loved thee as a Neighbour, and have had a good Opinion of thee, but in this I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her Grace's ſworn Servant, and ſhe is a Princeſs, and the Daughter of a noble King, and it doth not become thee to call her a Jilt; and for thy ſo ſaying, I ſay thou art a Knave, and I will complain of thee. Do thy worſt, ſaid *Farrer*, for what I ſaid I will ſay again; and ſo *Shiriff* went out of his Company.

Shortly after the ſaid *Shiriff*, taking an honeſt Neighbour with him, went before the Commiſſioners to complain, who ſat then at Biſhop *Bonner*'s Houſe near St. *Paul*'s, *Bonner* being then the chief Commiſſioner, the Lord *Mordant*, Sir *John Baker*, Dr. *Darbyſhire* Chancellor to the Biſhop, Dr. *Story*, Dr. *Harpsfield*, and others, being preſent.

Mr. *Shiriff* coming before them, declared the Manner of *Farrer*'s Talk againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*. *Bonner* anſwered, Peradventure you took him worſe than he meant.

Yea my Lord, ſaid Dr. *Story*, if you knew the Man as I do, you would ſay there is not a better Catholick, nor an honeſter Man in the City of *London*.

Well, ſaid Mr. *Shiriff*, my Lord, ſhe is my gracious Lady and Miſtreſs, and it is not to be ſuffered that ſuch a Varlet as he is ſhould call ſo honourable a Princeſs by the Name of Jilt: And I ſaw yeſterday at Court that my Lord Cardinal *Pool*, meeting her in the Chamber of Preſence, kneeled down on his Knees and kiſſed her Hand; and I ſaw alſo that King *Philip* meeting her, made her ſuch Obeiſance, that his Knee touched the Ground; and then me-thinketh it were too much to ſuffer ſuch a Varlet as this is, to call her Jilt, and to wiſh them to hop headleſs that ſhall wiſh her Grace to enjoy the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, when God ſhall ſend it unto her, as in the Right of her Inheritance.

Yea? ſtay there quoth *Bonner*. When God ſendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (ſaid he) the Man that ſpake the Words that you have reported, meant nothing againſt the Lady *Elizabeth* your Miſtreſs, and no more do we: But he like an honeſt and zealous Man feared the Alteration of Religion, which every good Man ought to fear: And therefore (ſaid *Bonner*) good Man go your ways home and report well of us to your Miſtreſs, and we will ſend for *Farrer* and rebuke him for raſh and undiſcreet Words, and we truſt he will not do the like again. And thus *Shiriff* came away, and *Farrer* had a Slap with a Fox Tail.

Queen *Mary*, being long ſick before, upon the 17th Day of *November*, in the Year aboveſaid, about three or four o'Clock in the Morning, yielded her Life to Nature, and her Kingdom to Queen *Elizabeth* her Siſter. Concerning whoſe Death, ſome ſay that ſhe died of a Tympany, ſome (by her much ſighing before her Death) ſuppoſed ſhe died of Thought and Sorrow. Whereupon her Council ſeeing her ſighing, and deſirous to know the Cauſe, to the end they might the more ready miniſter Conſolation unto her, feared, as they ſaid, that ſhe took that Thought for the King her Husband, who was gone from her. To whom ſhe anſwering, ſaid, Indeed that may be one Cauſe, but that is not the greateſt Wound that pierceth my oppreſſed Mind: But what that was ſhe would not expreſs to them.

Albeit afterward ſhe opened the Matter more plainly to Mr. *Riſe* and Mrs. *Clarencius* (if it be true that they told me, who heard it of Mr. *Riſe* himſelf,) who then being moſt familiar with her, told her, that they feared ſhe took Thought for King *Philip*'s departing from her. Not that only, ſaid ſhe, but when I am dead and opened, you ſhall find *Calice* lying in my Heart, *&c.* And here an End of Queen *Mary* and of her Perſecution.

Of which Queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in Story for a perpetual Memorial or Epitaph for all Kings and Queens that ſhall ſucceed her, to be noted, That before her never was read in Story of any King or Queen of *England* ſince the Time of King *Lucius*, under whom in Time of Peace, by hanging, heading, burning and impriſoning, ſo much Chriſtian Blood, ſo many *Engliſhmens* Lives were ſpilled within this

this Realm, as under the ſaid Queen *Mary* for the Space of four Years was to be ſeen, and I beſeech the Lord never may be ſeen hereafter.

The ſevere Puniſhment of God upon the Perſecutors of his People and Enemies to his Word, with ſuch alſo as have been Blaſphemers, Contemners, and Mockers of his Religion.

QUEEN *Mary* being dead and gone, we'll now leave her, and treat of thoſe under her who were the chief Inſtruments in this Perſecution, namely, the Biſhops and Clergy: Beginning firſt with *Stephen Gardiner* the Arch-perſecutor of Chriſt's Church, whom he took away about the midſt of the Queen's Reign; of whoſe poiſoned Life and ſtinking End, forſomuch as ſufficient hath been touched before, I need not here make Rehearſal thereof.

After him dropped others away alſo, ſome before the Death of Queen *Mary* and ſome after, as *Morgan* Biſhop of *St. Davids*, who ſitting upon the Condemnation of Biſhop *Farrer*, and unjuſtly uſurping his Room, not long after was ſtruck by God's Hand in ſuch a ſtrange Manner, that his Meat would not go down, but riſe and pick up again, ſometimes at his Mouth, ſometimes blown out at his Noſe, moſt nauſeous to behold, and ſo he continued till his Death.

Where note moreover that when Mr. *Leyſon*, being then Sheriff at Biſhop *Farrer*'s Burning, had brought away the Cattle of the ſaid Biſhop from his Servant's Houſe named *Matthew Harbottel*, into his own Cuſtody, the Cattle coming into the Sheriff's Ground, divers of them would never eat Meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and ſo died.

What a Stroke of God's Hand was brought upon the cruel Perſecutor of the holy Saints of God, Biſhop *Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, who after he had exerciſed his cruel Tyranny upon ſo many pious Men at *Canterbury*, at length coming upon a *Saturday* from the *Chapter-houſe* at *Canterbury* to *Bourne*, and there upon *Sunday* following looking upon his Men playing at Bowls, fell ſuddenly in a Palſy, and ſo had to Bed, was willed to remember God: *Yea ſo I do*, ſaid he, *and my Lord Cardinal too*, &c.

After him ſucceeded another Biſhop or Suffragan, ordained by the aforeſaid Cardinal. It is reported that he had been Suffragan before to *Bonner*, who, not long after being made Biſhop or Suffragan of *Dover*, brake his Neck falling down a Pair of Stairs in the Cardinal's Chamber at *Greenwich*, as he had received the Cardinal's Bleſſing.

John Cooper, of the Age of 44 Years, dwelling at *Watſam* in the County of *Suffolk*, a Carpenter by Trade, a Man of a very honeſt Report and a good Houſekeeper, a Harbourer of Strangers that travell'd for Conſcience, and one that favoured Religion, and thoſe that were religious. This Man being at home, there came unto him one *William Fenning*, a Servingman, dwelling in the ſaid Town of *Watſam*, and underſtanding that the ſaid *Cooper* had a Couple of fair Bullocks, did deſire to buy them of him; *Cooper* told him that he was loth to ſell them, becauſe he had brought them up for his own Uſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to buy others, and ~~that~~ he would not do.

When *Fenning* ſaw he could not get them (for he had often try'd) he ſaid, he would ſit as much in his Light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of High-Treaſon. The Words he was charged with were theſe, How he ſhould pray, if God would not take away Queen *Mary*, that then the Devil would take her away. Of theſe Words did this *Fenning* charge him before Sir *Henry Doel*, Knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. *Timperley* of *Hincleſam* in *Suffolk*, and one *Grimwood* of *Lowſham*, Conſtable) which Words *Cooper* flatly denied; and ſaid he never ſpake them; but that did not avail.

Notwithſtanding that, he was arraigned at *Bury* before Sir *Clement Higham*, at a *Lent* Aſſize, and there this *Fenning* brought two vile Men, that witneſſed to the ſpeaking of the foreſaid Words, whoſe Names were *Richard White* of *Watſam*, and *Grimwood* of *Hitcham*, in the ſaid County of *Suffolk*. Whoſe Teſtimonies were received as Truth, although this good Man *John Cooper* had ſaid what he could to declare himſelf innocent therein, but to no purpoſe, God knows. For his Life was determined, as in the End appeared by Sir *Clement Higham*'s Words, who ſaid he ſhould not eſcape, for an Example to all Hereticks, as indeed he thoroughly performed: For immediately he was ſentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly performed ſoon after, to the great Grief of many a good Heart. Here good *Cooper* is bereft of his Life, and leaves behind him a Wife and nine Children, with Goods and Cattle to the Value of 300 Marks, all which Subſtance was taken away by the ſaid Sir *Henry Doel*, Sheriff, but his Wife and poor Children were left to the wide World in their Cloaths, and ſuffered not to enjoy one Penny of that they had ſore laboured for, unleſs they made Friends to buy it with Money of the ſaid Sheriff, ſo cruel and greedy was he and his Officers upon ſuch Things as were there left.

Now, this innocent Man being dead, his Goods ſpoiled, his Wife and Children left deſolate and comfortleſs, and all Things huſh'd, and nothing feared of any Part: Yet the Lord, who doth revenge the guiltleſs Blood, would not ſtill ſo ſuffer it, but at length began to puniſh it himſelf. For in the Harveſt following, as the ſaid *Grimwood* of *Hitcham*, one of the Witneſſes before-mentioned, was in his Labour ſtaking up a Goff of Corn, being in Health, and fearing no Danger, ſuddenly his Bowels fell out of his Body, and thus moſt miſerably he died: Such was the terrible Judgment of God, to ſhew his Diſpleaſure againſt his bloody Act, and to warn the reſt by theſe his Judgments to Repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the ſame, for his Mercies Sake. *Amen.*

Before in the Story of Mr. *Bradford* mention was made of Mr. *Woodroffe*, who being the Sheriff, uſed much to rejoice at the Death of the poor Saints of Chriſt, and ſo hard was he in his Office, that when Mr. *Rogers* was in the Cart going towards *Smithfield*, and in the Way his Children were brought unto him, the People making a Lane for them to come; Mr. *Woodroffe* had the Carman's Head broken, becauſe of his ſtopping his Cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his Office the Space of a Week, but he was ſtricken ſuddenly by the Hand of God, the one half of his Body in ſuch ſort, that he lay benumbed and Bed-rid, not able to move himſelf, but as he was lifted by others, and ſo he continued in that Infirmity the Space of ſeven or eight Years, till his dying Day.

Likewiſe touching *Ralph Lardin*, the Betrayer of *George Eagles*, it is thought of ſome, that the ſaid *Ralph* was afterwards attach'd himſelf, arraigned, and hanged. Who, being at the Bar, before the Judges, and a great Number of People, ſpake theſe Words: *This is moſt juſtly fallen upon me, for that I have betrayed the innocent Blood of a good and juſt Man* George Eagles, *who was here condemned in the Time of Queen* Mary's *Reign through my Procurement, who ſold his Blood for a little Money.*

Among other Perſecutors, there came alſo to our Hands the Cruelty of one Mr. *Swingfield*, an Alderman's Deputy about *Thames-ſtreet*, who hearing one

Angel's

Angel's Wife, a Midwife, that kept herself from their Popish Church, to be at the Labour of one Mrs. *Walter* at *Crooked-lane* End, took with him three more, and beset the House about, and took her and carried her to *Bonner*'s Officers, big with Child, twenty-eight Weeks gone, who laid her in *Lollard's-Tower*; where, the same Day she came in, through Fear and a Fall at her taking, she was delivered of a Man-child, and could have no Women to assist her in that needful Time. Lying there five Weeks, she was delivered under Sureties by Friendship; and Dr. *Story* hearing thereof, charged her with Felony, and so sent her to *Newgate*. The Cause was, for that she had a Woman at her House that died in Labour, and the Child also, and so charged her with their Deaths.

But when Sir *Roger Cholmley* heard her tell her Tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten Weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Mr. *Swingfield*, and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, who have such great Devotion in setting up the Popish Mass, I would desire them to mark well the following Story. There was a certain Bailiff of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, named *Burton*, who pretending an earnest Friendship to the Gospel in King *Edward*'s Days, at least in outward Shew (although inwardly he was a Papist or Atheist, and well known to be a Man of a wicked and adulterous Life) set forth the King's Proceedings lustily, till the Time that King *Edward* was dead, and Queen *Mary* placed quietly in her Estate.

Then perceiving by the first Proclamation concerning Religion, how the World was like to turn, the Bailiff turned his Religion likewise; and so he moved the Parish to shew themselves the Queen's Friends, and to set up the Mass speedily. Nevertheless the most substantial of the Parish marvelling much at the Bailiff's Inconstancy, considering also his abominable Life, and having no great Devotion unto his Request, knowing moreover that their Duty and Friendship to the Queen stood not in setting up the Mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: But the Bailiff called on them still in the Queen's Name.

At last, when he saw his Words were not regarded, and purposing to win his Spurs by playing the Man in the Masses Behalf and the Queen's, he got him to Church upon a *Sunday* Morning, and when the Curate was beginning the *English* Service, according to the Statute set forth by King *Edward* the Sixth, the Bailiff cometh in a great Rage to the Curate, and saith, Sirrah, will you not say Mass? Buckle yourself to Mass you Knave, or by God's Blood I shall sheath my Dagger in your Shoulder. The poor Curate for Fear settled himself to the Mass.

Not long after this, the Bailiff rode from Home upon certain Business, accompanied with one of his Neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the *Fennebank* homeward again, a Crow sitting in a Willow-tree took her Flight over his Head, singing after her wonted Note, Knave, Knave, and withal let fall upon his Face, so that her Excrements ran from the Top of his Nose down to his Beard.

The poisoned Scent and Savour whereof so annoyed his Stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, wherewith his Heart was so sore and his Body so distempered, that for extreme Sickness he got him to Bed, and so lying, he was not able for the Stink in his Stomach and painful Vomiting, to receive any Relief of Meat or Drink, but cried out still, sorrowfully complaining of that Stink, and with no small Oaths cursed the Crow that poisoned him. To make short, he continued but a few Days, but with extreme Pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any Token of Repentance of his former Life.

Reported and testified for a Certainty, by divers of his Neighbours, both honest and credible Persons.

As *James Abbes* was led by the Sheriff towards his Martyrdom divers poor People stood in the Way, and asked their Alms. He then having no Money to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off his Apparel saving his Shirt, and gave the same unto them, to some one Thing, to some another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful Followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the Truth of the Gospel, which he (through God's Help) would then in their Sight seal and confirm with his Blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the People, a Servant of the Sheriff's going by and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blasphemously said, believe him not good People, he is an Heretick and a Madman, out of his Wits, believe him not, for it is Heresy that he saith. And as the other continued in his godly Admonitions, so did this wicked Wretch still blow forth his blasphemous Exclamations, until they came unto the Stake where he should suffer. Unto which this constant Martyr was tied, and in the End cruelly burned, as in his Story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the Fire was put unto him (such was the fearful Stroke of God's Justice upon this blasphemous Railer) that he was there presently, in the Sight of all the People, striken with a Frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious Rage and Madness casting off his Shoes with all the rest of his Cloaths, cried out unto the People, and said, *Thus did* James Abbes *the true Servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned.* And thus ran he round about the Town of *Bury*, still crying out, that *James Abbes* was a good Man and saved, but he was damned.

The Sheriff then being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark House, and by Force compelled him again to put on his Cloaths thinking thereby within awhile to bring him to some Quietness. But he (all that notwithstanding) as soon as they were gone, continued in his former raging, and cast off his Cloaths, cried as he did before, *James Abbes is the Servant of God and is saved, but I am damned.*

At length he was tied at a Cart, and brought home unto his Master's House, and within half a Year or thereabouts, he being at the Point of Death, the Priest of the Parish was sent for: Who coming unto him, brought with him the Crucifix, and their housling Host of the Altar. Which when the poor Wretch saw, he cried out of the Priest, and defied all that Baggage, saying, that the Priest, with such others as he was, was the Cause of his Damnation, and that *James Abbes* was a good Man and saved. And so shortly after he died.

Dale the Promoter was eaten into his Body with Lice, and so died, as it was well known of many, and confessed also by his Fellow *John Avales*, before credible Witness.

Alexander the Keeper of *Newgate*, a cruel Enemy to those that lay there for Religion, died very miserably, being so swollen, that he was more like a Monster than a Man, and so rotten within, that no Man could abide the Smell of him. This cruel Wretch to hasten the poor Lambs to the Slaughter, would go to *Bonner*, *Story*, *Cholmley*, and others, crying out, *Rid my Prison, rid my Prison. I am too much pestered with these Hereticks.*

The Son of the said *Alexander* called *James*, having left unto him by his Father great Substanee, within three Years wasted all to nought: And when some marvelled how he spent these Goods so fast: *O*, said he, *evil gotten, evil spent*; and shortly after as he went in *Newgate-Market*, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, Son-in-law to this *Alexander*, and a

horrible Blaſphemer of God, and no leſs cruel to the ſaid Priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably died. Who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or falſe, uſed to ſay, *If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die.*

And what a notable Spectacle of God's revenging Judgment have we to conſider in Sir *Ralph Ellerker* who as he was deſirous to ſee the Heart taken out of *Adam Damlyp*, whom they moſt wrongfully put to Death: So ſhortly after the ſaid Sir *Ralph Ellerker* being ſlain by the *Frenchmen*, they, after they had cut off his Privy Members, would not ſo leave him, before they might ſee his Heart cut out of his Body.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful End of Judge *Hales* after he had drowned himſelf, taking Occaſion thereby, called the following and Profeſſion of the Goſpel a Doctrine of Deſperation. But as Judge *Hales* never fell into that Inconvenience before he had conſented to Popery: So whoſo well conſidereth the End of Dr. *Pendleton* (who at his Death full ſore repented that ever he had yielded to the Doctrine of the Papiſts, as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable End of the moſt part of the Papiſts beſides, and eſpecially of *Stephen Gardiner* himſelf (who after ſo long profeſſing the Doctrine of Popery, when there came a Biſhop to him on his Death-bed, and put him in Remembrance of *Peter* denying his Maſter: He anſwering again, ſaid, *That he had denied with* Peter, *but never repented with* Peter; and ſo both ſtinkingly and unrepentedly died) will ſay, as *Stephen Gardiner* alſo himſelf gave an evident Example of the ſame to all Men, to underſtand that Popery rather is a Doctrine of Deſperation, procuring the Vengeance of Almighty God to them that willfully do cleave unto it.

And thus much concerning thoſe Perſecutors.

The perſecuting Clergy who died in the Time of Perſecution, we ſhall take no Notice of, but thoſe who remained after the Death of Queen *Mary* were deprived, and committed to ſeveral Priſons.

In the *Tower*.

Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor.

Thomas Thirlby Biſhop of *Ely*. *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Gilbert Bourne Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

Richard Pates Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Troublefield Biſhop of *Exeter*.

John Fecknam Abbot of *Weſtminſter*.

John Borall Dean of *Windſor* and *Peterborough*.

Of *David Pool* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, it is not known whether he was in the *Tower*, or in ſome other Priſon.

Goldwel Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and *Maurice* Elect of *Bangor*, ran away.

Edmund Boner Biſhop of *London*, in the *Marſhalſea*.

Thomas Wood Biſhop elect, in the *Marſhalſea*.

Cuthbert Scot, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was in the *Fleet*, from whence he eſcaped to *Lovane*, and there died.

In the *Fleet*.

Henry Cole Dean of *Paul*'s.

John Harpsfield Archdeacon of *London*, and Dean of *Norwich*.

Nicholas Harpsfield Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of *Huntington*.

William Chadſey Archdeacon of *Middleſex*.

It happened in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, that one *William Mauldon* was bound Servant to one Mr. *Hugh Aparry* then a Wheat-taker for the Queen, dwelling at *Greenwich*. Who being newly come to him, and having no Book there to look upon, looked about the Houſe, and found a Primmer in *Engliſh*, wherein he read in a Winter's Evening. While he was reading, there ſate one *John Apowel* that had been a ſerving Man, about thirty Years of Age, born toward *Wales*, whom the ſaid Mr. *Hugh* gave Meat and Drink unto, till ſuch Time as he could get a Service. And as *William Mauldon* read in the Book, the ſaid *John Apowel* mocked him after every Word, with contrary Gauds and flouting Words unreverently, inſomuch that he could no longer abide him for Grief of Heart, but turned to him and ſaid, *John*, take heed what thou doſt; thou doſt not mock me, but thou mockeſt God: For in mocking of his Word, thou mockeſt him; and this is the Word of God, tho' I be ſimple that read it; and therefore beware what thou doſt.

Then *Mauldon* fell to reading again, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking; and when *Maulden* had read certain *Engliſh* Prayers, in the End he read, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, *Chriſt have Mercy upon us*, &c.

And as *Mauldon* was reciting theſe Words, the other with a Start ſuddenly ſaid, Lord have Mercy upon me.

With that *Mauldon* anſwered and ſaid, what aileſt thou *John?*

He ſaid, I was afraid.

Whereof waſt thou afraid ſaid *Mauldon?*

Nothing now, ſaid the other: And ſo he would not tell him. After this, when *Mauldon* and he went to Bed, *Mauldon* asked him what he was afraid of.

He ſaid, when you read, Lord have Mercy upon us, &c. methought the Hair of my Head ſtood upright, with a great Fear which came upon me.

Then ſaid *Mauldon*, *John* thou may'ſt ſee, the evil Spirit could not abide that Chriſt ſhould have Mercy upon us. Well *John*, ſaid *Mauldon*, repent and amend thy Life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jeſt at his Word, he will puniſh us.

Alſo you uſe ribaldry Words, and ſwearing very much: Therefore for God's Sake, *John*, amend thy Life. So I will (ſaid he) by the Grace of God; I pray God I may. *Amen*, ſaid the other, with other Words, and ſo went to Bed.

On the Morrow, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, *John* came running down out of his Chamber in his Shirt into the Hall, and wreſtled with his Miſtreſs as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat ſhe ſhrieked out, and her Servants holp her, and took him by Strength and carried him up into his Bed, and there bound him; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right Mind.

After that, as he lay, almoſt a Day and a Night his Tongue never ceaſed, but he cried out of the Devil of Hell, and his Words were ever ſtill, O the Devil of Hell; now the Devil of Hell; I would ſee the Devil of Hell; there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus he lay without Amendment about ſix Days, that his Maſter and all the Family being weary of the Noiſe, agreed with the Keepers of *Bedlam*, and gave a Piece of Money, and ſent him thither.

This is a terrible Example to you that be Mockers of God: Therefore repent and amend, leſt the Vengeance of God fall upon you in like Manner. Witneſs hereof *William Mauldon* of *Newington*.

The ſame *William Mauldon* chanced afterwards to dwell at a Town ſix Miles from *London* called *Walthamſtow*, where his Wife taught young Children to read, which was about the Year of our Lord, 1563, and the fourth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. Unto this School, amongſt other Children, came one *Benfield*'s Daughter, named *Dennis*, about the Age of twelve Years.

As theſe Children were talking together, they happened among other Talk (as the Nature of Children is to be buſy with many Things) to fall into Communication of God, and to reaſon among themſelves, after their childiſh Diſcretion, what he ſhould be. Some anſwered one Thing, and ſome another. Among whom, when one of the Children had ſaid, He was a good old Father; but *Dennis Benfield* ſaid, He is an old doting Fool.

What wretched and blaſphemous Words were theſe ye hear. Now mark what followed.

When *Mauldon* heard of theſe abominable Words of the Girl, he deſired his Wife to correct her for the ſame; which was appointed to be done the next Day; but when the Morrow came, her Mother would needs ſend her to the Market to *London*, the Girl greatly intreated her Mother that ſhe might not go. However, through her Mother's Compulſion ſhe was forced to go. And what happened? Her Buſineſs being done at *London*, as ſhe was returning again homeward, and being a little paſt *Hackney*, ſuddenly ſhe was ſo ſtruck, that all the one Side of her was black, and ſhe ſpeechleſs. Whereupon ſhe was carried back to *Hackney*, and there the ſame Night died. Witneſs of the ſame Story *William Mauldon* and his Wife, alſo *Benfield* her Father, and Mother.

A terrible Example (no doubt) both to Old and Young, what it is for Children to blaſpheme the Lord their God, and what it is for Parents to ſuffer their young Ones to grow up in ſuch blaſphemous Blindneſs, and not to nurture them betimes in the Rudiments of the Chriſtian Catechiſm, to know firſt their Creation, and then their Redemption in Chriſt our Saviour, to fear the Name of God, and to reverence his Majeſty. For elſe what do they deſerve but to be taken away by Death, who contemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the Benefit of Life?

And therefore let all young Maids, Boys, and young Men, take Example by this wretched Creature, not only not to blaſpheme the ſacred Majeſty of the omnipotent God their Creator, but alſo not once to take his Name in vain, according as they are taught in his Commandments.

Secondly, let all Fathers, Godfathers, and Godmothers, take this for a Warning, to ſee to the Inſtruction and catechiſing of their Children, for whom they have bound themſelves in Promiſe both to God and to his Church. Which if the Father and Godfather, the Mother and Godmothers had done to this young Girl, verily it may be thought this Deſtruction had not fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind Atheiſts, Epicures, Mammoniſts, Belly-gods of this World, and Sons of *Belial*, Hypocrites, Infidels, and Mockers of Religion, who ſay in their Hearts, there is no God, learn alſo hereby not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable Creature here puniſhed in this World, behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the World to come, unleſs they will be warned betimes by ſuch Examples as the Lord God doth give them.

Fourthly and laſtly, Here may alſo be a Spectacle for all them who be Blaſphemers and abominable Swearers, or rather Tearers of God, abuſing his glorious Name in ſuch a contemptuous and deſpiteful Manner as they uſed to do: Whom if neither the Command of God, nor the Calling of the Preacher, nor Remorſe of Conſcience, nor Rule of Reaſon, nor their withering Age, nor hoary Hairs will admoniſh, yet let theſe terrible Examples of God's ſtrict Judgment ſomewhat move them to take heed to themſelves. For if this young Maiden, who was not full twelve Years old, for her unreverent ſpeaking of God did not eſcape the Stroke of God's terrible Hand, what then have they to look for, who being Men grown in Years, and often warned by the Preacher, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous Oaths, not only to abuſe his Name, but alſo moſt contumelioufly to tear him (as it were) and all his Parts to Pieces?

Did not *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, give Sentence againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and died himſelf before him, being ſo mortify'd in his Tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for ſome Time before his Death?

William Swallow, the cruel Tormentor of *George Eagles*, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the Hairs of his Head, and Nails of his Fingers and Toes went off, his Eyes almoſt cloſed up, that he could ſcarce ſee.

And foraſmuch as Examples many times work effectually in the Minds and Memories of Men, I think it not improper in this Place to ſet down a terrible Example of God's Vengeance againſt a notorious wicked Man, as a wholſome Leſſon and Admonition to all ill Livers, to leave their inordinate Rioting and Drunkenneſs, and Profaneneſs of Life. And as the Story is true, ſo is the Name of the Party not unknown, being called *Chriſtopher Landeſdale*, dwelling in *Hackney* in *Middleſex*, in the Year 1568. The Order of whoſe Life, and Manner of his Death being worthy to be noted, is as followeth.

This *Landeſdale* being married to an ancient Woman yet living, having by her both Goods and Lands, notwithſtanding lived long in filthy Whoredom with a younger Woman, by whom he had two Children, a Son and a Daughter, and kept them in his Houſe unto the Day of his Death. Alſo when he ſhould have been in ſerving God on the Sabbath-Day, he uſed to walk or ride about his Fields, and ſeldom he or any of his Houſe came to Church after the *Engliſh* Service was again received. Beſides this, he was a great Swearer, and a great Drunkard, and had great Delight alſo in making other Men drunk, and would have them whom he had made Drunkards, to call him Father, and he would call them his Sons; and of theſe Sons, by Report, he had above forty. And if he had ſeen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and ſpend his Money with him liberally in Ale or Wine, but moſt in Wine, to make him the ſooner drunk. Theſe bleſſed Sons of his ſhould have great Cheer oftentimes, both at his own Houſe and at Taverns: And not long before his Death he was ſo beaſtly drunk in a Tavern over-againſt his Door, that he fell down in the Tavern Yard, and could not riſe alone, but lay grovelling till he was holpen up, and ſo carried home.

This Father of Drunkards, as he was a great Feaſter of the rich and wealthy of *Hackney*, and others; ſo his poor Neighbours and poor Tenants fared little the better for him, except it were with ſome broken Meat, which after his Feaſts his Wife would carry and ſend unto them, or ſome Alms given at his Door.

Beſides all this, he did much Injury to his poor Neighbours, in oppreſſing the Commons near about him, which was a ſpecial Relief unto them, ſo that his Cattle did eat up all without Pity or Mercy.

There chanced after this, about two Years before he died, a poor Man, being ſick of the bloody Flux, for Weakneſs to lie down in a Ditch of the ſaid *Landeſdale*'s, not a Stone's Caſt from his Houſe, where he had a little Straw brought him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Landeſdale* had back Houſes and Barns enough to have laid him in, but would not ſhew him ſo much Pity. And thus poor *Lazarus* lay there Night and Day, about ſix Weeks ere he died.

Certain good Neighbours hearing of this, procured Things neceſſary for his Relief, but he was ſo far ſpent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broiling in the hot Sun, with a horrible Smell, moſt pitiful to behold.

This poor Man, a little before he died, deſired to be moved to another Ditch more ſhady. Whereupon one of the Neighbours coming to *Landeſdale*'s Wife for a Bundle of Straw for him to ſit upon, ſhe requir'd to have him removed to *Newington* Side, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, if he ſhould die, it would be very far to carry him to the Church.

Beſides this, there was a Marriage in this *Landeſdale*'s Houſe, and the Gueſts that came to the Marriage gave the poor Man Money as they came and went by him, but *Landeſdale* diſdaining to contribute any

any Relief unto him, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Mr. *Searles*, one of the Queen's Guard (who had more Pity of him) to miniſter to him Things neceſſary.

To be ſhort, the next Day poor *Lazarus* departed this Life, and was buried in *Hackney* Church-yard; upon whom *Landeſdale* did not ſo much as beſtow a winding Sheet towards his Burial. And thus much concerning the End of poor *Lazarus*. Now let us hear what became of the rich Glutton.

About two Years after, the ſaid *Landeſdale* being full of Drink (as his Cuſtom was) came riding in great haſte from *London* on St. *Andrew*'s Day, *Anno* 1568. and coming by a Ditch, tumbled headlong into it. Some ſay that the Horſe fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true, the Horſe, more ſober than the Maſter, came home, leaving his Maſter behind him. Whether he brake his Neck with the Fall, or was drowned (for the Water was ſcarce a Foot deep) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead.

The Neighbours hearing of the Death of this Man, and conſidering the Manner thereof, ſaid it was juſtly fallen upon him, that as he ſuffered the poor Man to lie and die in the Ditch near unto him, ſo his End was to die in a Ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in this Story (Chriſtian Brother and Reader) the true Image of a rich Glutton and poor *Lazarus* ſet out before thine Eyes: Whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the End to ſuch voluptuous Epicures and Atheiſts, who being void of all Senſe of Religion, and Fear of God, yield themſelves over to all Prophanity of Life, neither regarding any Honeſty at home, nor ſhewing any Mercy to their needy Neighbours abroad.

The Puniſhments of them that be dead, be wholeſome Documents to them that be alive. And therefore as the Story above exemplified may ſerve to warn all wicked Perſons; ſo by this that followeth, I would wiſh all Gentlemen to take good Heed and Admonition betime, to leave their outragious ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

In the Time and Reign of King *Edward*, there was in *Cornwal* a certain luſty young Gentleman, who rode in Company with other Gentlemen, together with their Servants, being about the Number of twenty Horſemen. Among whom this Yonker entering into Talk, began to ſwear moſt horribly, blaſpheming the Name of God, with other ribaldry Words beſides. Unto whom one of the Company not able to abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous Abomination, in gentle Words ſpeaking to him, ſaid, he ſhould give Anſwer and Account for every idle Word.

The Gentleman offended thereat, ſaid, Why takeſt thou Thought for me? Take thought for thy winding Sheet. Well (quoth the other) amend, for Death giveth no Warning? for as ſoon cometh a Lamb's Skin to the Market, as an old Sheep's. God's wounds, ſaith he, care not thou for me; raging ſtill after his Manner worſe and worſe in Words, till at length paſſing on their Journey, they came riding over a great Bridge, ſtanding over a Piece of an Arm of the Sea. Upon which Bridge this Gentleman-ſwearer ſpurred his Horſe in ſuch ſort, as he ſprang clean over with the Man on his Back. Who as he was going, cried ſaying, *Horſe and Man, and all to the Devil.* This terrible Story happening in a Town in *Cornwal*, I would have been afraid amongſt theſe Stories here to recite, were it not that he, who was then both Reprehender of his Swearing, and Witneſs of his Death, is yet alive, and now a Miniſter, named *Heynes*. Beſides this, Biſhop *Ridley*, then Biſhop of *London*, preached and uttered even the ſame Fact and Example at *Paul*'s *Croſs*. The Name of the Gentleman I could by no Means obtain of the Party and Witneſs aforeſaid, for Dread of thoſe (as he ſaid) which yet remain of his Kindred in the ſaid Country.

Foreign Examples.

Hoimeiſter the great Arch-papiſt, and chief Maſterpillar of the Pope's falling Church, as he was in his Journey toward the Council of *Ratisbon*, to diſpute againſt the Defenders of Chriſt's Goſpel, ſuddenly in his Journey, not far from *Ulm*, was prevented by the Stroke of God's Hand, and there miſerably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

Another Example we have of one *Arnoldus Bomelius*, a young Man of the Univerſity of *Lovane*, well commended for his flouriſhing Wit and Ripeneſs of Learning, who ſo long as he favoured the Cauſe of the Goſpel, and took part with the ſame againſt the Enemies of the Truth, he proſpered and went well forward; but after he drew to the Company of *Tyleman*, Maſter of the Pope's College in *Lovane*, and framed himſelf after the Rule of his unſavoury Doctrine, that is, to ſtand in Fear and Doubt of his Juſtification, and to work his Salvation by Merits and Deeds of the Law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful Deſpair and Diſcomfort of Mind; as the Nature of that Doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a Man's Mind from all Certainty and true Liberty of Spirit, to a ſervile Doubtfulneſs, full of Diſcomfort and Bondage of Soul.

Thus the young Man ſeduced and perverted thro' this blind Doctrine of Ignorance and Dubitation, fell into a great Agony of Mind, wandering and wreſtling in himſelf a long Time till at length being overcome with Deſpair, and not having in the Popiſh Doctrine wherewith to raiſe up his Soul, he went out of the City on a Time to walk, accompanied with three other Students of the ſame Univerſity, his ſpecial Familiars. Who as they returned home again, *Arnoldus* for Wearineſs, as it ſeemed, ſate down by a Spring ſide to reſt himſelf: The others thinking no ill, went forward, and in the mean Time *Arnoldus* ſuddenly took out his Dagger, and ſtruck himſelf into the Body.

His Fellows ſeeing him ſhrinking down, and the Fountain to be coloured with the Blood which iſſued out of the Wound, came running to him, took him up, and brought him into an Houſe next at Hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could to repent his Fact; who then by outward Geſture ſeemed to give ſome ſhew of Repentance. Notwithſtanding, he eſpying one of his Friends there buſy about him to have a Knife hanging at his Girdle, violently plucked out the Knife, and with main Force ſtabbed himſelf to the Heart.

Joannes Sleidanus in his 23d Book giveth a Relation of Cardinal *Creſentius*, the chief Preſident and Moderator of the Council of *Trent Anno* 1552. The Story of whom is certain, the Thing that happened to him was ſtrange and notable, Example of him may be profitable to others, ſuch as have Grace to be warned by other Mens Evils. The Narration is this.

The twenty-fifth Day of *March* in the Year aforeſaid, *Creſentius* the Pope's Legate, and Vicegerent in the Council of *Trent*, was ſitting all the Day long until dark Night, in writing Letters to the Pope. After his Labour, when Night was come, thinking to refreſh himſelf, he began to riſe; and at his riſing, behold there appeared to him a mighty black Dog, of a huge Bigneſs, his Eyes flaming with Fire, and his Ears hanging low down well near to the Ground, to enter in, and ſtrait to come towards him, and ſo to couch under the Table. The Cardinal not a little amazed at the Sight thereof, ſomewhat recovering himſelf, called to his Servants, who were in the outward Chamber next by, to bring in a Candle, and to ſeek for the Dog. But when the Dog could not be

found, neither there, nor in any other Chamber about, the Cardinal thereupon ſtruck with a ſudden Conceit of Mind, immediately fell into ſuch a Sickneſs, whereof his Phyſicians, which he had about him, with all their Art and Induſtry could not cure him. And ſo in the Town of *Verona* died this Popiſh Cardinal, the Pope's holy Legate, and Preſident of this Council wherein his Purpoſe was (as *Sleidan* ſaith) to recover and heal again the whole Authority and Doctrine of the *Romiſh* See, and to ſet it up for ever.

There were in this Council, beſides the Pope's Legates and Cardinal of *Trent*, 24 Biſhops, Doctors of Divinity 62. And thus was the End of that Popiſh Council, by the provident Hand of the Almighty, diſpatched and brought to nought.

This Council of *Trent*, being then diſſolved by the Death of this Cardinal, was afterwards notwithſtanding recollected again about the Year of our Lord 1562, againſt the erroneous Proceedings of which Council other Writers there be that ſay enough. So much as pertaineth only to Story, I thought hereunto to add concerning two filthy adulterous Biſhops to the ſaid Council belonging, of whom the one, haunting to an honeſt Wife, was ſlain by the juſt Stroke of God with a Boreſpear. The other Biſhop, whoſe Haunt was to creep thorow a Window, in the ſame Window was ſubtilly taken and hanged in a Gin laid for him of purpoſe, and ſo contrived, that in the Morning he was ſeen openly in the Street hanging out of the Window, to the Wonder of all that paſſed by.

In the City of *Antwerp* lived one named *John Vander Warſe*, of good Eſtimation amongſt the Chief in *Antwerp*. Who, as he was of Nature cruel, ſo was he of Judgment perverſe and corrupt, and a ſore Perſecutor of Chriſt's Flock, with Greedineſs ſeeking and ſhedding innocent Blood, and had drowned divers good Men and Women in the Water, for which he was much commended of the bloody Generation. Of ſome he was called a Blood-hound or bloody Dog. Of others he was called * *Shilpad*, that is to ſay, Shel-toad, for that he being a ſhort grundy, and of little Stature, did ride commonly with a great broad Hat, as a Churl of the Country.

This Man being weary of his Office (wherein he had continued above 20 Years) he gave it over; and becauſe he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to paſs the Reſidue of his Life in Pleaſure and Quietneſs.

About the ſecond Year after, he came to *Antwerp* to the Feaſt called our Lady's *Oumegang*, to make merry; which Feaſt is uſually kept on the *Sunday* following the Aſſumption of our Lady. The ſame Day about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, he being well loaden with Wine, rode homewards in his Waggon, with his Wife and a Gentlewoman waiting on her, and his Fool. As ſoon as the Waggon was come without the Gate of the City, upon the wooden Bridge being at that Time made for a Shift with Rails or Barrers on both Sides for more Surety of the Paſſengers (above half the Height of a Man) the Horſes ſtood ſtill, and would by no Means go forward, whatſoever the Guider of the Waggon could do.

Then he cried out to him that guided the Waggon, ſaying, Ride on, in the Name of a thouſand Devils, ride on. The poor Man anſwered, that he could not make the Horſes go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, ſuddenly aroſe, as it were a wighty Whirlwind, with a terrible Noiſe (the Weather being very fair, and no Wind ſtirring before) and toſt the Waggon into the Town-ditch, the Ropes whereat the Horſes had been tied being broken aſunder in ſuch a Manner as if they had been cut wirh a ſharp Knife, the Waggon alſo being caſt upſide down, by the Fall whereof he both broke his Neck and was ſmother'd in the Mire. His Wife was taken up alive but died in three Days after. But the Gentlewoman and the Fool, by God's Providence, were preſerved from Harm. The Fool hearing the People ſay his Maſter was dead, ſaid, And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done in the Year 1553. Witneſs hereof not only the Printer of the ſame Story in *Dutch*, dwelling then in *Antwerp*, whoſe Name was *Francis Fraet*, a good Man, and afterwards for Hatred put to Death by the Papiſts, but alſo divers *Dutchmen*, and a great Number of *Engliſh* Merchants, who were then at *Antwerp*.

In the Year 1565, there was in the Town of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, one *William de Wever*, accuſed and impriſoned by the Provoſt of St. *Peter*'s in *Gaunt* (who had in his Cloyſter a Priſon and a Place of Execution) and the Day when the ſaid *William* was called to the Place of Judgment, the Provoſt ſent for Mr. *Giles Brackleman*, principal Advocate of the Council of *Flanders*, and Burgh-maſter and Judge of St. *Peter*'s in *Gaunt*, with other Rulers of the Town of *Gaunt*, to ſit in Judgment upon him, and as they ſat in Judgment, Mr. *Giles Brackleman* reaſoned with the ſaid *William de Wever* upon divers Articles of his Faith. One whereof was,

Why he deny'd that it was lawful to pray to Saints; and he anſwer'd, For three Cauſes; the one was, That they were but Creatures, and not the Creator. The ſecond was,

That if he ſhould call upon them, the Lord did both ſee it and hear it; and therefore he durſt give the Glory to none other but God. The third and chief Cauſe was,

That the Creator had commanded in his holy Word to call upon him in Trouble, unto which Commandment he durſt neither add nor take from.

He alſo demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a Purgatory which he ſhould go into after this Life, where every one ſhould be purify'd and cleanſed.

He anſwered, That he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no ſuch Place, but the Death of Chriſt was his Purgatory: With many other Queſtions, proceeding after their Order, till he came to pronounce his Condemnation. But ere it was read, he was ſo ſtruck with a Palſy, that his Mouth was almoſt drawn up to his Ear, and ſo he fell down, the reſt of the Lords ſtanding before him, that the People might not ſee him: And the People were deſired to depart. Then they took him up, and carry'd him to his Houſe, where he died the very next Day. Yet notwithſtanding all this, they burnt *William de Wever* within three Hours after.

About the Borders of *Suevia* in *Germany*, there was a Monaſtery of ciſtercian Monks, founded in the Days of Pope *Innocent* the ſecond by a noble Baron, about the Year 1110. This Cell, in Proceſs of Time was enlarged with more ample Poſſeſſions, finding many and great Benefactors liberally contributing to the ſame; as Emperors, Dukes, and rich Barons.

The Earls of *Montford* had beſtowed upon it great Privileges, upon this Condition, that they ſhould receive with free Hoſpitality any Stranger both Horſeman or Footman, for one Night's Lodging, whoſoever came. But this Hoſpitality did not long ſo continue, through a ſubtle and deviliſh Device of one of the Monks, who took upon him to play the Part of the Devil, ratling and raging in his Chains, near the Room where the Strangers lay, in a frightful Manner, in the Night-time to terrify the Gueſts; by reaſon whereof no Stranger nor Traveller durſt there abide, and thus he continued for a long Time.

At length it happened, that one of the Earls of *Montfort*, a Benefactor to that Abbey, coming to the Monaſtery, was there lodged; when Night came, and the Earl at reſt, the Monk after his wonted Man-

* *Shilpad*, a kind of Shelfiſh, faſhioned like a Toad, with a hard and a broad Shell upon his Back.

ner began to play the Devil. There was Stamping, Ramping, Spitting of Fire, Roaring, Thundering, Bouncing of Boards, and Rattling of Chains, enough to make a Man ſtark mad. The Earl hearing the ſudden Noiſe, and peradventure afraid at firſt, tho' he had not the Art of Conjuring, yet taking a good Heart, and running to his Sword, he laid about him ſo well, and followed ſtill the Noiſe of the Devil ſo cloſe, that at laſt the jeſting Devil was ſlain by the Earl in earneſt.

The Conference had and begun at Weſtminſter *the laſt of* March, *upon certain Articles of Religion propoſed, and alſo of the breaking up of the ſame, at the firſt Beginning of Queen* Elizabeth.

SO it pleaſed the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, having heard of the Diverſity of Opinions in certain Matters of Religion amongſt ſundry of her loving Subjects, and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome Godly and Chriſtian Concord (by the Advice of the Lords and others of the Privy Council, as well for the Satisfaction of Perſons doubtful, as alſo for the Knowledge of the very Truth in certain Matters of Difference) to have a convenient choſen Number of the beſt learned of either Part, and to confer together their Opinions and Reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable Agreement. And hereupon by her Majeſty's Commandment, certain of her Privy Council declared this Purpoſe to the Archbiſhop of *York* (being alſo one of the ſame Privy Council) and required him that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the Biſhops, and to make Choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there ſhould be the like Number named of the other Part. And further alſo they declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the Matter ſhould be. And as for the Time, it was thought meet to be as ſoon as poſſible might be agreed upon. And then after certain Days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid Archbiſhop, that there were appointed, by ſuch of the Biſhops to whom he had imparted this Matter, nine Perſons, that is to ſay, five Biſhops and four Doctors. The Names of whom here follow under written.

The Papiſts.	The Proteſtants.
The Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*	Dr. *Scory*, Bp. of *Chicheſter.*
The Biſhop of *Lichfield.*	Dr. *Coxe.*
The Biſhop of *Cheſter.*	Mr. *Whitehead.*
The Biſhop of *Carliſle.*	Mr. *Grindall.*
The Biſhop of *Lincoln.*	Mr. *Horne.*
Dr. *Cole.*	Mr. *Sands.*
Dr. *Harpsfield.*	Mr. *Geſt.*
Dr. *Langdale.*	Mr. *Aelmer.*
Dr. *Chedſey.*	Mr. *Juell.*

Who were content at the Queen's Command, to ſhew their Opinions, and, as the ſaid Archbiſhop termed it, render Account of their Faith in thoſe Matters which were mentioned, and that eſpecially in Writing, although he ſaid, he thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no Cauſe to diſpute upon them. The Matter they were to talk upon, was comprehended in theſe three Propoſitions hereunder ſpecify'd.

1. It is againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the antient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People, in Common Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.
2. Every Church hath Authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies and eccleſiaſtical Rites, ſo the ſame be to Edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Maſs offered up a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead.

It was hereupon fully reſolved by the Queen's Majeſty, with the Advice aforeſaid, that according to their Deſire, it ſhould be in Writing on both Parts, for avoiding of much Altercation in Words; and that the ſaid Biſhops would, becauſe they were in Authority of Degree ſuperior, firſt declare their Opinions in the Matter, with their Reaſons in Writing. And the other Number, being alſo nine Men of good Degree in Schools, and ſome having been in Dignity in the Church of *England*, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame Day declare their Opinions in like Manner, and ſo each of them ſhould deliver their Writings to the other, to be conſidered what were to be improved therein, and the ſame to declare again in Writing at ſome other convenient Day, and the like Order to be kept in all the reſt of the Matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the Archbiſhop of *York*, and ſo alſo ſignify'd to both Parties.

And immediately hereupon divers of the Nobility and States of the Realm underſtanding that ſuch a Meeting and Conference was intended, concerning ſuch Matters as were to be confirmed by Parliament according to the Deciſion of theſe learned Doctors; they petition'd her Majeſty that the Parties of this Conference might be put to read their Aſſertions in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and that in the Preſence of them of the Nobility and others of her Parliament-Houſe, for the better Satisfaction and enabling of their own Judgments, to treat and conclude of ſuch Laws as might depend hereupon.

This alſo, being thought very reaſonable, was ſignify'd to both Parties, and ſo fully agreed upon, and the Day appointed for the firſt Meeting to be on *Friday* in the Forenoon, being the laſt Day of *March*, at *Weſtminſter* Church. Where were preſent by the Queen's Command, the Lords and others of the Privy Council, and a great Part of the Nobility, both to honour and ſee good Order in the Conference. And notwithſtanding this former Order appointed, and conſented unto by both Parties, yet the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his Colleagues alledged, they had miſtaken that their Aſſertions and Reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the Book, ſaying, their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and diſpute, and therefore they would for that Time repeat in Speech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt Probation.

This Variation from the former Order, and eſpecially from that which themſelves had by the ſaid Archbiſhop in Writing before required, adding thereto the Reaſon of the Apoſtle, that to contend with Words is profitable to nothing, but to the Subverſion of the Hearer, ſeemed to the Queen's Council ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet was it permitted without any great Reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the Order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in Writing, and, according to the former Order, delivered it to the other Part; and ſo the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his Colleagues, appointed Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *St. Pauls*, to be the Utterer of their Minds; who partly by Speech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written, and at certain Times being informed of his Colleagues what to ſay, made a Declaration of their Meanings, and their Reaſons to their firſt Propoſition: Which being ended, they were asked by the Privy Council if any of them had any more to be ſaid, and they ſaid No. So as the other Part was licenſed to ſhew their Minds, which they did according to the firſt Order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a Book written, which, after a Prayer and Invocation, made moſt humbly to Almighty God

for

for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a Proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the Doctrine of the catholick Church built upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one *Robert Horne*, Batchelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Durham*, and after Biſhop of *Winchester*. The Copy of which their Proteſtation here followeth, according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their Preface alſo before the ſame.

FOraſmuch as it is thought good unto the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty (unto whom in the Lord all Obedience is due) that we ſhould declare our Judgment in Writing upon certain Propoſitions; we, as becometh us to do herein, moſt gladly obey.

Seeing that Chriſt is our only Maſter, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and ſeeing alſo his Word is the Truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one Hair's Breadth, and againſt which (as the Apoſtle ſaith) we can do nothing; we do in all Things ſubmit ourſelves unto this Truth, and do proteſt that we will affirm nothing againſt the ſame.

And foraſmuch as we have for our Mother the true and catholick Church of Chriſt, which is grounded upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and is of Chriſt the Head in all Things governed; we do reverence her Judgment, we obey her Authority as becometh Children; and we do devoutly profeſs, and in all Points follow the Faith which is contained in the three Creeds, that is to ſay, of the Apoſtles, of the Council of *Nice*, and of *Athanaſius*.

And ſeeing that we never departed, neither from the Doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the Faith of the true and catholick Church of Chriſt; but have preached truly the Word of God, and have ſincerely miniſtred the Sacraments according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, unto which our Doctrine and Faith the moſt part alſo of our Adverſaries did ſubſcribe not many Years paſt (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the ſame) we deſire that they render Account of their Backſliding, and ſhew ſome Cauſe wherefore they do not only reſiſt that Doctrine which they have before profeſſed, but alſo perſecute the ſame by all Means they can. We do not doubt, but through the Equity of the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, we ſhall in theſe Diſputations be treated more gently than in Years late paſt, when we were handled moſt unjuſtly and ſcantly after the common Manner of Men. As for the Judgment of the whole Controverſy, we refer unto the moſt holy Scriptures, and the catholick Church of Chriſt (whoſe Judgment unto us ought to be moſt ſacred:) notwithſtanding by the Catholick Church we underſtand not the *Romiſh* Church, whereunto our Adverſaries attribute ſuch Reverence, but that which St. *Auguſtine* and other Fathers affirm, ought to be ſought in the Holy Scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Chriſt.

It is againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People in common Prayers and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

By theſe Words (the Word of God) we mean only the written Word of God, or canonical Scriptures.

And by the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, we mean the Order moſt generally uſed in the Church for the Space of 500 Years after Chriſt, in which Times lived the moſt notable Fathers, *Juſtin*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierom*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, &c.

This Aſſertion above-written hath two Parts: Firſt, That the Uſe of the Tongue not underſtood of the People, in common Prayers of the Church, or in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is againſt God's Word.

The ſecond, That the ſame is againſt the Uſe of the primitive Church.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the fourteenth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, almoſt throughout the whole Chapter. In the which Chapter St. *Paul* intreateth of this Matter, *Ex profeſſo*, purpoſely. And although ſome do cavil that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in that Chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it moſt evident to any indifferent Reader of Underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the Expoſition of the beſt Writers, that he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of preaching and prophecying, but alſo of Prayer and Thankſgiving, and generally of all other publick Actions, which require any Speech in the Church or Congregation. For of praying he ſaith; I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my Mind. And of Thankſgiving (which is a kind of Prayer) thou giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how ſhall he which occupieth the room of the Unlearned ſay, *Amen*, to thy giving of Thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? And in the End deſcending from Particulars to a general Propoſition, concludeth, that all Things ought to be done to Edification. Thus much is clear by the very Words of St. *Paul*; and the ancient Doctors, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierom*, and others, do ſo underſtand this Chapter, as it ſhall appear by their Teſtimonies which ſhall follow afterward.

Upon this Chapter of St. *Paul* we gather theſe Reaſons following.

1. All Things done in the Church or Congregation, ought ſo to be done as they may edify the ſame.

But the Uſe of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edify the Congregation.

Therefore the Uſe of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The firſt part of this Reaſon is grounded upon St. *Paul*'s Words, commanding all Things to be done to Edification.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. *Paul*'s plain Words. Firſt by this Similitude. If the Trumpet give an uncertain Sound, who ſhall be prepared for Battle? Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak Words that have Signification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? For ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, how can he that occupieth the Place of the Unlearned, ſay *Amen*, at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.

Theſe be St. *Paul*'s Words, plainly proving, that a Tongue not underſtood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the Reaſon thus proved by St. *Paul*, the Concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

2. Secondly, nothing is to be ſpoken in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the People, that it may be underſtood. For ſaith St. *Paul*, if there be no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, *Taceat in Eccleſia*, let him hold his Peace in the Church. And therefore the Common Prayers and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, neither interpreted, are againſt the Commandment of *Paul*, and not to be uſed.

The Miniſter in Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments uſing Language not underſtood of by the Hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which of St. *Paul* is accounted a great Abſurdity.

It is not be counted a Chriſtian Common Prayer, where the People preſent declare not their Aſſent unto it

it by ſaying *Amen*, wherein is implied all other Words of Aſſent.

But St. *Paul* affirmeth, that the People cannot declare their Aſſent in ſaying *Amen*, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as afore.

Therefore it is no chriſtian Common Prayer where the People underſtand not what is ſaid.

Paul would not ſuffer in his Time a ſtrange Tongue to be heard in the common Prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of Speech was then a Miracle, and a ſingular Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby Infidels might be perſuaded and brought to the Faith; much leſs is it to be ſuffered now amongſt chriſtian and faithful Men, eſpecially being no Miracle nor eſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Some will peradventure anſwer, that to uſe any kind of Tongue, in Common Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a Thing indifferent.

But St. *Paul* is to the contrary: For he commandeth all Things to be done to Edification; he commandeth to keep Silence if there be no Interpreter; and in the End of the Chapter he concludeth thus: *If any Man be ſpiritual, or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the Commandments of the Lord.* And ſo ſhortly to conclude, the Uſe of a ſtrange Tongue, in Prayer and Adminiſtration, is againſt the Word and Commandment of God.

To theſe Reaſons, grounded upon St. *Paul*'s Words, which are the moſt firm Foundation of this Aſſertion, divers other Reaſons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwiſe.

In the Old Teſtament all Things pertaining to the publick Prayer, Benedictions, Thankſgivings, or Sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural Tongue. In the Second Book of *Paralipom.* Chap. 29. it is written, that *Ezechias* commanded the *Levites* to praiſe God with the *Pſalms of David* and *Aſaph* the Prophet, which doubtleſs were written in *Hebrew*, their vulgar Tongue. If they did ſo in the Shadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Chriſt ſaith) muſt pray, in Spirit and Truth.

The final End of our Prayer (as *David* ſaith) is, *That the People aſſembled together may declare the Name of the Lord in Sion, and his Praiſe in Jeruſalem.*

But the Name and Praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the People, unleſs it be done in ſuch a Tongue as they may underſtand, therefore common Prayer muſt be had in the vulgar Tongue.

The Definition of publick Prayer out of the Words of St. *Paul* is, That common Prayer is to lift up our common Deſires to God with our Minds, and to teſtify the ſame outwardly with our Tongues, which Definition is approved by St. *Auguſtine*, *De Magiſtro*, Cap. 1.

The Miniſtration of the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm are as it were Sermons of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt.

But Sermons to the People muſt be had in ſuch Language as the People may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a Chriſtian Man to abuſe the Gifts of God; but he that prayeth in the Church in a ſtrange Tongue, abuſeth the Gifts of God. For the Tongue ſerveth only to expreſs the Mind of the Speaker to the Hearer. And St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De doctrina Chriſtiana, lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. There is no Cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they for whoſe Cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our Speaking.

The Heathen and barbarous Nations of all Countries and Sorts of Men, were they never ſo wild, evermore made their Prayers and Sacrifices to their Gods in their own Mother Tongue. Which is a manifeſt Declaration that it is the very Light and Voice of Nature.

Thus much upon the Ground of St. *Paul* and other Reaſons out of the Scriptures, joining therewith the common Uſage of all Nations, as a Teſtimony of the Law of Nature.

Now for the ſecond part of the Aſſertion, which is, that the Uſe of a ſtrange Tongue in publick Prayer and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is againſt the Cuſtom of the primitive Church; it is a Matter ſo clear, that the Denial of it muſt needs proceed either of great Ignorance, or elſe of wilful Malice.

For firſt of all *Juſtine Martyr* deſcribing the Order of the Communion in his Time, ſaith thus, Upon the *Sunday* Aſſemblies are made both of the Citizens and Countrymen, whereas the Writings of the Apoſtles and of the Prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth ceaſe, the head Miniſter maketh an Exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſo honeſt Things. After this we riſe all together and offer Prayers, which being ended (as we have ſaid) Bread and Water are brought forth. Then the head Miniſter offereth Prayers and Thankſgiving, as much as he can, and the People anſwer *Amen.*

Theſe Words of *Juſtine*, who lived about 160 Years after Chriſt, conſidered with their Circumſtance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but alſo that the Prayers and Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper were done in a Tongue underſtood.

The Liturgies both of *Baſil* and *Chryſoſtom* declare, that in the Celebration of the Communion, the People were appointed to anſwer to the Prayer of the Miniſter, ſometimes *Amen*, ſometimes, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, ſometimes, *And with thy Spirit*, and, *We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord*, &c. Which Anſwers they could not have made in due Time, if the Prayer had not been made in a Tongue underſtood.

And for further Proof, let us hear what *Baſil* writeth in this Matter to the Clerks of *Neocæſarea.* As touching that is laid to our Charge in Pſalmodies and Songs, wherewith our Slanderers do fray the Simple, I have thus to ſay, that our Cuſtoms and Uſages in all Churches be uniform, and agreeable.

For in the Night the People with us riſeth, goeth to the Houſe of Prayer, and in Travel, Tribulation, and continual Tears, they confeſs themſelves to God, and at the laſt riſing again, go to their Songs or Pſalmody, where being divided into two Parts, they ſing by Courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the Matter of the heavenly Sayings, and alſo ſtirring up their Attention and Devotion of Heart, which by other Means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the Song, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers Songs and Prayers paſſing over the Night, at the Dawning of the Day, all together, even as it were with one Mouth and one Heart, they ſing unto the Lord a Song of Confeſſion, every Man framing to himſelf meet Words of Repentance.

If you will fly us from henceforth for theſe Things, ye muſt fly alſo the *Egyptians*, and both *Libyans*, ye muſt eſchew the *Thebanes*, *Paleſtines*, *Arabians*, the *Phænices*, the *Syrians*, and all thoſe with whom Watchings, Prayers, and common ſinging of Pſalms are had in Honour.

Teſtimonies of St. Ambroſe, *writting upon the fourteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians.

THIS is it that he ſaith; becauſe he who ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, ſpeaketh to God. For he knoweth all Things, but Men know not, and therefore there is no Profit of this Thing.

The ſame Author afterwards upon theſe Words, If thou bleſs or give Thanks with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, ſay, *Amen*, at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtand-

eth not what thou ſayeſt? That is (ſaith *Ambroſe*) if thou ſpeak the Praiſe of God in a Tongue unknown to the Hearers. For the Unlearned, hearing that which he underſtandeth not, knoweth not the End of the Prayer, and he anſwereth not *Amen*. That is as much as to ſay (true) that the Bleſſing or Thankſgiving may be confirmed. For the Confirmation of the Prayer is fulfilled by them which do anſwer, *Amen*. That all Things ſpoken might be confirmed in the Minds of the Hearers, through the Teſtimony of the Truth.

Afterward in the ſame Place upon theſe Words, If any Infidel or Unlearned come in.

For when he underſtandeth, and is underſtood, hearing God to be praiſed and Chriſt to be worſhipped, he ſeeth perfectly that the Religion is true, and to be reverenced, wherein he ſeeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in Darkneſs, as among the Heathen, whoſe Eyes are covered, that they ſeeing not the Things which they call holy, might perceive themſelves to be deluded with divers Vanities. For all Falſhood ſeeketh Darkneſs, and ſheweth falſe Things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is ſimply praiſed, of whom are all Things, and one Lord Jeſus, by whom are all Things. For if there be none which can underſtand, or of whom he may be tried, he may ſay, there is ſome Deceit and Vanity, which is therefore ſung in Tongues (not underſtood, he meaneth) becauſe it is Shame to open it.

Upon this place, Let all Things be done to edify. This is the Concluſion, that nothing ſhould be done in the Church in vain, and that this Thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the Unlearned alſo might profit leſt any part of the Body ſhould be dark through Ignorance.

Again if there be no Interpreter, let him keep Silence in the Church.

That is, let him pray ſecretly, or ſpeak to God within himſelf, who heareth all dumb Things: For in the Church he ought to ſpeak which may profit all Men.

Teſtimonies out of Saint Hierom, *upon the aforeſaid Place of St.* Paul.

IT is the Lay-man, ſaith he, whom *Paul* here underſtandeth to be in the Place of the ignorant Man, which hath no eccleſiaſtical Office. How ſhall he anſwer *Amen* to the Prayer that he underſtandeth not?

And a little after upon theſe Words, For if I pray in an unknown Tongue, *&c.*

This is *Paul*'s Meaning, ſaith *Hierom*, if any Man ſpeaketh in ſtrange and unknown Tongues, his Mind is not to himſelf without Fruit and Profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

And in the End of his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, he ſaith thus:

That (*Amen*) ſignifieth the Conſent of the Hearer, and is the ſealing of the Truth, *Paul* in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* teacheth, ſaying, But if thou ſhalt bleſs in Spirit, who ſupplieth the Place of the Ignorant? How ſhall he at thy Prayer anſwer (*Amen*) ſeeing he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt? whereby he declareth that the unlearned Man cannot anſwer, that that which is ſpoken is true, unleſs he underſtand what is ſaid.

The ſame *Hierom* ſaith in the Preface of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, that the Noiſe of (*Amen*) ſoundeth in the *Roman* Church like an heavenly Thunder.

As *Hierom* compareth this Sound of Common Prayer to Thunder, ſo compareth *Baſil* it to the Sound of the Sea, in theſe Words, If the Sea be fair, how is not the Aſſembly of the Congregation much fairer? In the which a joined Sound of Men, Women and Children, as it were of the Waves beating on the Shore, is ſent forth in our Prayers unto our God.

When the People once hear theſe Words (*World without End*) they all forthwith anſwer, *Amen*.

And the ſame Writer upon the ſame Chapter, upon theſe Words, How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, ſay *Amen?* Behold again, he applieth the Stone unto the Square (as the Proverb is) requiring the edifying of the Congregation in all Places. The Unlearned he calleth the common People, and ſheweth that it is no ſmall Diſcommodity, if they cannot ſay, *Amen*.

And again the ſame *Chryſoſtom*, ſaith, Yea in Prayers you may ſee the People offer largely, both for the Poſſeſſed and the Penitents. For the Prieſts and the People pray altogether commonly, and all one Prayer, a Prayer full of Mercy and Pity. And excluding out of the Prieſts Limits all ſuch as cannot be Partakers of the holy Table, another Prayer muſt be made, and all in one Manner lie down upon the Earth, and all again after one Manner riſe up together. Now when the Peace is giving, we all in like Manner ſalute one another, and the Prieſt in the reverend Myſteries wiſheth well to the People, and the People unto him: For (*And with thy Spirit*) is nothing elſe but this. All Things that belong to the Sacrament of Thankſgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not Thanks alone, but all the People with him.

Hereby it may appear, that not the Prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar Prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the Prieſt, which could not have been, if he had uſed a ſtrange Tongue in the Miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Dionyſius deſcribing the Manner of the Miniſtration of the Lord's Supper, ſaith, That Hymns were ſaid of the whole Multitude of the People.

Cyprian ſaith, The Prieſt doth prepare the Minds of the Brethren, with a Preface before the Prayer ſaying (*Lift up your Hearts:*) That while the People doth anſwer, (*We have our Hearts lifted up to the Lord*) they may be admoniſhed that they ought to think of none other Thing than of the Lord.

St. *Auguſtine*, What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with Reaſon of Man, not with chatting of Birds, for Owſels and Popinjaies, and Ravens, and Pies, and other ſuch like Birds are taught by Men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with Underſtanding, is given by God's holy Will to the Nature of Man.

The ſame *Auguſtine*, There needeth no Speech when we pray, ſaving perhaps as the Prieſts do, to declare their Meaning; not that God, but that Men may hear them, and ſo, being put in Remembrance by conſenting with the Prieſts, may hang upon God.

To theſe Teſtimonies of the ancient Writers, we will join one Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, who lived 527 Years after Chriſt, which ſaith, We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts do celebrate the holy Oblation, and the Prayers uſed in holy Baptiſm, not ſpeaking low, but with a clear and loud Voice, which may be heard of the People, that thereby the Minds of the Hearers may be ſtirred up with greater Devotion, in uttering the Praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, Truly, if thou only bleſs or give Thanks in Spirit, how doth he which occupieth the Place of the Unlearned ſay, *Amen*, at the giving of Thanks unto God? For he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the

Epiſtle to the *Romans* he ſaith, With the Heart a Man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation.

Therefore for theſe Cauſes it is convenient, that amongſt other Prayers thoſe Things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy Oblation, be uttered and ſpoken of the moſt religious Biſhops and Prieſts unto our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* our God with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, with a loud Voice. And let the moſt religious Prieſts know this, that if they neglect any of theſe Things, neither the dreadful Judgment of the great God and our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, neither will we, when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, three Things are worthy to be noted.

Firſt, That the Common Prayer and Miniſtration done with a loud Voice, ſo as may be heard and underſtood of the People, is a Means to ſtir up Devotion in the People, contrary to the common Aſſertion of *Eckius* and other Adverſaries, who affirm, that Ignorance maketh a great Adminiſtration and Devotion.

Secondly, That *Juſtinian* maketh this Matter of not ordering common Miniſtration and Prayers, ſo as it may be underſtood of the People, not a Matter of Indifferency, but ſuch a Thing as muſt be anſwered for at the Day of Judgment.

Thirdly, That this Emperor, being a Chriſtian Emperor, doth not only make Conſtitution of eccleſiaſtical Matters, but alſo threatneth Revenge and ſharp Puniſhment to the Violaters of the ſame.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove that it is againſt God's Word, and the Uſe of the primitive Church, to uſe a Language not underſtood of the People, in common Prayer and Miniſtration of the Sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an Untruth and Abuſe crept at the firſt into the Church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtiffly at this Day, and upon what Ground theſe, that will be thought Guides and Paſtors of Chriſt's Church, are ſo loth to return to the firſt Original of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and the Practice of the primitive Catholick Church of Chriſt.

The God of Patience and Conſolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one Mouth praiſe God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen*.

John Scory.	*John Jewell.*
Richard Coxe.	*Robert Horne.*
David Whitehead.	*John Aelmer.*
Edmund Grindall.	*Edmund Geſt.*

And the ſame being ended with ſome Likelihood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the Audience; certain of the Biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former Anſwer, that they had now much more to ſay to this Matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch Manner of Cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of Orders in this Colloquy or Conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts in the full Audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their Minds and Reaſons in writing to the ſecond Aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they could, and firſt read the ſame: And that done, the other part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame Writings. And in the mean Time, the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that Day uttered, but all ſuch other Matters as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame: And as ſoon as they might poſſible, to ſend the ſame Book touching that firſt Aſſertion to the other Part, and they ſhould receive of them that Writing which Mr. *Horn* had there read that Day, and upon *Monday* it ſhall be agreed what Day they ſhould exhibit their Anſwers touching the firſt Propoſition. Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the Aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The Order of the Second Day's Talk.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbiſhop of York, *the Duke of* Norfolk, *and all the Council being ſet, the Biſhops on the one Side, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers on the other Side, thus began the Lord Keeper:*

MY Lord and Maſters, I am ſure ye remember well, what Order of Talk and Writing was appointed to be had this Day in this Aſſembly, at our laſt Meeting, which I will not refuſe now to repeat again for the Shortneſs of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both Sides ye ſhould bring in *Engliſh* Writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond Queſtion, and in this Place appointed to read the ſame. Therefore begin my Lords.

Wincheſt. I am determined for my Part that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt Queſtion.

L. Keeper. Will ye not then proceed in the Order appointed you.

Wincheſt. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt Queſtion or Propoſition: And we ſhould ſuffer Prejudice, if ye permit us not to intreat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond Queſtion, and this is the Order we would uſe. I judge all my Brethren are ſo minded.

Biſhops. We are ſo determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined Order: But ye ought to look what Order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this Means do break and little regard.

Wincheſter. Since our Adverſaries part, if it pleaſe your Grace and Honours, have ſo confirmed their Aſſertion and Purpoſe, we ſuffer a Prejudice or Damage if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Doctor *Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, being at this Talk very deſirous to have ſpoken, ſaid now to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; I pray you let me ſpeak, which was permitted him: We are not uſed indifferently, ſince that you allow us not to open in preſent Writing what we have to ſay for the Declaration of the firſt Queſtion, inſomuch as that which ye take for the Infirmation of the ſame, was meant nothing to that purpoſe, for that which Mr. *Cole* ſpake in this laſt Aſſembly, was not prepared to ſtrengthen our Cauſe, but he made his Oration of himſelf, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-ſtudied Talk.

At ſuch the Biſhop's Words the Nobility and other of the Audience much frowned and grudged, ſince that they all well knew, that Mr. *Cole* ſpake out of a Writing which he held in his Hand, and often read out of the ſame, and in that the ſame Places which the Biſhops informed him, and appointed him unto with their Fingers; all which Things do well declare the Matter to be premeditate, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Mr. *Cole* was appointed by them to be their Speaker. Whereupon this of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was the worſe taken, notwithſtanding he went onward complaining, and ſaid; We are alſo evil ordered as touching the Time, our Adverſaries part having Warning long before, and we were warned only two Days before the laſt Aſſembly in this Place. What with this Buſineſs, and other Trou-

ble we have been driven to, have been occupied the whole laſt Night. For we may in no wiſe berray the Cauſe of God, nor will do, but ſuſtain it to the utmoſt of our Power, as we ought ſo to endeavour by all manner of Means. But now we have no impartial Hearing.

L. Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourſelves when it ſhall come to juſt Trial of the Matter, and that then it be not proved againſt you, that ye complain without Cauſe, when the Order and your Manner towards it ſhall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the Order taken and appointed for you to reaſon therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lich. Cov. Let us ſuffer no Miſorder or Injury herein, but be heard impartially, that is convenient and meet we ſhould have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you, Sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the Council, who you well know of, that their Writing, which ye are now ſo willing to have heard, ſhould have been read the firſt Day, and then we underſtood that Mr. *Cole* had ſaid what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to ſay. I judge ye were asked in the End of Mr. *Cole*'s Rehearſal, whether that which he ſpake, was what ye would have him ſay, and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would that he ſhould ſay any more in the Matter, ye anſwered no, whereupon the other Part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good Indifferency or plain Dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to ſay. So mark you with how ſmall Equity you uſed yourſelves.

The Biſhop. We had indeed more to ſay, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me Leave I ſay, and look what Gains you ſhould have if your preſent Requeſt ſhould be granted you, that call ſo much of indifferent uſing, how you ſhould uſe thoſe other Men? For many who are here preſent, were then away, ſo would you have your Writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it againſt the firſt Day, when they orderly read theirs, ſince to my Knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the Matter, you were of both Sides (I am ſure) warned at one Time. Howbeit to ſatisfy your Importunity and Earneſtneſs of this crying out to have your firſt Writing heard, I might well allow, if it ſo pleaſed the reſt of the Queen's moſt honourable Council, that you diſpatch the Work of the ſecond Queſtion, appointed for this Day, and give us up your Writing for the firſt, ſo that when the Day cometh that each of you ſhall anſwer the other in Confirmation of the firſt Queſtion, then the ſame Day ye ſhall have Time to read this your firſt Writing, which ye now would ſo fain read. To this Order all the Council willingly condeſcended.

Lich. Cov. Nay my Lords, they reading one, and we two Books in one Day, we ſhould not have Time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much Time.

L. Keeper. For my Part I might well ſtay at the hearing of them both, and ſo I judge would the reſt of the Council, and likewiſe the whole Audience. At which Words there was a general Shout, ſaying, Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one Time: For their Writing (I am ſure) would require an Hour and a half, if ſo be it be ſo long as their laſt was, and then our Anſwer would require no leſs Time after the firſt Queſtion.

L. Keeper. I have ſhewed you we could be well contented to tarry out the Time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore ye need not be therein ſo curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no Orders; I cannot tell what I ſhall ſay unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the Order of this Diſputation. For firſt it was appointed us by my Lord the Archbiſhop, that we ſhould diſpute in *Latin*, and then we were commanded to bring a *Latin* Writing, and now at laſt we are ordered to bring our Writing in *Engliſh*.

At theſe Words the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbiſhop, with all the Council, much muſed, and many murmured at ſuch a baſe and falſe Report of the Order well taken. Whereupon with an Admiration the Lord Keeper anſwered, I marvel much of the uſing of yourſelf in this Point, ſince I am aſſured the Order was never otherwiſe taken, than that you ſhould bring forth in *Engliſh* Writing what you had to ſay for your Purpoſe.

Hereupon the Biſhops of *Litchfield* and *Chicheſter*, to excuſe my Lord of *Lincoln*, ſaid, We ſo underſtood the Order, my Lords.

L. Keeper. How likely is that, ſince it was ſo plainly told you? But to end theſe Delays, I pray you follow the Order appointed, and begin to treat of the ſecond Queſtion.

Lich. Cov. We were appointed this Day by your Honours to bring in what we had to ſay in the firſt Queſtion.

At which Words the Audience murmured, who heard the former Talk, contrary to ſuch his Report.

L. Keeper. The Order was taken, for that your Writings were not ready the laſt Time, that ye ſhould yield the ſame to theſe Men (meaning the Proteſtants) as ſoon as ye might, and upon the Receipt of your Writings, you ſhould have theirs, and this Day you ſhould treat of the ſecond Queſtion, and of the third, if that ye had Leiſure enough. This was the Order, my Lords, except my Memory much fail me. The ſame all the Council affirmed.

Lincoln. We are willed then to bring in this Day our Writing for the firſt Queſtion alſo.

L. Keeper. Ah Sirs, if ye be ſo hard to be ſatisfy'd, and to incline to the Truth, let my Lords here ſay what was then determined.

B. York. Ye are to blame to ſtand in this Iſſue, for there was a plain decreed Order taken for you to treat of the ſecond Queſtion. Wherefore leave you your Contention herein, and ſhew what you have to ſay in the ſecond Queſtion.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin, my Lords.

Lich. Cov. It is contrary to the Order in Diſputations, that we ſhould begin.

Cheſter. We have the Negative, they the Affirmative, therefore they muſt begin.

Lich. Cov. They muſt firſt ſpeak what they can bring in againſt us, ſince we are the defending Party.

Cheſter. So is the School manner, and likewiſe the Manner in *Weſtminſter-hall* is, that the Plaintiff's Part ſhould ſpeak firſt, and then the accuſed Party to anſwer.

Lich. Cov. I pray you let the Propoſition be read, and then let us ſee who hath the negative Part, and ſo let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The Order was taken that ye ſhould begin.

Lich. Cov. But then we ſhould do againſt the School Order.

L. Keeper. My Maſters, ye inforce much the School Orders. I wonder much at it, ſince divers of thoſe Orders are oftentimes taken for the Exerciſe of Youth, and ought to maintain a Faſhion, and many Preſcriptions, which we need not here to recite, much leſs obſerve. We are come hither to keep the Order of God, and to ſet forth his Truth, and hereunto we have taken as good Order as we could, which lieth not in my Power to change.

Carliſle. We are of the Catholick Church, and abide therein,

therein, and ſtand in the Poſſeſſions of the Truth; and therefore they may ſay what they have to alledge againſt us, and ſo we maintain and defend our Cauſe.

Lich. Cov. Yea, even ſo muſt the Matter be ordered.

Cheſter. When they bring any thing againſt us, it is ſufficient for us to deny it: Therefore they muſt begin.

Lich. Cov. And when they affirm any thing, and we ſay nay, the Proof belongeth to them, and ſo it behoveth them to ſhew firſt what they affirm, and for what Cauſe or Purpoſe.

L. Keeper. Here reſteth our Purpoſe and whole Matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, ſince it was determined ye ſhould begin.

Lich. Cov. We heard of no ſuch Order.

L. Keeper. No? Yes, and in the firſt Queſtion ye began willingly. How cometh it to paſs that ye will not do ſo now?

Cheſter. Then had we the Affirmation, which ſince that our Adverſaries have now, they ſhould now begin.

This the Proteſtants deny'd, ſaying, that they in the firſt Day had the Negative, wherein they did not yet refuſe to begin.

L. Keeper. If you have any thing to ſay, my Lords, to the Purpoſe, ſay on.

Lich. A particular Sort of Men can never break an univerſal Church, which we now maintain: And as for theſe Men, our adverſary Part, I never thought that they would have done ſo much as have named themſelves to be of the catholick Church, challenging the Name as well as we.

Proteſtants. We do ſo, and we are of the true catholick Church, and maintain the Verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all catholick Order.

Horne. I wonder that ye ſo much ſtand who ſhould begin.

Lincoln. You count it requiſite that we ſhould follow your Orders, as we have taken the Queſtions at your Hands, in that Manner as you have aſſigned them.

Lich. Cov. Yea, even ſo we be driven to do now.

L. Keeper. Nay, I judge if ye mark the Matter well, the Queſtions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your Device to them, but equally offered to you both.

Horne. Indeed, my Lords of the Queen's moſt honourable Privy Council, theſe Queſtions or Propoſitions were propoſed unto us by your Honours, and they then having the Preheminency, choſe to themſelves the Negative, and yet freely began firſt; now again why do they not the like?

Lichfield being very angry that he ſhould ſo ſpeak againſt them, went from the Matter, ſaying, My Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and you the reſt of the Queen's moſt honourable Council, I hope that you all, and the Queen's Majeſty herſelf, are inclined to favour the Verity in all Things, and the Truth of the Catholick Church, which we muſt and will do to the utmoſt of our Power, and to this Purpoſe let us now well weigh who are of the true catholick Church, they, or we.

L. Keeper. Tarry, now you go from the Matter, and make Queſtions of your own.

Lichfield going on with his Digreſſion, ſaid thus: We muſt needs go to work, and try that firſt, what Church they be of; for there are many Churches in *Germany*. Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Horne*, I pray you which of theſe Churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Chriſt's Catholick Church.

L. Keeper. Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary Talk of your own inventing, nor to deviſe new Queſtions of your own Appointment, and thereby enter into that Talk; ye ought not ſo to do. But ſay on, if you have any thing to ſay in this Matter.

Lich. Cov. Nay, we muſt firſt thus go to work with them, as I have ſaid, if that we will ſearch a Truth: Howbeit of the Truth we have no doubt, for that we aſſuredly ſtand in it. Theſe Men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they ſhould begin what they have to impugn or withſtand us withal.

Winch. Let them begin; ſo will we go onward with our Matter.

Cheſter. Otherwiſe, my Lords, if they ſhould not begin, but end the Talk, then would the Verity on our Sides be not ſo well marked; for they would depart, ſpeaking laſt, with the rejoycing Triumph of the People.

Winch. Therefore I am reſolved that they ſhall begin ere that we ſay any Thing.

Cheſter. I am ſorry, my Lords, that we ſhould ſo long ſtand in the Matter with your Honours, and make ſo many Words, and ſo much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: Howbeit there is no Indifferency if they begin not; and ſurely we think it meet, that they ſhould, for their Parts, give us Place.

Lichfield. Yea, that they ſhould, and ought to do, where any Indifferency is uſed.

Aelmer. We give you the Place (do we not?) and deprive you not of the Preheminence, becauſe you are Biſhops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Biſhop. A goodly giving of Place, I aſſure you: Yea marry, ye gave Place: Such Words they uſed with more Scoffs.

L. Keeper. If ye make this Aſſembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the Matter, let us riſe and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this Point give over.

I pray you my Lords, require not at our Hands that we ſhould be any Cauſe of Hinderance to our Religion, or give any ſuch evil Example to our Poſterity, which we ſhould do if we gave over to them, which in no wiſe we may, or will do.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With theſe Words the Biſhops were riſing. But then ſaid the Lord Keeper, let us ſee whether every one of you be thus minded. How ſay you my Lord of *Wincheſter*, will you not begin to read your Writing?

Winch. No ſurely, I am fully determined, and fully at a Point therein, howſoever my Brethren do.

Then the Lord Keeper asked the Biſhop of *Exeter* his Mind herein: Who anſwered that he was none of them. Then the Lord Keeper asked the others in Order; and firſt *Lincoln*, who ſaid he was of the ſame Mind that *Wincheſter* was of: And likewiſe anſwered *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, Dr. *Cole*, and Dr. *Chadſey*. Then *Cheſter*, being asked his Mind, ſaid, My Lords, I ſay not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it; yet I deſire your Honours not ſo to take it, as tho' I would not have read it. I meant not ſo.

L. Keeper. How ſay you to it, my Lord of *Carliſle*?

Carliſle. If they ſhould not read theirs this Day, ſo that our Writing may be laſt read, ſo am I contented that ours ſhall be firſt read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make Orders yourſelves, and appoint that we ſhould ſpend one Day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* was asked his Mind, who ſaid, if it pleaſe your Honours, I judge that my Lords here ſtay moſt on this Point, that they fear when they ſhall begin firſt, and the other anſwer thereupon, there ſhall be no Time given to them to ſpeak, which my Lord miſliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwiſe be in Talk appointed in ſuch Aſſembly and Audience: Think you that there can be continual anſwering one another? when ſhould it after that ſort have an End?

Lich. Coven. It muſt be ſo in Diſputation to ſeek out the Truth.

L. Keeper. But how ſay you my Lord Abbot, are you of the Mind it ſhall be read?

Abbot. Yea forſooth, my Lord, I am very well pleaſed withal. *Harpsfield* being inquired his Mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My Lords, ſince that ye are not willing, but refuſe to read your Writing after the Order taken, we will break up and depart: And for that ye will not that we ſhould hear you, you may perhaps ſhortly hear of us.

Thus have we declared the Order and Manner of this Conference at *Weſtminſter*, between theſe two Parties, wherein if any Law or Order were broken, judge (good Reader) where the Fault was, and conſider withal what theſe Papiſts be, from whom if ye take away their Sword and Authority, you ſee all their Cunning, how ſoon it lieth in the Duſt, or elſe why would they not abide the Trial of Writing? Why would they, or durſt they not ſtand to the Order agreed upon? Whether ſhould we ſay Ignorance or Stubbornneſs to be in them more, or both together? who firſt being gently (as is ſaid) and favourably required to keep the Order appointed, they would not. Then being ſecondly (as appeared by the Lord Keeper's Words) preſſed more earneſtly, they neither regarding the Authority, *&c.* of that Place, nor their own Reputation, nor the Credit of the Cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart diſtinctly by Name required to underſtand their Opinions therein, they all except one (which was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having ſome more Conſideration of Order and his Duty of Obedience than the reſt) utterly and plainly deny'd to have their Book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than others, ſo alſo ſome others more undiſcreetly and more unreverently than others. Whereupon giving ſuch Example of Diſorder, Stubbornneſs, and Self-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable Aſſembly, being of the two Eſtates of this Realm, the Nobility and Commons, beſides the Preſence of the Queen's Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, the ſame Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the godly and moſt Chriſtian Purpoſe of the Queen's Majeſty made fruſtrate. And afterward, for the Contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, having obſtinately both diſobey'd common Authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own Order, and eſpecially *Lincoln*, who ſhewed more Folly than the others, were condignly committed to the *Tower* of *London*, and the reſt (ſaving the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*) ſtood bound to make their perſonal Appearance daily before the Council, and not to depart the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, until further Order were taken with them for their Diſobedience and Contempt.

Beſides the former Proteſtation or Libel written and exhibited by the Proteſtants concerning the firſt Queſtion, there was alſo another Writing of the Proteſtants made of the ſecond Queſtion, but not publiſhed.

As theſe Biſhops above-named were committed to the *Tower*, ſo *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* about the ſame Time was committed to the *Marſhalſea*, where he both in his blind bloody Hereſy, and alſo in his deſerved Captivity, long remained, even till his Death.

About this Time, at the Beginning of the flouriſhing Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was a Parliament ſummoned and held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was much debating about Matters of Religion, and great Study on both Parts employ'd, the one to retain ſtill, the other to impugn the Doctrine and Faction which in Queen *Mary*'s Time had been eſtabliſhed. Yet notwithſtanding the great Induſtry of the Papiſts, by the Providence of God their Deſigns were fruſtrated, and the true Catholick Religion reſtored. Many of the Pope's Champions having been cut off by Death, their Power was much diminiſh'd; Dr. *Story* was one of the Chief that was left to ſtand up for his Maſter's Cauſe, as may be ſeen by his impudent Expreſſions (I can term them no better) in the Parliament-houſe.

The Sum of which ſhameleſs Talk was to this Effect: Firſt, beginning with himſelf, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great Doer, and a Setter forth of ſuch Religion, Orders, and Proceedings, as of his late Sovereign that is dead, Queen *Mary*, were ſet forth in this Realm, he denied not the ſame, proteſting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his Conſcience did lead him to, and alſo his Commiſſion did as well then command him, as now alſo doth diſcharge him for the ſame, being no leſs ready now alſo to do the like, and more, in caſe he by this Queen were authorized likewiſe, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I ſee (ſaith he) nothing to be aſhamed of, ſo leſs I ſee to be ſorry for, but rather ſaid that he was ſorry for this, becauſe he had done no more than he did, and that in executing thoſe Laws they had not been more vehement and ſevere. Wherein he ſaid there was no Default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earneſtly had exhorted to the ſame, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little Sprigs and Twigs, while they ſhould have ſtricken at the Root, and clean have rooted it out, *&c.* And concerning his perſecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an Earwig (for ſo he termed a Proteſtant) at *Uxbridge*, where he toſt a Fagot at his Face as he was ſinging Pſalms, and ſet a Winebuſh of Thorns under his Feet, a little to prick him, with many other Words of like Effect. In which Words he named moreover Sir *Philip Hobby*, and another Knight of *Kent*, with ſuch other of the richer and higher Degree, whom his Counſel was to pluck at, and to bring them under Coram, wherein (ſaid he) if they had followed my Advice, then had they done well and wiſely. This, or much like was the Effect of the ſhameleſs and tyrannical Excuſe of himſelf, more meet to ſpeak with the Voice of a Beaſt, than a Man.

Although in this Parliament ſome Diverſity there was of Judgment and Opinion between Parties, yet notwithſtanding, through the merciful Goodneſs of God, the true Cauſe of the Goſpel had the Upperhand, the Papiſts Hope was fruſtrated, and their Rage abated, the Order and Proceedings of King *Edward*'s Time concerning Religion was revived again, the Supremacy of the Pope aboliſhed, the Articles and bloody Statutes of Queen *Mary* repealed; briefly, the furious Fire-brands of cruel Perſecution, which had conſumed ſo many poor Mens Bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old Biſhops were depoſed, for that they refuſed the Oath in renouncing the Pope, and not ſubſcribing to the Queen's juſt and lawful Title. In whoſe Rooms and Places, firſt for Cardinal *Poole* ſucceeded Dr. *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; in the place of *Heath* ſucceeded Dr. *Young*; inſtead of *Bonner*, *Edmund Grindall* was Biſhop of *London*; for *Hopton*, *Thurlby*, *Tonſtall*, *Pates*, *Chriſtopherſon*, *Peto*, *Coates*, *Morgan*, *Feaſie*, *White*, *Oglethorpe*, &c. were placed Dr. *John Parkhurſt* in *Norwich*, Dr. *Coxe* in *Ely*, *Jewel* in *Salisbury*, *Pilkenton* in *Durham*, Dr. *Sands* in *Worceſter*, Mr. *Downam* in *Weſtcheſter*, *Bentam* in *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *David* in *St. Davids*, *Ally* in *Exeter*, *Horne* in *Wincheſter*, *Scory* in *Hereford*, *Beſt* in *Carliſle*, *Bullingham* in *Lincoln*, *Scamler* in *Peterborough*, *Bartlet* in *Bath*, *Geſt* in *Rocheſter*, *Barlo* in *Chicheſter*, &c.

A Treatiſe of Mr. Nicholas Ridley, *in the Name of the whole Clergy, to King* Edward *the Sixth, concerning Images not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped in Churches.*

Certain Reaſons which move us that we cannot with ſafe Conſciences give our Aſſent, that the Images of Chriſt, &c. *ſhould be placed and erected in Churches.*

FIRST, the Words of the Commandment, *Exod.* 20. *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven Image,* &c. And the ſame is repeated more plainly, *Deut.* 27. *Curſed is the Man which maketh a molten Image,* &c. *and ſetteth it in a ſecret Place*; and all the People ſhall ſay, *Amen.*

In the firſt Place, theſe Words are to be noted, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf*, that is, to any Uſe of Religion.

In the latter Place, theſe Words, *And ſetteth it in a ſecret Place*; for no Man durſt then commit Idolatry openly. So that conferring the Places, it doth evidently appear, that Images both for Uſe of Religion, and in place of Peril for Idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the Inclination of Man to Idolatry, ſheweth the Reaſon why he made his general Prohibition, leſt peradventure thou being deceived, ſhouldſt bow down to them and worſhip them.

This general Law is generally to be obſerved, notwithſtanding that peradventure a great Number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the Example following.

God forbad the People to join their Children in Marriage with Strangers, adding the Reaſon; *For ſhe will ſeduce thy Son, that he ſhall not follow me*, Deut. 7.

Moſes was not deceived or ſeduced by *Jethro*'s Daughter, nor *Boaz* by *Ruth*, being a Woman of *Moab*. And yet for all that, the general Law was to be obſerved, *Thou ſhalt join no Marriage with them.* And ſo likewiſe, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven Image*, &c.

Deut. 4. God giveth a ſpecial Charge to avoid Images. *Beware* (ſaith he) *that thou forget not the Covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and ſo make to thyſelf any graven Image of any Thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a conſuming Fire, and a jealous God.*

If thou have Children and Nephews, and do well in the Land, and being deceived, do make to yourſelves any graven Image, doing Evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to Anger, I do this Day call Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that you ſhall quickly periſh out of the Land which ye ſhall poſſeſs, ye ſhall not dwell in it any longer Time, but the Lord will deſtroy you, and ſcatter you amongſt all Nations.

Note what ſolemn Obteſtation God uſeth, and what grievous Puniſhments he threatneth to the Breakers of the ſecond Commandment.

In the Tabernacle and Temple of God no Image was by God appointed openly to be ſet, nor by Practice afterwards uſed or permitted, ſo long as Religion was purely obſerved; ſo that the Uſe and Execution of the Law is a good Interpreter of the true Meaning of the ſame.

If by virtue of the ſecond Commandment Images were not lawful in the Temple of the *Jews*, then by the ſame Commandment they are not lawful in the Churches of Chriſtians. For being a moral Commandment, and not ceremonial (for by Conſent of Writers, only a part of the Precept of obſerving the Sabbath is ceremonial) it is a perpetual Commandment, and bindeth us as well as the *Jews.*

The *Jews* by no Means would conſent to *Herod*, *Pilate* or *Petronius*, that Images ſhould be placed in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, but rather offered themſelves to the Death, than to aſſent unto it. Who, beſides that they are commended by *Joſephus* for obſerving the Meaning of the Law, would not have indangered themſelves ſo far, if they had thought Images had been indifferent in the Temple of God. For as St. *Paul* ſaith, 2 *Cor.* 6. *What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols*; Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. lib. 18. cap. 5. & 15.

God's Scripture doth in no Place commend the Uſe of Images, but in a great Number of Places doth diſallow and condemn them. They are called in the Book of *Wiſdom*, *The Trap and Snare of the Feet of the Ignorant.*

It is ſaid that the Invention of them was the Beginning of ſpiritual Fornication: And that they were not from the Beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the End. In the 15th Chapter of the aforeſaid Book, it is ſaid to be a Labour without Fruit. And again, *They are worthy of Death both that put their Truſt in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worſhip them.*

The Pſalms and Prophets are full of like Sentences, and how can we then praiſe the Thing which God's Spirit doth always diſpraiſe?

Furthermore, an Image made by a Father (as appeareth in the ſame Book) for the Memorial of his Son departed, was the firſt Invention of Images, and Occaſion of Idolatry, *Wiſdom* 14.

How much more then ſhall an Image made in the Memory of Chriſt, and ſet up in the Place of Religion, occaſion the ſame Offence? *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 7. *cap.* 18. Images have their Beginning from the Heathen, and of no good Ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to Chriſtians. Whereunto *Athanaſius* agreeth, writing of Images againſt the Gentiles, The Invention of Images (ſaith he) came of no Good, but of Evil, and whatſoever hath an evil Beginning, can never in any Thing be good, ſeeing it is wholly naught.

St. *John* ſaith, My little Children, beware of Images: But to ſet them in the Churches, which are Places dedicated to the Service and Invocation of God, and that over the Lord's Table, being the higheſt and moſt honourable Place, where moſt Danger of Abuſe both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. *Tertullian* expounding the ſame Words, writeth thus, Little Children, keep yourſelves from the Shape itſelf, or Form of them.

Images in the Church either ſerve to edify or to deſtroy. If they edify, then there is one kind of Edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always diſallow; if they deſtroy, they are not to be uſed; for in the Church of God all Things ought to be done to edify, 1 *Cor.* 14.

The Commandment of God is, Thou ſhalt not lay a Stumbling-block or a Stone before the Blind: And curſed is he that maketh the Blind wander in his Way.

The ſimple and unlearned People, who have been ſo long under blind Guides, are blind in Matters of Religion, and inclined to Error and Idolatry. Therefore to ſet Images before them to ſtumble at (*They be Snares and Traps for the Feet of the Ignorant*) or to lead them out of the true Way, is not only againſt the Commandment of God, but deſerveth alſo the Malediction and Curſe of God, *Wiſd.* 14.

The Uſe of Images is to the learned and confirmed in Knowledge, neither neceſſary nor profitable. To the Superſtitious a Confirmation in Error; to the Simple and Weak an Occaſion of Fall, and very offenſive and wounding of their Conſciences; and therefore very dangerous. For St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 9. *offending the Brethren, and wounding their weak Conſciences,*

they

they ſin againſt Chriſt. And *Matth.* 18. *Wo be to him by whom Offence or Occaſion of falling cometh, it were better that a Millſtone were tied about his Neck, and he caſt into the Sea, than to offend one of the little Ones that believe in Chriſt.* And where Objection may be made, that ſuch Offence may be taken away by ſincere Doctrine and Preaching; it is to be anſwered, that that is not ſufficient, as hereafter more at large ſhall appear.

And tho' it ſhould be admitted as true, yet would it follow, that ſincere Doctrine and Preaching ſhould always and in all Places continue as well as Images; and ſo whereſoever an Image to offend were erected, there ſhould alſo of Reaſon a godly and ſincere Preacher be continually maintained: For it is Reaſon that the Remedy be as large as the Offence, the Medicine as general as the Poiſon, but that is not poſſible in the Realm of *England*, that Images ſhould be generally allowed, as Reaſon and Experience may teach.

As good Magiſtrates, which intend to baniſh all Whoredom, do drive away all naughty Perſons, eſpecially out of ſuch Places as be ſuſpected; even ſo Images, being Whores, for that the worſhipping of them is called in the Prophets Fornication and Adultery, ought to be baniſhed, and eſpecially out of Churches, which is the moſt ſuſpected Place, and where the ſpiritual Fornication hath been moſt committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the Thing which is hurtful to the greateſt Number, but in all Churches and Common-wealths the ignorant and weak are the greateſt Number, to whom Images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, that Images in Churches do ſtir up the Mind to Devotion, it may be anſwered, that contrariwiſe they do rather diſtract the Mind from Prayer, Hearing of God's Word, and other godly Meditations, as we read, that in the Council-chamber of the *Lacedemonians* no Picture or Image was ſuffered, leſt in Conſultation of weighty Matters of the Common-weal, their Minds by the Sight of the outward Image might be occaſioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the Matter.

The Experience of this preſent Time doth declare, that thoſe Parts of the Realm which think and are perſwaded that God is not offended by doing outward Reverence to an Image, do moſt deſire the Reſtitution of Images, and have been moſt diligent to ſet them up again: Reſtitution therefore of them by common Authority ſhall confirm them more in their Error to the Danger of their Souls, than ever they were before. For as one Man writeth, nothing is more certain or ſure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The Profit of Images is uncertain; the Peril, by Experience of all Ages and States of the Church (as afore) is moſt certain.

The Benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very ſmall; the Danger in ſeeing of them, which is the Danger of Idolatry, is the greateſt of all other. Now to allow a moſt certain Peril, for an uncertain Profit, and the greateſt Danger for the ſmalleſt Benefit, in Matters of Faith and Religion, is a tempting to God, and a grievous Offence.

Probations out of the Fathers, Councils, and Hiſtories.

FIRST, it is manifeſt, that in the Primitive Church Images were not commonly uſed in Churches, Oratories, and Places of Aſſembly for Religion; but they were generally deteſted and abhorred, inſomuch that the Want of Imagery was objected to the Chriſtians for a Crime.

Origen reporteth, that *Celſus* objected the Lack of Images, *Lib.* 4. *contra Celſum.*

Arnobius ſaith alſo, That the *Ethnicks* accuſed the Chriſtians that they had neither Altars nor Images.

Zephirus in his Commentary upon the Apology of *Tertullian*, gathereth thus of *Tertullian*'s Words, which Place of Perſwaſion were very cold, and to no Purpoſe at all, except we hold this always, that Chriſtians in thoſe Days did hate moſt of all Images with their trim Decking and Ornaments.

Ireneus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. reproveth the Hereticks called *Gnoſtici*, for that they carried about the Image of Chriſt made in *Pilate*'s Time after his own Proportion (which were much more to be eſteemed than any that can be made now) uſing alſo for Declaration of their Affection towards it, to ſet Garlands upon the Head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly, *Inſtit. cap.* 19. That it is not to be doubted, that there is no Religion whereſoever is any Image. If Chriſtians then had uſed Images, he would not have made his Propoſition ſo large.

St. *Auguſtine*, *De Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 31. commendeth *Varro* the *Roman* in theſe Words: When as *Varro* thought Religion might be kept more purely without Images, who doth not ſee how near he came to the Truth? So that not only by M. *Varro*'s Judgment, but alſo by St. *Auguſtine*'s Approbation, the moſt pure and chaſte Obſervation of Religion, and neareſt the Truth, is to be without Images.

The ſame St. *Auguſtine* in *Pſal.* 113. hath theſe Words: Images have more Force to bow down and crook the ſilly Soul, than to teach it.

And upon the ſame Pſalm he moveth this Queſtion, Every Child, yea every Beaſt knoweth that it is not God which they ſee, why then doth the Holy Ghoſt ſo oft give Warning to beware of that Thing which all do know.

St. *Auguſtine*'s Anſwer.

For when they are ſet in Churches, and begin once to be worſhipped of the Multitude or common People, ſtraightway ſpringeth up a moſt filthy Affection of Error.

This Place of St. *Auguſtine* doth well open how weak a Reaſon it is to ſay, Images are a Thing indifferent in Chambers and in Churches. For the Alteration of the Place, Manner, and other Circumſtances, doth alter oftentimes the Nature of the Thing. It is lawful to buy and ſell in the Market, but not ſo in Churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not ſo in Churches. And therefore ſaith St. *Paul*, *Have you not Houſes to eat and drink in? do you contemn the Church of God?*

Many other Actions there be which are lawful and honeſt in private Places, which are neither comely nor honeſt, not only in Churches, but alſo in other Aſſemblies of honeſt People.

Tertullian ſaith, he uſed ſometimes to burn Frankincenſe in his Chamber, which was then uſed of Idolaters, and is yet in the *Roman* Churches, but he joyneth withal, but not after ſuch a Rite or Ceremony, nor after ſuch a Faſhion, nor with ſuch Preparation or Sumptuouſneſs, as is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and ſet in an honourable Place of Eſtimation, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, and eſpecially over the Lord's Table, which is done (uſing the Words of *Tertullian*) after the ſame Manner and Faſhion which the Papiſts did uſe, eſpecially after ſo long Continuance of Abuſe of Images, and ſo many being blinded with ſuperſtitious Opinion towards them, cannot be counted a Thing indifferent, but a moſt certain Ruin of many Souls

Epiphanius in his Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (which Epiſtle was tranſlated out of the *Greek* by St. *Jerom*, being a Likelihood that *Jerom* miſliked not the Doctrine of the ſame) doth write a Fact of his

his own, which doth moſt clearly declare the Judgment of that notable learned Biſhop concerning the Uſe of Images, his Words are theſe: When I came to a Village called *Anablatha*, and ſaw there, as I paſſed by, a Candle burning, and enquiring what Place it was, and learning that it was a Church, and had entered into the ſame to pray, I found there a Vail or Cloth hanging at the Door of the ſame Church, dyed and painted, having on it the Image of Chriſt as it were, or of ſome Saint (for I remember not well whoſe it was.) Then when I ſaw this, that in the Church of Chriſt, againſt the Authority of the Scriptures, the Image of a Man did hang, I cut it in Pieces, *&c.* And commanded that ſuch manner of Vails or Clothes, which are contrary to our Religion, be not hanged in the Church of Chriſt.

Out of this Place of *Epiphanius* divers Notes are to be obſerved.

Firſt, that by the Judgment of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches is againſt the Authority of the Scriptures, meaning againſt the ſecond Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven Image*, &c.

Secondly, That *Epiphanius* doth reject not only graven or molten, but alſo painted Images: Forſomuch as he cut in Pieces the Image painted in a Vail hanging at the Church-door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's Table?

Thirdly, That he ſpareth not the Image of Chriſt: For no doubt that Image is moſt perillous in the Church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a Vehemency of Zeal cut it in Pieces, following the Example of the good King *Ezechias*, who brake the brazen Serpent, and burnt it to Aſhes.

Laſt of all, That *Epiphanius* thinketh it the Duty of vigilant Biſhops to be careful, that no kind of Images be permitted in the Church.

Serenus Biſhop of *Maſſilia* broke down Images, and deſtroyed them when he ſaw them begin to be worſhipped, *Greg.* in *regiſt. epiſt.* 109.

Experience of the Times ſince hath declared, whether of theſe two Sentences were better. For ſince *Gregorius*'s Time, the Images ſtanding in the Weſt-church, it hath been overflowed with Idolatry, notwithſtanding his or other Mens Doctrine: Whereas if *Serenus*'s Judgment had univerſally taken Place, no ſuch Thing had happened. For if no Images had been ſuffered, none could have been worſhipped: And conſequently, no Idolatry committed by them.

It is manifeſt to them that read Hiſtories, that not only Emperors, but alſo divers and ſundry Councils in the Eaſt-church have condemned and aboliſhed Images both by Decrees and Examples.

Petrus Crinitus in his Book of honeſt Diſcipline, Book 9. chap. 9. wrote out of the Emperors Books theſe Words: *Valens* and *Theodoſius* the Emperors wrote to the High-marſhal or Lieutenant in this ſort. Whereas we are very careful that the Religion of Almighty God ſhould be in all Things kept, we permit no Man to caſt, grave, or paint the Image of our Saviour Chriſt, either in Colours, Stone, or other Matter; but whereſoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, puniſhing them moſt grievouſly that ſhall attempt any Thing contrary to our Decrees and Empire.

Leo the third, a Man commended in Hiſtories for his excellent Virtues and Godlineſs, who (as is judged of ſome Men) was the Author of the Book *De re militari*, that is, of the Feat of War, being tranſlated out of the *Greek* by Sir *John Cheeke*, and dedicated to King *Henry* the Eighth, your Highneſſes Father, by publick Authority, commanded aboliſhing of Images; and in *Conſtantinople* cauſed all the Images to be gathered together on a Heap, and burned them to Aſhes.

Conſtantine the firſt his Son, aſſembled a Council of the Biſhops of the Eaſt-church; in which Council it was decreed as followeth. It is not lawful for them that believe in God thro' *Jeſus Chriſt*, to have any Images, either of the Creator, or of any Creatures ſet up in Temples to be worſhipped, but rather that all Images by the Law of God, and for the avoiding of Offence, ought to be taken out of Churches. Which Decree was executed in all Places where any Images were, either in *Greece* or in *Aſia*. But in all theſe Times, the Biſhops of *Rome* rather maintaining the Authority of *Gregory*, weighing like Chriſtian Biſhops the Peril of the Church, always in their Aſſemblies allowed Images.

Not long after, the Biſhop of *Rome*, practiſing with *Tharaſſus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, obtained of *Irene* the Empreſs, her Son *Conſtantine* being then young, that a Council was called at *Nice*, in which the Pope's Legates were Preſidents, which appeared well by their Fruits: For in that Council it was decreed, That Images ſhould not only be permitted in Churches, but alſo worſhipped: Which Council was confuted by a Book written by *Carolus Magnus* the Emperor, calling it a fooliſh and an ignorant Council.

Soon after this Council, aroſe a ſharp Contention between *Irene* the Empreſs, and her Son *Conſtantine* the Sixth, the Emperor, who deſtroyed Images. And in the End, as ſhe had before wickedly burned the Bones of her Father-in-law, *Conſtantine* the Fifth, ſo afterward unnaturally ſhe put out the Eyes of her Son *Conſtantine* the Sixth.

About which Time, as *Eutropius* writeth, the Sun was darkned moſt terribly for the Space of ſeventeen Days, God ſhewing, by that dreadful Sign, how much he miſliked that kind of proceeding.

To be ſhort, there was never Thing that made more Diviſion, or brought more Miſchief into the Church, than the Controverſy of Images: By reaſon whereof, not only the Eaſt-church was divided from the Weſt, and never ſince perfectly reconciled, but alſo the Empire was cut aſunder and divided, and the Gate opened to the *Saracens* and *Turks* to enter and overcome a great Piece of *Chriſtendom*. The Fault whereof moſt juſtly is to be aſcribed to the Patrons of Images, who could not be contented with the Example of the primitive Church, being moſt ſimple and ſincere, and moſt agreeable to the Scripture: (for as *Tertullian* ſaith, That as is firſt, is true, and that that is latter is counterfeit.) But with all Extremity maintained the Uſe of Images in Churches, whereof no Profit nor Conveniency did ever grow to the Church of God. For it is evident, that infinite Millions of Souls have been caſt into eternal Damnation by the Occaſion of Images uſed in place of Religion, and no Hiſtory can record, that ever any one Soul was won unto Chriſt by having of Images. But leſt it might appear that the Weſt-church had always generally retained and commended Images, it is to be noted, that in a Council holden in *Spain*, called *Concilium Eliberinum*, the Uſe of Images in Churches was clearly prohibited in theſe Form of Words; We decree, that Pictures ought not to be in Churches, leſt that be painted upon the Walls which is worſhipped or adored.

But this notwithſtanding Experience hath declared, that neither aſſembling in Councils, neither Writings, Preachings, Decrees, making of Laws, preſcribing of Puniſhments, hath holpen againſt Images, to which Idolatry hath been committed, nor againſt Idolatry whilſt Images ſtood. For theſe blind Books and dumb School-maſters (which they call Lay-mens Books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of Idolatry, than all other written

Books and Preachings in teaching the Truth, and the Horror of that Vice.

Having thus declared unto your Highneſs a few Cauſes of many which do move our Conſciences in this Matter; we beſeech your Highneſs moſt humbly not to ſtrain us any further, but to conſider that God's Word doth threaten a terrible Judgment unto us, if we, being Paſtors and Miniſters in his Church, ſhould aſſent unto the Thing which in our Learning and Conſcience we are perſuaded doth tend to the Confirmation of Error, Superſtition and Idolatry: And finally, to the Ruin of the Souls committed to our Charge, for which we muſt give an Account to the Prince of Paſtors at the laſt Day, *Hebrews* 12. 1 *Pet.* 5. We pray your Majeſty alſo not to be offended with this our Plainneſs and Liberty, which all good and Chriſtian Princes have ever taken in good Part at the Hands of godly Biſhops.

Saint *Ambroſe* writing to *Theodoſius* the Emperor, uſeth theſe Words, But neither is it the Part of an Emperor to deny free Liberty of ſpeaking, nor yet the Duty of a Prieſt not to ſpeak what he thinketh. And again; in God's Cauſe whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the Prieſt, to whoſe great peril the Fault ſhould be committed? Who dare ſay the Truth unto thee, if the Prieſt dare not? Theſe and ſuch like Speeches of St. *Ambroſe*, *Theodoſius*, and *Valentinianus* the Emperors did always take in good Part, and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, of whoſe not only Clemency, but alſo Beneficence, we have largely taſted.

We beſeech your Majeſty alſo, in theſe and ſuch like Controverſies of Religion, to refer the Diſcuſſment and deciding of them to a Synod of our Biſhops and other godly learned Men, according to the Example of *Conſtantinus Maximus*, and other Chriſtian Emperors, that the Reaſons of both Parts being examined by them, the Judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful Matters.

And to return to this preſent Matter, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, that beſides weighty Cauſes in Policy, which we leave to the Wiſdom of your honourable Counſellors, the Eſtabliſhment of Images by your Authority ſhall not only utterly diſcredit our Miniſters, as Builders up of the Things which we have deſtroyed, but alſo blemiſh the Fame of your moſt godly Father, and ſuch notable Fathers as have given their Life for the Teſtimony of God's Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and everlaſting God plentifully indue your Majeſty with his Spirit and heavenly Wiſdom, and long preſerve your moſt gracious Reign and proſperous Government over us, to the Advancement of his Glory, to the Overthrow of Superſtition, and to the Benefit and Comfort of all your Highneſs's loving Subjects.

Note, Dr. *Ridley* ſometime Biſhop of *London* was a Man ſo reverenced for his Learning and Knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very Enemies have reported him to have been an excellent Scholar, whoſe Life if it might have been redeemed with the Sum of 10,000 Marks, yea, 10,000 Pounds, the Lord *Dacres* of the *North*, being his Kinſman, would have given it to Queen *Mary*, rather than he ſhould have been burned. And yet was ſhe ſo unmerciful, for all his Gentleneſs in King *Edward*'s Days, that it would not be granted for any Sute that could be made. Oh, that ſhe had remembred his Labour for her to King *Edward* the Sixth, with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, in ſuch ſort that even ſhe had yielded but the Reward of a Publican, *Mat.* 5. then had the Earth not ſo been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our Sins which were the Cauſe thereof, and grant that we never ſo provoke his Anger again, if it be his bleſſed Will, *Amen.*

The Oration of Sir Nicholas Bacon, *Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England, *ſpoken in the Star-Chamber the 29th of* December, *in the 10th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen* Elizabeth, *in the Year of our Lord God* 1567. *Then being preſent.*

Matthew Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*
William Marqueſs of *Northampton.*
Francis Earl of *Bedford.*
Lord *Clinton* Admiral of *England.*
William Howard Lord Chamberlain.
Biſhop of *London.*
Lord *Gray* of *Wilton.*
Sir *Edward Rogers*, Knight.
Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy.
Sir *William Cecil*, Knight, principal Secretary.
Sir *Francis Knolls*, Knight, Vice-chamberlain.
Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord *Cattelene*, Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench.
Lord *Dyer*, chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas.
Sir *William Cordale*, Knight, Maſter of the Rolls.
Juſtice *Weſton*, Juſtice *Welch*, Juſtice *Southcotes*, Juſtice *Carowes.*

IT is given to the Queen's Majeſty to underſtand, that certain of her Subjects by their evil Diſpoſitions do ſow and ſpread abroad divers Seditions, to the Derogation and Diſhonour of Almighty God, in the State of Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Realm, and alſo to the Diſhonour of her Highneſs, in diſproving her lawful Right of Supremacy amongſt her Subjects. And this that they do, is not done as in Secrecy or by Stealth, but openly avouched, and in all Companies diſputed on. And thus by their bold Attempts they ſeem not to obey or regard the Authority of Laws, nor the Quiet of her Subjects. As for Example, by bringing in and ſpreading abroad divers lewd Libels, and ſeditious Books from byond the Seas, and in ſuch Boldneſs, that they do commend thoſe Writers in their ſeditious Books, containing manifeſt Matter againſt the Eſtate eſtabliſhed. Which Boldneſs of Men, ſo univerſally and every where ſeen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the Comfort and Aid, or at the leaſt winkt at by them whom the Queen's Highneſs hath placed in Authority to repreſs theſe Inſolencies. And the Queen's Highneſs cannot more juſtly charge any for this Diſorder, than ſuch who be in Commiſſions choſen to repreſs theſe Diſorders. If it be anſwered me, that they cannot ſee ſuch open Boldneſs and factious Diſorders, I muſt ſay that they have no Eyes to ſee: And if they hear not of ſuch contemptuous Talk I may ſay that they have no Ears. I would have thoſe Men judge what will come of theſe unbridled Speeches in the End, if Reformations be not had thereof. What cometh of Factions and Seditions, we have been taught of late Years, and what the Fruits thereof be, which I beſeech God long to defend us from. If ſuch Diſorders be not redreſſed by Law, then muſt Force and Violence reform. Which when they take Place, may happen to fall as ſoon on them that ſeem to have leaſt Conſideration in this Matter. If Force and Violence prevail, then ye know that Law is pu to Silence, and cannot be executed, which ſhould only maintain good Order. If it be reply'd againſt me, that to the ſuppreſſing of theſe open Talks there is

no Law, which by ſpecial Letter can charge any Man Offender; I muſt ſay, that whatſoever the Letter of the Law be, the Meaning of the Law was and is clean contrary to the Liberty of theſe Doings. If it be ſaid, that no Man can be charged by the Law, except it can be proved againſt him, that his Speech and Deeds be done maliciouſly; what ye call Malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of theſe ſeditious Books make Mens Minds to be at Variance one with another, Diſtraction of Minds maketh Seditions, Seditions bring in Tumults, Tumults work Inſurrections and Rebellion, Inſurrections make Depopulations and Deſolations, and bring in utter Ruin and Deſtruction of Mens Bodies, Goods, and Lands: And if any ſow the Root whereof theſe Men come, and yet it can be ſaid that he hath no Malice, or that he doth not maliciouſly labour to deſtroy both publick and private Wealth, I cannot tell what Act may be thought to be done maliciouſly. And further, if it be ſaid to me, that the Man whoſhould be charged with Offence, muſt be proved to have done his Act adviſedly: To that I anſwer, if any bring in thoſe Books, diſtribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done adviſedly, I have no Skill of their Adviſedneſs. If it be ſaid, that the Law treateth of ſuch Acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthwarting the Law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the Truth by Arguments condemned? It may be ſaid again, that the World doth not now like Extremity in Laws penal, and calleth them bloody Laws. As for extream and bloody Laws, I never liked of them; but where the Execution of ſuch Laws toucheth half a Dozen Offenders, and the non Execution may bring in Danger half an hundred, I think this Law nor the Execution thereof may juſtly be called extream and bloody. In ſuch like Compariſon I may utter my Meaning, as to make a Difference between Whipping and Hanging. Indeed, though Whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a Man may eſcape hanging, in this reſpect, not whipping bringeth in this Bloodineſs and Extremity, and not the Execution of the Law, and better it were, a Man to be twice whipped, than once hanged: The Pains do differ, but wiſe Men will ſoon conſider the Diverſity. The Truth is, to ſuffer diſobedient Subjects to take Boldneſs againſt the Laws of God and their Prince, to wink at the obſtinate Minds of ſuch as be unbridled in their Affections; to maintain a foreign Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, directly againſt the Prince's Prerogative eſtabliſhed by Laws, is not this to hatch Diſſention, and to cheriſh Sedition? To extol the Writings of ſuch, who by all their Wits deviſe to ſupplant the Prince's lawful Authority. If theſe Doings be not Means to the Diſturbance and utter Ruin of this Realm, I know not what is good Government. If theſe be not the Sparks of Rebellion, what be they? Thus much having ſpoken to your Wiſdoms, I doubt not of your aſſenting with me; the rather alſo becauſe I utter them unto you as from the Queen's Majeſty by Commandment, who doth require of us all more Diligence in Execution of Laws, than commonly hath been obſerved: Whereby we ſhall do our Duty to Almighty God the better, declare our Allegiance to our Sovereign, regard the Majeſty of the Laws, love the Quiet of our Country, and procure the Safety of ourſelves.

God ſave the Queen.

A true Report of the Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins, *an* Engliſhman, *at* Rome.

ABOUT the Month of *July*, *Anno* 1581, one *Richard Atkins* born in *Hertfordſhire*, an *Engliſhman*, came to *Rome*, and having found the *Engliſh* College, knocked at the Door, to whom divers of the Students there came out, to welcome him, underſtanding that he was an *Engliſhman*. They willed him to go to the Hoſpital, and there to receive his Meat and Lodging, according as the Order was appointed: Whereunto he anſwered, I come not (my Countrymen) to any ſuch Intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great Miſorder of your Lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewiſe to let your proud *Antichriſt* underſtand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majeſty, rob God of his Honour, and poiſoneth the whole World with his abominable Blaſphemies, making them do Homage to Stocks and Stones, and that filthy Sacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh Idol. When they heard theſe Words, one *Hugh Griffin*, a *Welchman*, and Student in the College, cauſed him to be put in the Inquiſition? Where, how they examined him, and how he anſwered them I know not, but after certain Days he was ſet at Liberty again and one Day going in the Street, he met a Prieſt carrying the Sacrament; which offended his Conſcience, to ſee the People ſo crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down, but miſſing of his Purpoſe, and it being judged by the People, that he did catch at the Holineſs that (they ſay) cometh from the Sacrament, upon meer Devotion, he was let paſs, and nothing ſaid to him: Few Days after he came to St. *Peter*'s Church, where divers Gentlemen and others were hearing Maſs, and the Prieſt at the Elevation; he uſing no Reverence, ſtepped among the People to the Altar, and threw down the Chalice with the Wine, ſtriving likewiſe to have pulled the Cake out of the Prieſt's Hands; for which divers roſe up and beat him with their Fiſts, and one drew his Rapier, and would have ſlain him: So that in brief he was carried to Priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed ſuch a heinous Offence; whereunto he anſwered, that he came purpoſely for that Intent, to rebuke the Pope's Wickedneſs and their Idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which Sentence (he ſaid) he was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the Sum of his Offence pertained to the Glory of God. During the Time he remained in Priſon, ſundry *Engliſhmen* came unto him, willing him to be ſorry for what he had done, and to recant from his damnable Opinion; but all the Means they uſed were in vain, he confuted their Dealings by divers Places of Scripture, and willed them to be ſorry for their Wickedneſs, while God did permit them Time, elſe they were in Danger of everlaſting Damnation; theſe Words made the *Engliſhmen* depart: For they could not abide to hear them. Within awhile after, he was ſet upon an Aſs without any Saddle, he being from the Middle upward naked, having ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the People in as good Language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong Way, and willed them for Chriſt's Sake to have regard to the ſaving of their Souls. All the Way as he went, there were four that did nothing elſe but thruſt at his Body with burning Torches, whereat he never moved, nor ſhrunk one Jot, but with a chearful Countenance laboured to perſuade the People, often bending his Body to meet the Torches, as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his own Hand, and hold them burning ſtill upon his Body, whereat the People not a little wondred. Thus he continued almoſt the Space of half a Mile, till he came before St. *Peter*'s, where the Place of Execution was. When he was come to the Place of Execution, there they had made a Device, not to make the Fire about him, but to burn his Legs firſt, which they did, he not diſmaying any whit, but ſuffered all marvellous chearfully; which moved the

he People to ſuch a Quandary as was not in *Rome* many a Day. Then they offered him a Croſs, and willed him to embrace it, in Token that he died a Chriſtian; but he put it away with his Hand, telling them that they were evil Men to trouble him with ſuch Paltry, when he was preparing himſelf to God, whom he beheld in Majeſty and Mercy, ready to receive him into eternal Reſt. They ſeeing him in this Mind, departed, ſaying, let us go and leave him to the Devil, whom he ſerves. Thus this faithful Soldier and Martyr of Chriſt ended his Days.

This is faithfully avouched by *John Young*, who was at that Time, and a good while after in *Rome*, in Service with Maſter Doctor *Morton*; who ſeeing the Martyrdom of this Man, when he came home to his Houſe, in Preſence of Mr. *Smith* his Son, Mr. *Creed*, and the ſaid *John Young*, ſpake as followeth: Surely this Fellow was marvellouſly obſtinate, he nothing regarded the good Counſel which was uſed to him, nor ſhrunk all the Way when the Torches were thruſt at his naked Body. Beſide, in the Place of Execution he did not faint nor cry one Jot in the Fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by Degrees, as his Legs firſt, to put him to the greater Pain; yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſs, but that the Word of God cannot be but true, elſe we might judge this Fellow to be of God; for who could have ſuffered ſo much Pain as he did? but truly I believe the Devil was in him.

The Life and Death of Dr. Story, *a cruel Perſecutor.*

THIS Dr. *Story* being an *Engliſhman* by Birth, and from his Infancy not only nurſled in Popery, but alſo even as it were by Nature earneſtly affected to the ſame, and growing ſomewhat to riper Years, in the Days of Queen *Mary* became a bloody Tyrant, and cruel Perſecutor of Chriſt in his Members (as all the Stories in this Book almoſt do declare.) Thus he raging all the Reign of the foreſaid Queen *Mary* againſt the infallible Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel, and the true Profeſſors thereof, never ceaſed till he had conſumed to Aſhes two or three hundred bleſſed Martyrs, who willingly gave their Lives for the Teſtimony of his Truth; and thinking their Puniſhment in the Fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new Torments for the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuch was his Hatred to the Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel: But in the End the Lord God looking upon the Affliction and cruel Bloodſhedding of his Servants, took away Queen *Mary* the great Pillar of Popery. After whom ſucceeded Lady *Elizabeth*, now Queen of *England*, who ſtaying the bloody Sword of Perſecution from raging any further, cauſed the ſame Dr. *Story* to be apprehended, and committed to Priſon, with many other his Accomplices, ſworn Enemies to Chriſt's glorious Goſpel. The ſaid *Story* having been awhile detained in Priſon, at laſt, by what Means I know not, got out, and convey'd himſelf over the Seas, where he continued a moſt bloody Perſecutor, ſtill raging againſt God's Saints with Fire and Sword. Inſomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to Duke *d'Alva* in *Antwerp*, received ſpecial Commiſſion from him to ſearch the Ships for Goods forfeited, and for *Engliſh* Books, and ſuch like.

And in this Favour and Authority he continued there for a Space, by which Means he did much Hurt, and brought many a good Man and Woman to Trouble and extreme Peril of Life thro' his bloodthirſty Cruelty: But at laſt the Lord (when the Meaſure of his Iniquity was full) proceeded in Judgment againſt him, and cut him off from the Face of the Earth, according to the Prayers of many a good Man; which came to paſs in Order as followeth. It being certainly known that he not only intended the Subverſion and Overthrow of his native Country of *England*, by bringing in foreign Hoſtility, if by any Means he might compaſs it; but alſo daily and hourly murthered God's People, there was this Platform laid, that one Mr. *Parker*, a Merchant, ſhould ſail unto *Antwerp*, and by ſome Means convey *Story* into *England*.

This *Parker* arriving at *Antwerp*, ſent ſeveral Perſons to Dr. *Story*, to ſignify unto him, that there was an *Engliſh* Ship came, fraught with Merchandize, and that if he would make Search thereof himſelf, he ſhould find Store of *Engliſh* Books, and other Things for his Purpoſe. *Story* hearing this, and ſuſpecting nothing, made Haſte towards the Ship, thinking to make the ſame his Prey; and coming on board ſearched for *Engliſh* heretical Books (as he called them) and going down under the Hatches, becauſe he would be ſure to have their Blood if he could, they clapped down the Hatches, hoiſted up their Sails, having a good Gale, and ſailed away into *England*. Where they arriving, preſented this bloody Butcher, and traiterous Rebel *Story*, to the no little Rejoycing of many an *Engliſh* Heart. He being now committed to Priſon, continued there a good Space: During all which Time he was laboured and ſolicited daily by wiſe and learned Fathers, to recant his deviliſh and erroneous Opinions, to conform himſelf to the Truth, and to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the Death, ſaying, that he was ſworn Subject to the King of *Spain*, and was no Subject to the Queen of *England*, nor ſhe his Sovereign Queen; and therefore (as he well deſerved) he was condemned (as a Traitor to God, the Queen's Majeſty, and the Realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly; he being laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn from the *Tower* along the Streets to *Tyburn*, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and ſtripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the Executioner had cut off his privy Members, he ruſhing up upon a ſudden, gave him a Blow upon the Ear, to the great Wonder of all that ſtood by: And thus ended this bloody *Nimrod* his wretched Life, whoſe Judgment I leave to the Lord.

A brief Relation of the horrible Maſſacre in France, Anno 1572.

AND firſt for Brevity-ſake to overpaſs the bloody Butchery of the *Roman* Catholicks in *Orange* againſt the Proteſtants, moſt fiercely and unawares breaking into their Houſes, and there, without Mercy, killing Man, Woman and Child; of whom ſome being ſpoiled and naked, they threw out of their Lofts into the Streets; ſome they ſmothered in their Houſes with Smoak, with Sword and Weapon ſparing none, the Carcaſſes of ſome they threw to Dogs, which was in the Year 1570, in the Reign of *Charles* IX. Likewiſe to paſs over the cruel Slaughter at *Roan*, where the Proteſtants being at a Sermon without the City Walls upon the King's Edict, the Papiſts in Fury ran upon them coming home, and ſlew of them about 40 at leaſt, many more they wounded. This Example at *Roan*, ſtirred up the Papiſts in *Diepe*, to practiſe the like Rage alſo againſt the Chriſtians there returning from the Sermon; whoſe Slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wiſely before been provided of Weapons for their own Defence at Need. All which happened about the ſame Year aforeſaid, *Anno* 1570. But theſe with ſuch like I briefly overſlip, to enter now into the Matter above promiſed, that is, briefly to treat of the horrible and moſt barbarous Maſſacre wrought in *Paris*, ſuch as I ſuppoſe was never heard of before in any civil

Diſſenſion amongſt the very Heathen. In few Words to touch the Subſtance of the Matter.

After long Troubles in *France*, the Papiſts foreſeeing no Good to be done againſt the Proteſtants by open Force, began to deviſe how by crafty Means to entrap them, and that by two Manner of Ways; the one by pretending a Power to be ſent into the lower Country, whereof the Admiral to be the Captain; not that the King ſo meant indeed, but only to underſtand thereby what Power and Force the Admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their Names. The ſecond was by a certain Marriage ſuborned, between the Prince of *Navarre*, and the King's Siſter. To this pretenſed Marriage, it was deviſed that all the chief Proteſtants of *France* ſhould be invited, and meet in *Paris*. Among whom firſt they began with the Queen of *Navarre*, Mother to the Prince, that was to marry the King's Siſter, attempting by all Means poſſible to obtain her Conſent thereunto. She being then at *Rochel*, and allured by many fair Words to repair unto the King, conſented at length to come, and was received at *Paris*; where ſhe after much ado, at length being won to the King's Mind, and providing for the Marriage, ſhortly upon the ſame fell ſick, and within five Days departed, not without Suſpicion, as ſome ſaid, of Poiſon. But her Body being opened, no Sign of Poiſon could there be found, ſave only that a certain Apothecary made his Brag, that he had killed the Queen by certain venemous Odours and Smells by him confected.

After this notwithſtanding the Marriage ſtill going forward, the Admiral, Prince of *Navarre*, *Conde*, with divers other chief States of the Proteſtants, induced by the King's Letters and many fair Promiſes, at laſt were brought to *Paris*. Where with great Solemnity they were received, but eſpecially the Admiral. To make the Matter ſhort, the Day of the Marriage came, which was the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1572. Which Marriage being ſolemnized by the Cardinal of *Borbonne*, upon an high Stage ſet up of Purpoſe without the Church Walls, the Prince of *Navarre* and *Conde* came down, waiting for the King's Siſter, being then at Maſs. This done, they reſorted all together to the Biſhop's Palace to Dinner. At Evening they were had to a Palace in the Middle of *Paris* to Supper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Admiral coming from the Council Table, by the Way was ſtruck with a Piſtolet, charged with three Pellets, in both his Arms. He being thus wounded, and yet ſtill remaining in *Paris*, although the Vidam gave him Counſel to flee away, it ſo fell out that certain Soldiers were appointed in divers Places of the City to be ready at a Watch-word at the Command of the Prince, upon which Watch-word given, they burſt out to the Slaughter of the Proteſtants, firſt beginning with the Admiral himſelf, who being wounded with many ſore Wounds, was caſt out of the Window into the Street, where his Head being firſt ſtruck off, and embalmed with Spices to be ſent to the Pope, the ſavage People raging againſt him, cut off his Arms and Privy Members, and ſo drawing him three Days through the Streets of *Paris*, they dragged him unto the Place of Execution out of the City, and there hanged him up by his Heels, to the greater Shew and Scorn of him.

After the Martyrdom of this good Man, the armed Soldiers with Rage and Violence ran upon all the others of the ſame Profeſſion, ſlaying and killing all the Proteſtants they knew or could find within the City Gates incloſed. This bloody Slaughter continued the Space of many Days, but eſpecially the greateſt Slaughter was in the three firſt Days, in which were numbered to be ſlain, as the Story writeth, above 10,000 Men, Women, old and young, of all Sorts and Conditions. The Bodies of the Dead were carried in Carts to be thrown in the River; ſo that not only the River was all ſtained therewith, but alſo whole Streams in certain Places of the City did run with gore Blood of the ſlain Bodies. So great was the Outrage of that helliſh Perſecution, that not only the Proteſtants, but alſo certain, whom they thought indifferent Papiſts, they put to the Sword inſtead of Proteſtants. In the Number of them that were ſlain of the more learned Sort, was *Petrus Ramus*, alſo *Lambinus*, another notorious learned Man; *Plateanus*, *Lomenius*, *Chapeſius*, with others.

And not only within the Walls of *Paris* this Uproar was contained, but it extended further into other Cities and Quarters of the Realm, eſpecially *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Tholouſe*, and *Roane*. In which Cities it is almoſt incredible, nor ſcarce ever heard of in any Nation, what Cruelty was ſhewed, what Numbers of good Men were deſtroyed; inſomuch that within the Space of one Month thirty thouſand at leaſt of religious Proteſtants are numbred to be ſlain, as is credibly reported in the Commentaries of them which teſtify purpoſely of the Matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the Pope firſt heard of this bloody Stir, he with his Cardinals made ſuch Joy at *Rome*, with their Proceſſion, with their Gunſhot, and ſinging of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that feſtival Act, a Jubilee was commanded by the Pope with great Indulgence, and much Solemnity. Whereby thou haſt here to diſcern and judge, with what Spirit and Charity theſe Papiſts are moved to maintain their Religion, which otherwiſe would fall to the Ground without all hope of Recovery. Likewiſe in *France* no leſs rejoycing there was upon the 28th Day of the Month, the King commanding publick Proceſſions through the whole City to be made, with Bonefires, ringing, and ſinging; where the King himſelf, with the Queen his Mother, and his whole Court reſorting together to the Church, gave Thanks and Praiſe to God, for that ſo worthy Victory atchieved upon St. *Bartholomew*'s Day againſt the Proteſtants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquiſhed in all the Realm for ever.

And indeed to Man's thinking it might appear no leſs after ſuch a great Deſtruction of the Proteſtants, having loſt ſo many worthy and noble Captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for Fear revoking their Religion, returned to the Pope, divers fled out of the Realm, ſuch as would not turn, keeping themſelves ſecret, durſt not be known nor ſeen, ſo that it was paſt all hope of Man, that the Goſpel ſhould ever have any more Place in *France*: But ſuch is the admirable Working of God, where Man's Help and Hope moſt faileth, there he moſt ſheweth his Strength and helpeth, as here is to be ſeen. For whereas the little ſmall Remnant of the Goſpel Side, being now brought to utter Deſperation, were now ready to give over unto the King, and many were gone already againſt Conſcience, yielding to Time, yet the Lord of his Goodneſs ſo wrought, that many were ſtayed and reclaimed again through the Occaſion firſt of them in *Rochel*: who hearing of the cruel Maſſacre in *Paris*, and Slaughter at *Tholouſe*, moſt conſtantly with valiant Hearts (the Lord ſo working) thought to ſtand to their Defence againſt the King's Power, by whoſe Example certain other Cities hearing thereof took no little Courage to do the like; as, namely *Montalbane*, the City called *Nemanſium*, *Sanſer* in *Occitamia*, *Millialdum*, *Mirebellum*, *Fuduzia*, with other Towns and Cities more: Who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumſpect, and take good heed of the falſe diſſembling Practices not to be truſted of the mercileſs Papiſts, intending nothing but Blood and Deſtruction.

Theſe Things thus paſſing at *Rochel*, the King hearing thereof, giveth in Commandment to Captain

Strozzius

Strozzius and *Guardius* to ſee to *Rochel*. After this he ſendeth a Nobleman, one *Bironius*, requiring of the *Rochel* Men to receive him for their Governour under the King. Of this great Conſultation being had, at length the *Rochel* Men began to condeſcend upon certain Conditions; which being not eaſily granted unto, and eſpecially they hearing in the mean Time what was done to others of their Fellows, which had ſubmitted themſelves, thought it ſo better to ſtand to the Defence of their Lives and Conſciences, and to adventure the worſt. Whereupon began great Siege and Battery to be laid againſt *Rochel* both by Land and Sea, which was *Anno* 1572. about the fourth Day of *December*. It would require another Volume to deſcribe all Things during the Time of this Siege, that paſſed on either Side, between the King's Part, and the Town of *Rochel*; briefly to run over ſome Parts of the Matter: In the Beginning of the next Year following which was *Anno* 1573. in the Month of *January*, Commandment was given out by the King to all and ſundry Nobles and Peers of *France*, upon great Puniſhment, to addreſs themſelves in a moſt forcible Manner to the aſſaulting of *Rochel*. Whereupon a great Concourſe of all the Nobility, with the whole Power of *France*, was there aſſembled, amongſt whom was alſo the Prince of *Anjou*, the King's Brother (who there not long after was proclaimed King of *Poland*) accompanied with his other Brother Duke *Alanſon*, *Navarre*, *Conde*, and a great Number of States beſides. Thus the whole Power of *France* being gathered againſt one poor Town, had not the mighty Hand of God ſtood on their Side, it had been impoſſible for them to eſcape. During the Time of this Siege, which laſted ſeven Months, what Skirmiſhes and Conflicts were on both Sides, it would require a long Tractation. To make ſhort, ſeven principal Aſſaults were given to the poor Town of *Rochel*, with all the Power that *France* could make. In all which Aſſaults ever the Pope's catholick Side had the worſt. Concerning the firſt Aſſault thus I find written, that within the Space of 26 Days were charged againſt the Walls and Houſes of *Rochel*, to the Number of thirty thouſand Shot of Iron Bullets and Globes, whereby a great Breach was made for the Adverſary to invade the City: But ſuch was the Courage of them within, not Men only, but alſo of Women, Matrons, and Maidens, with Spits, Fire, and ſuch other Weapons as came to hand, that the Adverſary was driven back, with no ſmall Slaughter of their Soldiers: Only of the Townſmen were ſlain and wounded to the Number of ſixty Perſons. Likewiſe in the ſecond Aſſault 2000 great Field-pieces were laid againſt the Town; whereupon the Adverſary attempted the next Day to invade the Town, but through the Induſtry of the Soldiers and Citizens, and alſo of the Women and Maids, the Invaders were forced at length to fly away faſter than they came. No better Succeſs had all the Aſſaults that followed: Whereby conſider (gentle Reader) with thyſelf, in what great Diſtreſs theſe good Men were, not of *Rochel* only, but of other Cities alſo, during theſe ſeven Months above-mentioned, had not the mighty Hand of the Lord Almighty ſuſtained them. Concerning whoſe wondrous Operation for his Servants in theſe hard Diſtreſſes, three memorable Things I find in Hiſtory to be noted.

The one concerning the Siege of *Sanſer*; which City being terribly battered and razed with Gunſhot of great Cannons, and Field-pieces, having at one Siege no leſs than three thouſand Bullets and Gunſtones flying upon them, wherewith the Creſts of their Helmets were pierced, their Sleeves, their Hoſe, their Hats pierced, their Weapons in their Hands broken, their Walls ſhaken, their Houſes rent down; yet not one Perſon ſlain or wounded with all this, ſave only at the firſt a certain Maiden, with the Blaſt of the Shot flying by her, was ſtruck down, and died.

The ſecond Thing to be noted is this, that in the ſame City during all the Time of the Siege, which laſted ſeven Months and a half, for all ths Ordnance and Battering-pieces diſcharged againſt them, which are numbred to ſix thouſand, nor ſo much as 25 Perſons in all were ſlain.

The third Example, no leſs memorable, was at *Rochel*: Whereas the poorer ſort began to lack Corn and Victuals, there was ſent to them every Day in the River (by the Hand of the Lord no doubt) a great Multitude of Fiſh (called *Surdones*) which the poorer People did uſe inſtead of Bread. Which Fiſh, the ſame Day as the Siege brake up, departed and came no more. Teſtified by them which were preſent there in *Rochel* all the Time.

What Number was loſt on both Sides during all this ſeven Months War, it is not certainly known. Of the King's Camp what Number was ſlain, by this it may be conjectured, that 132 of their Captains were killed and ſlain, of whom the chief was Duke *Damoule*.

To cloſe up this tragical Story, concerning the breaking up of this ſeven Months Siege: Thus it fell out, that ſhortly after the ſeventh Aſſault given againſt *Rochel*, which was *Anno* 1573. about the Month of *June*, Word came to the Camp, that Duke *Anjou* the King's Brother was proclaimed King of *Poland*. Whereat great Joy was in the Camp. By occaſion whereof the new King, more willing to have Peace, entred Talk with them of *Rochel*: Who, as he ſhewed himſelf to them not ungentle, ſo found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon a certain Agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon Conditions. Which Agreement the new King of *Poland* ſoon preferred to the *French* King his Brother, not without ſome Sute and Interceſſion to have it ratified. The King alſo himſelf, partly being weary of theſe chargeable Wars, was the more willing to aſſent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great Work, the King's royal Conſent under Form of an Edict was ſet down in Writing, and confirmed by the King, containing 25 Articles. In which alſo were included certain other Cities of the Proteſtants, granting to them Benefit of Peace and Liberty of Religion. This Edict or Mandate ſent down from the King by his Herald at Arms, *Bironius* in the King's Name cauſed to be ſolemnly proclaimed at *Rochel*, *Anno* 1573. the tenth Day of *June*.

The Year next following, 1574, for two Things ſeemeth fatal and famous; for the Death firſt of *Charles* the Ninth the *French* King, alſo moſt of all for the Death of *Charles*, Cardinal of *Loraine*, Brother to *Guiſe*. Of the Manner of the Cardinal's Death, I find little mention in Stories. Touching the King's Death, although *Ric. Dinothus* ſaith nothing, for Fear belike, becauſe he being a *Frenchman*, his Name is expreſſed and known: But another Story (whom the ſaid *Dinothus* doth follow) bearing no Name, ſaith thus: That he died the 25th Day of *May*, upon *Whitſun-Eve*, being of the Age of 25 Years: And addeth more, certain it is, that his Sickneſs came of bleeding. And ſaith further: The conſtant Report ſo goeth, that his Blood guſhing out by divers Parts of his Body, he toſſing in his Bed and caſting out many horrible Blaſphemies, laid upon Pillows with his Heels upward and Head downward, voided ſo much Blood at his Mouth that in few Hours he died. Which Story, if it be true, as is recorded and teſtified, may be a Spectacle and Example to all perſecuting Kings and Princes polluted with the Blood of Chriſtian Martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible Perſecution in *France*.

Edward Bulkley *to the Chriſtian Reader.*

'WHereas that excellent Man, both for Learning and Godlineſs, Mr. *John Fox* of bleſſed Memory, ended this worthy Work with this ſhort Declaration of that horrible Maſſacre and Murder of God's Saints and Servants in *France*; I have thought good to ſet down the ſame more particularly and largely, and afterward to add thereunto a Declaration of other outragious Cruelties, committed in *France* by the Favourers and Followers of the Church of *Rome* upon faithful Chriſtians, both before and after the ſaid Maſſacre: All faithfully collected and taken out of the Hiſtory of that honourable Man *James Auguſt Thuanus*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, and Counſellor of State to the late *French* King *Henry* the Fourth. And thus I have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody *Babylon* of *Rome*, and to take the better Heed, that by our Sins and Contempt of God's holy Word, by his great Mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel Claws thereof, and into the bloody Hands of her Followers; as moſt certainly we had done, if God in great Mercy had not prevented that ſavage, barbarous, and moſt monſtrous Powder-Treaſon: Of which great and merciful Deliverance God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his Name, and ſerving him in true Holineſs and Righteouſneſs all the Days of our Life, *Amen.*'

WHEN the Admiral was wounded in both his Arms, he immediately thereupon ſaid to *Maure*, Preacher to the Queen of *Navarre* deceaſed; O my Brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, ſeeing that for his moſt holy Name's ſake I do ſuffer theſe Wounds. Then he whiſpered in the Ear of one of them that bare up his Arm, that he ſhould deliver an hundred Crowns to *Marlin* his Preacher, to be given to the Poor of the Church of *Paris*.

The Admiral was ſlain by *Bemjus*, of whom *Alienus* (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never ſaw Man in ſo preſent Peril, ſo conſtantly and confidently ſuffer Death.

Many honourable Men and great Perſonages were then murdered, as Count *Rochfulcaud*, *Telinius* the Admiral's Son-in-law, *Antonius Claromontus* Marqueſs of *Ravely*, *Lewes Buſſius*, *Bandineus*, *Pluvialius*, *Bernius*, &c.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in Bed with his two Sons, was ſlain with one of them: The other was ſtrangely preſerved, who after came to great Honour and Dignity.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief Treaſurer to the King in *Poictiers*, a very good Man, and careful of the Common-wealth, after he had paid for his Life a good Sum of Money, was cruelly murdered by ſome Cutthroats, whom *Stephen Fargon Petandery*, that gaped for his Office, had ſent for that Purpoſe.

Magdalen Briſſonet, an excellent Woman and learned, the Widow of *Ivermus*, Maſter of Requeſts to the King, flying out of the City in poor Apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and caſt into the River.

Two thouſand were murdered in one Day; and the ſame Liberty of killing and ſpoiling continued certain Days after.

Peter Placie was ſtabbed in with Daggers, and killed.

At *Meldis* two hundred were caſt into Priſon, and being brought out as Sheep to the Slaughter were cruelly murdered. There alſo 25 Women were ſlain.

At *Orleans* a thouſand of Men, Women and Children were murdered.

The Citizens of *Auguſtobona*, when they heard of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, ſhut the Gates of their Town that no Proteſtant might eſcape, and caſt all that they ſuſpected into Priſon, which afterward were brought forth and murdered.

At *Avaricum* in like Manner the ſuſpected for Religion were caſt into Priſon, and afterward murdered.

At the Town of *Charite*, a Troop of *Lewes Gonzaga's* Horſemen killed 18 Perſons.

At *Lions* there were 800 moſt miſerably and cruelly murdered; the Children hanging at their Fathers Necks, and the Fathers embracing their Children, &c. Three hundred were ſlain in the Archbiſhop's Houſe. The Monks would not ſuffer their Bodies to be buried.

At *Romanium* ſeven were killed.

At *Tholoſſa* 200 were murdered.

At *Roan* 500 were put to Death. At laſt *Thuanus* writeth thus; this Example paſſed unto other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages, ſo that it is by many publiſhed, that in all the Kingdom above 30,000 were in theſe Tumults divers Ways deſtroyed; although I think the Number was ſomewhat leſs.

A little before this Maſſacre, a Man, Nurſe, and Infant carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

There was wonderful great Joy in *Rome* for this Maſſacre, and the Pope with his Cardinals went in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Mark*, to give Thanks to God for this great Benefit beſtowed upon the See of *Rome* and the Chriſtian World. And the *Monday* following there was ſolemn Service in the Church of *Minerva*, at which the Pope and the Cardinals were preſent. A Jubilee alſo was publiſhed, and in the Evening the great Ordnance was ſhot off in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. The Cardinal of *Lorain* gave a thouſand Crowns to him that brought News of it.

Bricamotius an old Man of ſeventy Years, and *Cavagnius*, were laid upon Hurdles and drawn to Execution: And being in the Way reviled, and defiled with Dirt caſt upon them, they were hanged. *Bricamotius* might have been pardoned, if he would publickly confeſs, that the Admiral had conſpired againſt the King; which he refuſed to do.

Caſter a City in the County of the *Albingens*, held by the Proteſtants, being upon the King's great Promiſes of their Safety, delivered up into the Hands of *Crucete* a Nobleman, was notwithſtanding with Murders and Spoil cruelly waſted.

At *Bourdeaux*, by the Inſtigation of a Monk, called *Enimund Angerius*, were 264 cruelly murdered, of whom ſome were Senators. This Monk continually provoked them in his Sermons to this Slaughter.

At *Agendicum* in *Main*, a cruel Slaughter of the Proteſtants was committed by the Inſtigation of *Æmarus*, Inquiſitor of criminal Cauſes. A Rumour being ſpread abroad, that the Proteſtants had taken ſecret Council to invade and ſpoil the Churches, above an hundred of every Eſtate and Sex were by the enraged People killed or drowned in the River *Igonna*, which runneth by the City, the Houſes of many were ſpoiled; the Church without the City where the Proteſtants aſſembled, was pulled down and made equal to the Ground, and their Vines pulled up by the Roots.

The Duke of *Guiſe* entered into *Bloeſe*; which altho' he got without any Fight, yet all furious Liberty was permitted to the Soldiers, Houſes were ſpoiled, many Proteſtants which had remained were ſlain, or drowned in the River; neither were Women ſpared, of whom ſome were defiled, and more murdered. A-

mongſt whom one Matron of good Birth, having eſcaped drowning in Water, could not eſcape from the Hands of the Murderers. From thence he went to *Mere*, a Town two Leagues from *Bloeſe*, where Proteſtants had frequent Aſſembly at Sermons; which for many Days together was ſpoiled, and many killed, and *Caſſebonius* the Paſtor was drowned in the next River.

At *Anjou*, *Albiacus* the Paſtor was murdered, certain Women ſlain, and ſome defiled; amongſt which, two Siſters were abuſed in the Sight of their Father, who was bound to a Well to behold that Sight.

John Burgeolus, Preſident of *Turin*, an old Man, being ſuſpected to be a Proteſtant, having bought with a great Sum of Money his Life and Safety, was notwithſtanding taken and beaten cruelly with Clubs and Staves, and being ſtripped of his Cloaths, was brought to the Bank of the River *Liger*, and was hanged his Feet upward, and his Head downward in the Water up to his Breaſt; then (he yet alive) they opened his Belly, plucked out his Guts, and threw them into the River; and taking his Heart, put it upon a Spear, carrying it with contumelious Words about the City.

The Town of *Barre* being taken by the Papiſts, all kind of Cruelty was there uſed, Children were cut up, and the Guts of ſome of them and Hearts pulled out, which in Rage they gnawed with their Teeth. They that were in the Caſtle, when they had yielded themſelves to the Will of the Conqueror, were almoſt all hanged. One *Ralet* ſpared not his own Son, but ſuffered him in that Tumult to be hanged.

When the City *Matiſcon* was taken by corrupting the Keeper of the Keys, whom yet they killed, great Cruelty was ſhewed, ſo that they counted it a Sport to cut off Men's Legs and Arms.

Sanpontius inviting Gentlewomen to Supper, would walk with them, and having his Soldiers about him, uſed to caſt ſome of his Priſoners (of which he had many) from the Bridge into the River, and with that Spectacle did ſatisfy the Eyes of his Gueſts; of whom he would often ask, whether they did ever ſee Men leap better.

At *Albia* of *Cahors*, upon the Lord's Day the 16th of *December*, the Papiſts at the Ringing of a Bell broke open the Doors, where the Proteſtants were aſſembled, and killed without Difference, ſome in the Place, ſome as they were getting away, were here and there ſlain, among whom was one *Guacerius* a rich Merchant; who being drawn into his Houſe, was with his Wife and Children murdered, and his Houſe ſpoiled. About forty-five were in that Tumult murdered, and their Bodies contumelioufly uſed.

In a Town called *Penna*, 300 (notwithſtanding the Safety of their Lives was promiſed them) were cruelly murdered by *Spaniards*, which were newly come to ſerve the *French* King; who alſo killed certain Women there; ſcoffingly ſaying, that they were *Lutheran* Men, diſſembling their Sex by their Apparel.

The Town of *Nonne* being yielded to the Papiſts, upon Condition that the foreign Soldiers ſhould depart ſafe with Horſe and Armour, leaving their Enſigns, and that the Enemies Soldiers that were Footmen ſhould not enter into the Town, and that no Harm ſhould be done to the Townſmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the Caſtle: After the yielding of it, the Gates were ſet open, and ſtraight they came to murdering and ſpoiling without any Regard of the foreſaid Conditions. Men and Women without Difference were killed; the Streets ſounded with miſerable Mourning, Blood flowing in the Ways, and the laſcivious Soldiers Swords ſhining in the Flames of Fire, which they had caſt upon the Houſes. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this Example of inordinate Filthineſs and Cruelty is reported: A certain Woman being drawn out of a private Place, into which to avoid the Rage of the Soldiers ſhe had fled with her Husband, was in his Sight ſhamefully defiled; and then being commanded to draw a Sword, not knowing to what End, was forced by others, who ordered her Hand, to give her Husband a deadly Wound, whereof he died; the Soldiers not being content to defile her Body, but alſo to make her to defile her Hands with the Slaughter of her Husband.

At *Samarobridge* in *Picardy*, in the Time of Peace, above 100 Proteſtants were murdered: And at *Antiſſiodore*, which the Proteſtants having held in the laſt War, had now yielded up, 150 were cruelly killed, and their dead Bodies were drawn, and caſt partly into Jakes, and partly into the River.

Bordius, a Captain under the Prince of *Conde* at *Mirabellum*, was contrary to Promiſe cruelly killed, and his naked Body caſt into the Street, that being unburied the Dogs might eat it.

The Prince of *Conde* being taken Priſoner, and his Life promiſed him, was ſhot in the Neck by *Montiſquius*, Captain of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Guard, of whom *Thuanus* writeth thus: This was the End of *Lewis Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, of the King's Blood, a Man above the Honour of his Birth moſt honourable in Courage and Vertue; who in Valour, Conſtancy, Wit, Wiſdom, Experience, Courteſy, Eloquence, and Liberality, all which Vertues excelled in him, had few his Equals, and none, even by the Confeſſion of his Enemies, ſuperior to him.

Robert Stuart (a valiant *Scottiſh* Gentleman) being taken Priſoner, was notwithſtanding ſtabbed with Daggers, and killed.

At *Orleans* an hundred Men and Women being committed to Priſon, were by the furious People that ruſhed in moſt cruelly murdered.

Hitherto out of the Hiſtory of *Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus* (who is reported to be a Catholick) which endeth in the Year 1578, wherein I have for Shortneſs Sake omitted ſundry particular Outrages and Murders committed by that bloody *Babylonical* Generation; from whoſe bloody Hands God in Mercy defend and preſerve us.

The Hiſtory of Robert Oguier *and his Wife,* Baudicon *and* Martin *their two Sons, who were burnt at* Liſle *in* Flanders.

UPON *Saturday March* 6, 1556, between nine and ten of the Clock in the Night, the Provoſt of the City with his Sergeants armed themſelves to make Search, if they could find any met together in Houſes; but as then there was no Aſſembly. Therefore they came to the Houſe of *Robert Oguier*, which was a little Church, for all both great and ſmall, Men-Servants and Maids, were familiarly inſtructed there in the Knowledge of God.

Being enter'd into the ſaid Houſe, and ſeeking here and there for their Prey, they found certain Books which they carry'd away. But he whom they principally aimed at was then in the Houſe; namely, *Baudicon*, the Son of the ſaid *Robert Oguier*, who at that Time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the Word of God with ſome of the Brethren, as he oft uſed to do. Returning home, he knocked at the Door;

Door; *Martin* his younger Brother, watching his coming, bad him be gone: But *Baudicon*, thinking his Brother miſtook him for ſome other, ſaid, It is I, open the Door: With that the Serjeants opened the ſame, and let him in, ſaying, Ah, Sir, you are well met; to whom he anſwer'd, I thank you, my Friends, you alſo are welcome hither. Then ſaid the Provoſt, I arreſt you in the Emperor's Name; and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the Husband and his Wife with their two Sons, leaving their two Daughters to look to the Houſe and confin'd them in ſeveral Priſons. Within a few Days after, the Priſoners were preſented before the Magiſtrates of the City, and examined concerning their Courſe of Life, who directed their Speech firſt to *Robert Oguier* in theſe Words: It is told us that you never come to Maſs, yea, and alſo diſſuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain Conventicles in your Houſe, cauſing erroneous Doctrines to be preached there contrary to the Ordinance of our holy Mother the Church, whereby you have tranſgreſſed the Laws of his imperial Majeſty.

Robert Oguier anſwered, Whereas firſt of all you lay to my Charge that I go not to Maſs; I refuſe ſo to do, indeed, becauſe the Death and precious Blood of the Son of God, and his Sacrifice, is utterly aboliſh'd there, and trodden under Foot; *For Chriſt by one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified.* The Apoſtle ſaith by one Offering. For do we read in all the Scriptures, that either the Prophets, Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles ever ſaid Maſs? For they knew not what it meant. Chriſt indeed inſtituted the holy Supper, in which all Chriſtian People do communicate together, but they ſacrificed not. If you pleaſe to read the Bible over, you ſhall never find the Maſs once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the meer Invention of Men. You know then what Chriſt ſaith, *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men.* If either myſelf, or any of mine had been at Maſs which is ordained by the Commandment of Men, Chriſt would have told us, *We had worſhipped him in vain.*

As for the ſecond Accuſation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my Houſe honeſt People fearing God; I aſſure you not with Intention to wrong or harm any, but rather for the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Good of many. I knew indeed that the Emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew alſo that Chriſt in his Goſpel had commanded it. *Where two or three, ſaith he, are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.* Thus you ſee I could not well obey the Emperor, but I muſt diſobey Chriſt. In this Caſe then, I chooſe rather to obey my God, than Man.

One of the Magiſtrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which *Baudicon* the eldeſt Son anſwered; If it pleaſe you my Maſters to give me Leave, I will open the Buſineſs at large unto you.

The Sheriffs ſeeing his Promptneſs, looking one upon another, ſaid, Well, let us hear it then. *Baudicon*, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, began thus: When we meet together in the Name of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to hear the Word of God, we firſt of all proſtrate upon our Knees before God, and in the Humility of our Spirits do make a Confeſſion of our Sins before his divine Majeſty. Then we pray that the Word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: We alſo pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and for all his honourable Counſellors, that the Common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the Glory of God; yea we forgot not you whom we acknowledge our Superiors; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole City, that you may maintain it in all Tranquility. Thus I have ſummarily related unto you what we do: Think you now, whether we have offended ſo highly in this Matter of our Aſſemblies.

Whilſt they were thus examined, each of them made an open Confeſſion of the Faith which they held. After this, being returned again to Priſon, they not long after were put to the Torture, to make them confeſs who they were that frequented their Houſe, but they would diſcover none, unleſs ſuch as were well known to the Judges, or elſe were at that Time abſent. About four or five Days after, they were convented again before their Judges, namely, the Father and his two Sons; and after many Words paſſed, they asked them whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the Will of the Magiſtrates. *Robert Oguier* and *Baudicon* his Son, with ſome Deliberation, ſaid, yea, we will.

Then demanding the ſame of *Martin* the younger Brother, he anſwered, that he would not ſubmit himſelf thereto, but would accompany his Mother; ſo he was ſent back again to Priſon, whilſt the Father and the Son were adjudged to be burnt alive to Aſhes. Now as they went to receive the Sentence, one of the Judges ſitting in his Place, after Sentence pronounced, ſaid, To-day you ſhall go to dwell with all the Devils in Hell-fire; (which he ſpake as one tranſported with Fury in beholding the great Patience of theſe two Servants of Chriſt) having received the Sentence of Death, they were returned to the Priſon whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that Honour to be enrolled in the Number of his Martyrs. No ſooner entred they the Priſon, but a Band of Friars came in thither: One amongſt the reſt told them, the Hour was come in which they muſt finiſh their Days. *Robert Oguier* and his Son anſwered, We know it well: But bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our Bodies out of this vile Priſon, will receive our Souls into his glorious and heavenly Kingdom.

One of the Fryars whoſe Name was *Lazard*, endeavoured to turn them from their Faith, ſaying, Father *Robert*, thou art an old Man, let me intreat thee in in this thy laſt Hour to think of ſaving thine own Soul; and if thou wilt give an Ear to me, I warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.

The old Man anſwered, Poor Man, how dareſt thou attribute that to thyſelf which belongs to the eternal God, and ſo rob him of his Honour? For it ſeems by thy Speech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, who by and by will deliver me from this miſerable World. I have one Doctor, whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpoſe to hearken to none other.

A Frier, called the Father of Saint *Clare*, exhorting him to take Pity of his Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed: Thou willeſt me, ſaid *Robert*, to pity mine own Soul, doſt thou not ſee what Pity I have on it, when for the Name of Chriſt I willingly abandon this Body of mine to the Fire, hoping To-day to be with him in Paradiſe? I have put all my Confidence in God, and my Hope wholly is fixed upon the Merits of Chriſt his Death and Paſſion, he will direct me the right Way to his Kingdom. I believe whatſoever the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have written, and in that Faith will I live and die.

The Frier hearing this, ſaid, Out Dog, thou art not worthy the Name of a Chriſtian; thou and thy Son with thee are both reſolved to damn your Bodies and Souls with all the Devils in the Bottom of Hell.

As they were about to ſever *Baudicon* from his Father, he ſaid, Let my Father alone, and trouble him not thus, he is an old Man, and hath an infirm Body, hinder him not I pray you from receiving the Crown of Martyrdom.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a Chamber apart, and there being ſtripped of his Clothes, was fitted to be ſacrificed; now as one brought him Gunpowder to put to his Breaſt, an odd Fellow ſtanding by ſaid, Wert thou my Brother, I would ſell all that I am worth to buy Faggots to burn thee, thou findeſt but too much Favour. The young Man anſwered, Well Sir, the Lord ſhew you more Mercy. Some that were preſent, ſaying, Good God, is it not a pitiful Sight to behold theſe poor Men? A Doctor being by anſwered, And what Pity would you have ſhewed towards them? I would inſtead of allowing them this Powder, have them fryed on Gridirons, as St. *Laurence* was.

Whilſt they ſpake thus to *Baudicon*, ſome of the Friers cloſed in with the old Man, perſwading him at leaſt to take a Crucifix into his Hands, leſt the People (ſaid they) ſhould murmur againſt you? Adding further, that he might for all that lift up his Heart to God, becauſe you know, ſaid they, it is but a Piece of Wood.

Thus they faſtened it between his Hands, but as ſoon as *Baudicon* was come down, and eſpied what they had done to his Father; he ſaid, Alas Father, what do you now, will you play the Idolater even at our laſt Hour. And then pulling the Idol out of his Hands which they had faſtned therein, he threw it away, ſaying, what Cauſe hath the People to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jeſus Chriſt, of Wood? We bear upon our Hearts the Croſs of Chriſt the Son of the everliving God, feeling his holy Word written therein in Letters of Gold.

As they were led to Execution, a Band of Soldiers were Attendants upon them, no leſs than if a Prince had been conducted into his Kingdom. Being come to the Place where they were to ſuffer, they aſcended up the Scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then *Baudicon* asked Leave of the Sheriffs to make a Confeſſion of his Faith before the People. Anſwer was made, that he was to look unto his ghoſtly Father and Confeſſor; Confeſs yourſelf (ſaid they) to him. He was then haled rudely to the Stake, where he began to ſing the ſixteenth Pſalm. The Frier cried out, do you not hear my Maſters, what wicked Errors theſe Hereticks ſing, to beguile the People withal. *Baudicon* hearing what he ſaid, replied thus; Now ſimple Idiot, calleſt thou the Pſalms of the Prophet *David*, Errors? but no Marvel, for thus you are wont to blaſpheme againſt the Spirit of God.

Then turning his Eyes towards his Father, who was about to be chained to the Stake, he ſaid, Be of good Courage Father, the worſt will be paſt by and by. As the Executioner was faſtening him to the Poſt, he chanced to hit him with his Hammer on the Foot, to make him ſtand nearer to the ſame. The old Man being ſenſible of the Blow, ſaid, Friend, thou hurteſt my Foot, why doſt thou abuſe me thus? The Frier hearing this, ſaid, Ah theſe Hereticks; they would be counted Martyrs forſooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as they were killed. To which *Baudicon* thus replied: Think you then that we fear the Tormentors? no ſuch Matter; for had we feared the ſame, we had never expoſed our Bodies to this ſo ſhameful and painful a kind of Death.

Then he often reiterated theſe ſhort Breathings, O God, Father everlaſting, accept the Sacrifice of our Bodies, for thy well beloved Son *Jeſus Chriſt's* Sake. One of the Friers cried, Heretick, thou lieſt, he is none of thy Father, the Devil is thy Father. And thus, during theſe Conflicts, he bent his Eyes to Heaven, and ſpeaking to his Father, ſaid; behold, for I ſee the Heavens open, and Millions of Angels ready preſt to receive us, rejoycing to ſee us thus witneſſing the Truth in the View of the World. Father let us be glad and rejoyce, for the Joys of Heaven are ſet open to us.

Then ſaid one of the Friers, I ſee Hell open, and Millions of Devils preſent to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forſakes any that put their Truſt in him, ſtirred up the Heart and opened the Mouth of a poor Man who ſtood among the Multitude, beholding this Spectacle, who being moved with Compaſſion, cried aloud, Be of good Comfort *Baudicon*, ſtand thou to it, thou fighteſt in a good Quarrel, I am on thy Side; after which Words he departed thence; and a Way being made for him, ſaved himſelf from Danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the Straw and Wood which burnt beneath, whilſt they (not ſhrinking for the Pains) ſpake one to another; *Baudicon* often repeating this in his Father's Ears, faint not Father, nor be afraid, *Yet a very little while and we ſhall enter into the heavenly Manſions.*

In the End the Fire growing hot upon them, the laſt Words they were heard to pronounce, were, *Jeſus Chriſt*, thou Son of God, into thy Hands we commend our Spirits. And thus theſe two ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

In eight Days after, *Jane* the Mother, and *Martin* her Son, were executed in the ſame City.

But before we come to deſcribe their happy Ends, we will, as briefly as may be, note by the Way the great Conflicts of Spirit which both of them ſuſtained.

There were ſent unto them many of the Popiſh Rabble, to turn them from their Faith. Now that this their deviliſh Enterpriſe might the rather be affected, they ſundred one of them from the other, ſo as by the politick Device of a Monk, the poor Woman began to waver, and let go her firſt Faith. At this their Enemies rejoyced not a little, whilſt the poor little Flock of Chriſt, hearing ſuch ſad News, were in continual Perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful Condition.

For on a Day one of the Monks reſorted to her in the Priſon, counſelling her to win her Son *Martin*, and to draw him from his Errors: Which ſhe promiſed to do. But when he was come to his Mother, and perceived that ſhe was not only fallen, but alſo quite turned out of the right Way, he began with Tears to bewail her miſerable Eſtate.

O Mother, ſaid he, what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? alas, what Evil hath he done you, that you ſhould requite him with this ſo great an Injury and Diſhonour. Now I am plunged into that Woe, which I have moſt feared. Ah good God, that I ſhould live to ſee this, which pierceth me to the very Heart.

His Mother hearing theſe his pitiful Complaints, and ſeeing the Tears which her Son ſhed for her, began again to renew her Strength in the Lord, and with Tears cried out, O Father of Mercies, be merciful unto me miſerable Sinner, and cover my Tranſgreſſion under the Righteouſneſs of thy bleſſed Son; Lord enable me with Strength from above, to ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even unto my laſt Breath.

It was not long after this her Change, but the ſame Inſtruments of *Satan*, who had ſeduced her, came in, ſuppoſing to find her in the ſame Mind wherein they left her: Whom ſhe no ſooner eſpied, but with Deteſtation ſaid, Avoid *Satan*, get thee behind me: For henceforth thou haſt neither Part nor Portion in me. I will by the Help of God ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion; and if I may not ſign it with Ink, I will ſeal it with my Blood. And ſo from that Time this frail Veſſel, who for awhile relented, after her recovering grew ſtronger and ſtronger.

The Judges ſeeing their Conſtancy, delayed not to diſpatch them out of the Way, condemning them

to be burned alive, and their Bodies being reduced to Aſhes, the ſame to be ſcattered and diſperſed in the Air. The Mother and the Son having heard their Sentence read, in the Way as they were going back again to Priſon, ſaid, Now bleſſed be our God, who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our Enemies: This is the wiſhed Hour, our gladſome Day is come, let us not then, ſaid *Martin*, forget to be thankful for the Honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the Image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe who have traced this Path before us: For this is the High-way to the Kingdom of Heaven. Let us then, good Mother, go on boldly out of the Camp with the Son of God, bearing his Reproach, with all his holy Martyrs; for ſo we ſhall find Paſſage into the glorious Kingdom of the everliving God.

Some of the Company hearing, but not being able to brook theſe Words, ſaid, We ſee now thou Heretick that thou art wholly poſſeſſed, Body and Soul, with a Devil, as was thy Father and thy Brother, who are both in Hell. *Martin* ſaid, Sirs, as for your Railings and Curſings, our God will this Day turn them into Bleſſings in the Sight of himſelf and of all his Angels.

A certain Temporizer ſaid to *Martin*, Thou ſilly Youth, thou ſayeſt thou knoweſt not what; thou art too well conceited of thyſelf and of thy Cauſe. Seeſt thou not all this People here about thee? What thinkeſt thou of them? they believe not as thou doſt, and yet I doubt not but they ſhall be ſaved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to paſs, tho' you pretend never ſo much that you are in the Faith, and have the Scriptures for you.

The good Woman hearing this, anſwered, Sir, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord ſaith, that it is the wide Gate and broad Way which leads to Deſtruction, and therefore many go in thereat: But the Gate, ſaith he, is narrow that leads to Life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the ſtrait Way or no, when ye behold our Sufferings? Would you have a better Sign than this, to know whether we are in the right Way or no? Compare our Doctrine with that of your Prieſts and Monks: We for our Parts are determined to have but one Chriſt and him crucified, we only embrace the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have taught?

Soon after *Martin* and his Mother were bound and brought to the Place of their Martyrdom: His Mother having aſcended the Scaffold, cried to *Martin*, come up, come up my Son. And as he was ſpeaking to the People, ſhe ſaid, ſpeak out *Martin*, ſaith ſhe, that it may appear to all, that we die not Hereticks. *Martin* would have made a Confeſſion of his Faith, but could not be ſuffered. His Mother being bound to the Stake, ſpake in the Hearing of the Spectators, We are Chriſtians, and that which we now ſuffer is not for Murder nor Theft, but becauſe we will believe no more than that which the Word of God teacheth us: Both rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the ſame.

The Fire being kindled, the Vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the Fervency of their Zeal, but they continued conſtant in the Faith, and with lifting up their Hands to Heaven, in an holy Accord ſaid, Lord Jeſus into thy Hands we commend our Spirits. And thus they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord.

A briefly Relation of the Maſſacre at Vaſſy *in the Country of* Champaigne *in* France.

THE Duke of *Guiſe* being arrived at *Joinville*, asked ſome that he was familiar withal, whether thoſe of *Vaſſy* uſed to have Sermons preached conſtantly by their Miniſter. It was anſwered they had, and that they encreaſed daily more and more. At the hearing of which Report falling into a grievous Paſſion upon *Saturday* the laſt of *February*, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived Wrath againſt the religious Sort in *Vaſſy*, he departed from *Joinville*, accompanied with the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brother, and thoſe of their Train, and lodged in the Village of *Dammartin* the free, which is diſtant from *Joinville* about two *French* Miles and an half.

The next Day being *Sunday*, after he had heard Maſs very early in the Morning, being attended with about two hundred Men armed with Harquebuſſes, Piſtols, and Coutelaxes, he left *Dammartin*, paſſing along to *Vaſſy*. As he went by the Village of *Bronzeval*, which is diſtant from *Vaſſy* a ſmall quarter of a Mile, the Bell (after the uſual Manner) rang to the Sermon. The Duke hearing it, asked thoſe he met, why the Bell rang ſo loud at *Vaſſy*; they told him it was to give the People Warning of the Sermon which was to be made there. Then one called *La Montague* ſaid, It is for the aſſembling of the *Hugonots*; adding moreover, that there were many in the ſaid *Bronzeval* who frequented the Sermons preached at *Vaſſy*; and therefore that the Duke ſhould do well to begin there, and offer them Violence. But the Duke anſwered, March on, march on, we ſhall take them among the reſt of the Aſſembly. Many who followed the Duke, namely, Pages and Footmen, rejoiced not a little concerning this bloody Enterprize, not ſticking to ſay, that the Booty and Pillage would fall to their Shares; ſwearing by Blood and Wounds, that there would be good Store of *Hugonots* there.

Now there were certain Soldiers and Archers accompanying the Duke, who compaſſed about *Vaſſy*; for having been muſtered at *Monthierender*, inſtead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the Muſter was ended, they took their Way thence to *Vaſſy*, moſt of them being lodged in the Houſes of Papiſts. The *Saturday* before the Slaughter, they were ſeen to make ready their Weapons, Harquebuſſes, and Piſtols; but the Faithful not dreaming of ſuch a Conſpiracy, thought the Duke would offer them no hard Meaſure, being the King's Subjects; alſo, that not above two Months before the Duke and his Brethren paſſing by nigh unto the ſaid *Vaſſy*, gave no Sign of their Diſpleaſure.

The Duke of *Guiſe* being arrived at *Vaſſy* with all his Troops, a young Man a Shoemaker ſtepped out of his Houſe not far from the Door where the Aſſembly was, *Montague* pointing to him with his Finger, ſaid he was one of the Miniſters. Whereupon the Duke called this Shoemaker to him, and asked of him, whether he were a Miniſter, and of what Univerſity he was. He anſwered, that he was not of that Calling, neither was he a Scholar. Notwithſtanding he hardly eſcaped from this Troop, which had inviron'd him round about: Only one of the Company told him, That if he had been a Miniſter, he had taken upon him a very baſe calling.

From thence the Duke, *La Broſſe*, and *La Montague* paſſed on in the ſaid City with their Soldiers, as if they minded to take their Way towards the Village of *Eſclairon*, where it was given out he meant to dine.

* But

But paſſing by the Market-houſe of *Vaſſy*, which is near the Monaſtery, in the Way leading to *Eſclairon*, he turned and went directly toward the common Hall, or Market-houſe, and then entered into the Monaſtery; where having called to him one *Deſſales*, the Prior of *Vaſſy*, and another whoſe Name was *Claud le Sain*, being Provoſt of the ſaid *Vaſſy*, he talked awhile with them, and iſſuing haſtily out of the Monaſtery, was attended by many of his Followers. Then Command was given to ſuch as were Papiſts, to retire into the Monaſtery, and not to be ſeen in the Streets, unleſs they would venture the Loſs of their Lives. The Duke perceiving others of his Retinue to be walking to and fro under the Town-hall, and about the Church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the Place where the Sermon was, being in a Barn, about an hundred Paces diſtant from the Monaſtery, quite oppoſite to that Way which the Duke ſhould take to *Eſclairon*. This Command was by and by put in Execution by ſuch of the Company as went on Foot, going directly thither. He that marched foremoſt of this Rabble, was *La Broſs*, and on the Side of theſe marched the Horſemen, after whom followed the Duke with another Company, as of his own Followers, ſo likewiſe of thoſe of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brother.

By this Time Mr. *Leonard Morel* the Miniſter, after the firſt Prayer ended, and having begun his Sermon before his Auditors, which might amount to about 1200 Perſons, conſiſting of Men, Women, and Children: The Horſemen firſt approaching to the Barn within about twenty-five Paces, ſhot off two Harquebuſſes right upon thoſe who were placed in the Galleries joining to the Windows. The People within perceiving that, endeavoured to ſhut the Door, but were prevented by the Ruffians ruſhing in upon them, who drawing their Swords, furiouſly cried out, Death of God, kill, kill theſe *Hugonots*.

The firſt they ſeized on was a poor Crier of Wine, that ſtood next the Door, asking him if he were not a *Hugonot*, and in whom he believed! Having anſwered that he believed in *Jeſus Chriſt*, they ſmote him twice with a Sword, which felled him to the Ground. Being got up again, thinking to recover himſelf, they ſtruck him the third Time, whereby being overcharged with Wounds, he fell down, and died inſtantly. Two other Men at the ſame Time were ſlain at the Entry of the ſaid Door, as they were preſſing out to eſcape.

Then did the Duke of *Guiſe* with his Company, violently enter in among them, ſtriking the poor People down with their Swords, Daggers, and Coutelaxes, not ſparing any Age or Sex, Beſides, they within were ſo aſtonied that they knew not which Way to turn them, but running hither and thither fell one upon another, flying as poor Sheep before a Company of ravening Wolves entring in among the Flock.

Some of the Murderers ſhot off their Pieces againſt them that were in the Galleries; others cut in Pieces ſuch as they lighted upon; others had their Heads cleft in twain, their Arms and Hands cut off, and did what they could to hew them all to Pieces; ſo as many of them gave up the Ghoſt even in the Place. The Walls and Galleries of the ſaid Barn were dyed with the Blood of thoſe who were every where murdered: Yea, ſo great was the Fury of the Murderers, that part of the People within were forced to break open the Roof of the Houſe, if peradventure that Way they might ſave themſelves on the Top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the Hands of theſe cruel Tygers, ſome of them leaped over the Walls of the City, which were very high, flying into the Woods and amongſt the Vines, which with moſt Expedition they could ſooneſt attain unto; ſome hurt in their Arms, others in their Heads and other Parts of their Bodies. The Duke preſented himſelf in the Houſe with his Sword drawn in his Hand, charging his Men to kill, eſpecially the young Men. Only in the End Women with Child were ſpared. But purſuing thoſe who preſſed to get upon the Houſe-top, they cried, Come down ye Dogs, come down, uſing many cruel threatning Speeches unto them.

The Cauſe why Women with Child eſcaped, was, as the Report went, for the Ducheſs Sake his Wife, who paſſing along by the Walls of the City, hearing ſo hideous Out-cries which were made amongſt theſe poor Creatures with the Noiſe of the Pieces and Piſtols continually diſcharged, ſent in all haſte to the Duke her Husband with much Intreaties to ceaſe this Perſecution, for frightning Women with Child.

During this Slaughter the Cardinal of *Guiſe* remained before the Church of the ſaid City of *Vaſſy*, leaning upon the Walls of the Church-yard, looking towards the Place where his Followers were buſied in killing and ſlaying whom they could. Many of this Aſſembly being thus hotly purſued, did in the firſt brunt ſave themſelves upon the Roof of the Houſe, not being diſcerned by thoſe who ſtood without: But at length ſome of this bloody Crew eſpying where they lay hid, ſhot at them with long Pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and ſlain. The Houhold Servants of *Deſſalles* Prior of *Vaſſy* ſhooting at the People on the Roof, cauſed them to fall down like Pigeons: One of that wretched Company was not aſhamed to boaſt after the Maſſacre was ended, that he for his Part had cauſed ſix at the leaſt to tumble down in that pitiful Plight, ſaying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could poſſibly have eſcaped.

The Miniſter in the Beginning of the Maſſacre ceaſed not to preach, till one diſcharged his Piece againſt the Pulpit where he ſtood, after which falling down upon his Knees, he entreated the Lord not only to have Mercy upon himſelf, but alſo upon his poor perſecuted Flock. Having ended his Prayer, he left his Gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himſelf, as unknown: But whilſt he approached towards the Door, in his Fear he ſtumbled upon a dead Body, where he received a Blow with a Sword upon his right Shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold on, and grievouſly hurt on the Head with a Sword, whereupon being felled to the Ground, and feeling himſelf mortally wounded, he cried, Lord, into thy Hand I commend my Spirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, thou God of Truth.

While he thus prayed, one of this bloody Crew ran upon him to have ham-ſtring'd him, but it pleaſed God his Sword brake in the Hilts. Now to let you underſtand by what Means he was delivered from ſo imminent a Death, two Gentlemen taking Knowledge of him, as the reſt were about to kill him, ſaid, It is the Miniſter, let him be conveyed to my Lord Duke. Theſe leading him away by both the Arms, brought him before the Gate of the Monaſtery; from whence the Duke and the Cardinal his Brother coming forth, ſaid, Come hither; and asked him, ſaying, Art thou the Miniſter of this Place? Who made thee ſo bold to ſeduce this People thus? Sir, ſaid the Miniſter, I am no Seducer; for I have preached to them the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The Duke perceiving that this ſhort and dry Anſwer condemned his cruel Fact, began to curſe and ſwear; ſaying, Death of God, doth the Goſpel preach Sedition? Provoſt, go and let a Gibbet be ſet up, and hang this Bougrer.

At which Words the Miniſter was delivered into the Hands of two Pages, who miſuſed him vilely. The Women of the City, being ignorant Papiſts, caught

caught up Dirt to throw in his Face, and with extended Outcries ſaid, kill him, kill this Varlet, who hath been the Cauſe of the Slaughter of ſo many. Much ado there was to hold off the Women from being revenged upon the poor Miniſter.

Whilſt the Pages had him thus in their Handling, the Duke went into the Barn, to whom they preſented a great Bible, which they uſed for the Service of God. The Duke taking it into his Hands, calling his Brother the Cardinal, ſaid, Lo here the Title of the Hugonot Books. The Cardinal viewing it, ſaid, there is nothing but good in this Book, for it is the Bible; to wit, the Holy Scriptures. The Duke being offended, for that his Anſwer ſuited not to his Humour, grew into a greater Rage than before, ſaying, Blood of God how now? what? the Holy Scripture. It is 1500 Year ago ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered his Death and Paſſion, and it is but a Year ſince theſe Books were imprinted, how then ſay you that this is the Goſpel? By the Death of God you ſay you know not what. This unbridled Fury of the Duke diſpleaſed the Cardinal, ſo as he was heard ſecretly to mutter, An unworthy Brother.

This Maſſacre continued a full Hour, the Duke's Trumpeters ſounding the while two ſeveral Times. When any of theſe deſired to have Mercy ſhewed them for the Love of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Murderers in Scorn would ſay unto them, You uſe the Name of *Chriſt*, but where is your *Chriſt* now become? And when they ſaid, Lord God, they blaſphemingly would ſay, Lord Devil.

There died in this Maſſacre, within a few Days, 50 or 60 Perſons; beſides theſe, there were about 250, as well Men as Women, that were wounded and ſpoiled, whereof ſome died, one loſing a Leg, another an Arm, another his Fingers. The Poor's Box, which was faſtened to the Door of the Church with two Iron Hooks, was wreſted thence, with twelve Pounds therein, and never reſtored again. Nothing was to be ſeen in the Streets but Women with their Hair hanging about their Ears, Faces beſmear'd with Blood, being wounded in many Places with Swords and Daggers, with Weeping and Lamentations. Barbers and Surgeons were ſo ſet on Work, that he that had leaſt had threeſcore under his Hand to be dreſſed, and many periſhed for Want thereof.

The Miniſter was kept cloſe Priſoner, ſo as for four and twenty Hours none were permitted to ſupply him with any Neceſſaries at all, nor any ſuffered to ſee him or ſpeak with him, and was oft threatned by his Keepers to be ſowed up in a Sack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his *Eaſter* after the popiſh Manner, under fair Promiſes of his Enlargement; but he would by no Means conſent thereto. Thus continued he Priſoner until the eighth Day of *May* 1563, at which Time he was ſet free by the Suit of the moſt illuſtrious Prince of *Portien*.

Whilſt the Duke was at *Eſclairon*, the Lackeys and others of their Sort put to Sale, unto ſuch as would give moſt, Cloaks, Hats, Girdles, Coifs, Kerchiefs, with other Things which they had ſpoiled the Maſſacred of; crying them with a loud Voice, as if a common Crier had carried Houſhold-Stuff to be ſold.

Of the Coming of Jane *Queen of* Navarre *to the City of* Paris *in* France, *with the Manner of her Sickneſs and Death there.*

THIS good Queen, before ſhe could be drawn to come to *Paris* to ſolemnize the Marriage of her Son, the Prince of *Navarre*, with the Siſter of *Charles* the Ninth, then King of *France*, received Letters upon Letters from the ſaid King, to accompany the Prince her Son in that Solemnity: Now, whereas ſhe had ſome Doubts concerning her Son's Marriage with one of another Religion, the King aſſured her that all Things ſhould be ſo wrought, as ſhould give her good Satisfaction and Content; promiſing that he would get a Diſpenſation from the Pope to that End. But when the Queen underſtood that the King was minded to have this Marriage ſolemnized at *Paris*, ſhe would by no Means hear of it: For I will not, ſaid ſhe, put any Confidence in ſo mutinous a People, being the ſworn Enemies both of myſelf and mine.

Still the King perſiſted in his Sute for the obtaining of the ſame at her Hands. Alſo having Intelligence by ſome of his Agents, that the Queen of *Navarre* began a little to waver, he ſolicited her yet once again to come, aſſuring her that all Things ſhould be carried in ſuch a peaceable Sort, that ſhe ſhould have no Cauſe to complain. At length the Queen came from *Rochel* to *Bloys* in the Month of *March*, 1572, with great Attendance, where it is incredible to think what Welcome ſhe had on all Sides, eſpecially from the King and his Brethren, *&c.* who yet, when all was done, could ſay to his Mother, Now Madam, have not I quit myſelf well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the Net.

In *April* following the Articles were concluded concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* with the King's Siſter. In the Beginning of *May* the King wooes the Queen of *Navarre* again to come to *Paris* for preparing of Things fitting for this Marriage; which ſhe accordingly yielded unto, and parting from *Blois* on the ſixth of the ſaid Month, came to *Paris* on the fifteenth of the ſame.

The Queen-Mother could by no Means brook this good Queen; and therefore not finding with what Colour ſhe could diſpatch her with the reſt, and yet fearing the Height of her Spirit if ſhe ſhould ſurvive, as alſo that ſhe could not then ſo work upon the Flexibility of the Prince her Son as ſhe intended, ſhe conſulted with one *Rene*, an Apothecary, whoſe Practice it was to impoiſon Things; who by ſuch Means adventured to poiſon the Prince of *Conde* by the Scent of a poiſoned Apple, which upon ſome Suſpicion was firſt tried upon a Dog; and it had almoſt coſt the Prince's Surgeon his Life, by ſmelling too nigh thereunto. This *Rene*, ſelling to the Queen of *Navarre* his perfumed Drugs, found the Way how to poiſon her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the ſaid *Rene* was heard afterwards to make his Brags, that he had the like in Store for two or three more, who ſuſpected no ſuch Matter.

On *Wedneſday*, *June* the 4th, the Queen fell ſick of a continual Fever, and kept her Bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from the Grief ſhe had in her Lights, wherein by long Continuance was bred an Impoſthume, ſhe being alſo diſtempered with the Heat of the Seaſon and her extraordinary Journeys. This burning Fever grew ſo ſtrong upon her, that within five Days after ſhe died, to the great Grief of the better Sort, but the Joy of the ſecret Council.

The Malady indeed was in her Brain, which was not ſearched; in which the Queen-Mother had an Hand, though ſhe ſeemed much to mourn for the Affliction of her good Friend. Now foraſmuch as in the Time of her Sickneſs ſhe maniſeſted with what Spirit ſhe was guided, we will here ſet down the true Narration of her Behaviour, both in her Sickneſs, and at her Death.

Perceiving that ſhe could not long continue, ſhe made herſelf ready to receive from the Hand of God

that which he had appointed concerning her; and to that End requeſted ſhe might have ſuch about her, as might comfort her in this Caſe out of the Word of God, as alſo to pray with her and for her, according to that which St. *James* ſaith, Is any Sick among you, let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over ſuch a one, that knowing the fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much with God.

Thus, according to her Deſire, a Miniſter reſorting unto her, ſhewed out of the Scriptures, That Chriſtians ought in all Things to ſubmit themſelves to the Will of God as to the Father of Spirits, that they might live. And although the Rigour of his Chaſtiſements doth ſometimes ſeem to our Fleſh, as if they were ſent to none other End but for our Ruin and Deſtruction; yet ought we to conſider, that becauſe he is juſt, he can do nothing but juſtly; and being a Father, he cannot but therein ſeek the Welfare of his afflicted Children.

To which ſhe reply'd, I take all this as ſent from the Hand of God my moſt merciful Father; nor have I, during this Extremity, feared to die, much leſs murmured againſt him for inflicting the ſame upon me; knowing, that whatſoever he doth, he doth the ſame ſo, as all in the End ſhall turn to my everlaſting Good.

The Miniſter continuing in his Speech, added, That the Cauſes of Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes muſt be ſought beyond the Courſe of Phyſick, which always looks to the Corruption of the Humours, or to the more noble Parts of the Body any way diſtemper'd: For howſoever it was not amiſs to have reſpect to theſe Things, as to ſecond Cauſes, yet ought we to aſcend higher, namely, to the firſt, even to God himſelf, who diſpoſeth of all his Creatures as it pleaſeth him. He it is that makes the Wound and heals, that kills and makes alive. And therefore to him we ought to direct our Prayers for Comfort in all our Griefs and Sufferings, and in the End for full Deliverance; ſeeing it is no hard Matter with him to reſtore Health unto us, if his good Pleaſure be ſuch.

To this ſhe anſwered, That ſhe depended wholly upon God's Providence, knowing that all Things are wiſely diſpoſed by him, and therefore beſought him to furniſh her with all ſuch Graces as he ſaw to be neceſſary for her Salvation. As for this Life, ſaid ſhe, I am in a Manner weaned from the Love of it, in regard of the Afflictions which have followed me from my Youth hitherto, but eſpecially becauſe I cannot live without offending my good God, with whom I deſire to be with all my Heart.

The Miniſter told her, that long Life, how full of Troubles ſoever it were, was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed among the Bleſſings of God, ſeeing his Promiſe implies ſo much; and not only ſo, but becauſe our Life may many ways ſerve to his Glory, and is both an Honour and a Pledge of his Favour, even as it is to him whom his Prince employs long in his Service, having had Experience of his Fidelity for many Years together. In which Reſpect ſhe was earneſtly requeſted to pray, That if it were the Will of God to employ her yet longer in his Service, for the further Enlargement of his Goſpel, that he would grant unto her ſuch Recovery of Health, and good Diſpoſition of Body, that with renewed Strength ſhe might be encouraged to finiſh her Courſe much more nobly than heretofore.

Whereupon ſhe proteſted, that in regard of her own Particular, her Life was not dear unto her, ſeeing ſo long as ſhe lived in this frail Fleſh, ſhe was ſtill prone and apt to ſin againſt God: Only her Care was ſomewhat for her Children (which God had given her) in reſpect they ſhould ſo ſoon be deprived of her now in their young Years; yet not doubting (though it ſhould pleaſe God to take me from them) but that God himſelf will be a Father and Protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greateſt Afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his Government and fatherly Care. Theſe were her very Words.

The Miniſter bleſſed God to find her Majeſty in this Aſſurance of Faith; adviſing her to make Choice of ſuch, who, for their Sincerity both in Life and Doctrine, might continue to water in theſe young princely Plants the Seeds of Piety, which had been ſown in them by her indefatigable Care and Induſtry; telling her, that it was to be hoped, that the Example of her Faith and Conſtancy in the Service of God, which ſhe had ſet before them, would ſerve as a perpetual Inducement to imitate her ſo noble Virtues.

She again declared, That Death was not terrible unto her, becauſe it was the Way by which we paſs hence to our eternal Reſt: Upon this Expreſſion the Miniſter told her, That Chriſtians had little Cauſe to fear Death, in regard they ſhould not die at all according to Chriſt's Words in the Goſpel of St. *John*, *He that liveth and believeth in me, ſhall never die.* For Death (to ſpeak properly) is no Death to them, but a Sleep; being often ſo called in the Scriptures; and therefore Chriſt for their Sakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own Perſon: So as now we may cry out with St. *Paul*, *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?*

She was often admoniſhed by him to make Confeſſion of her Sins before God, ſhewing, That bodily Diſeaſes tended to the Diſſolution of Nature, and that Death was the Wages of Sin; declaring moreover, that by this her Chaſtiſement ſhe might diſcern what ſhe had deſerved, if God ſhould now enter into Judgment with her, not only in regard of the Fall of our Parents, in which Guilt ſhe was enrapped, as well as others, but alſo by her own perſonal Sins, ſeeing the beſt of Men or Women in the World are in themſelves but poor, miſerable and wretched Offenders; yea, if the Lord ſhould puniſh us according to our Demerits, we could expect nothing at his Hands but eternal Death and Condemnation.

At theſe Words ſhe began, with her Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, to acknowledge that her Sins which ſhe had committed againſt the Lord were innumerable: But ſhe hoped that God for Chriſt's Sake, in whom ſhe put her whole Truſt, would be merciful unto her.

The Miniſter, fearing his long Diſcourſe might be too tedious for her (and eſpecially becauſe the Phyſicians thought it might be hurtful) held his Peace; but her Majeſty earneſtly requeſted him not to forbear ſpeaking to her about theſe Matters of Life and eternal Salvation; adding, that ſhe now felt the Want of it, in regard that ſince her coming to *Paris*, ſhe had been ſomewhat remiſs in hearing ſuch Exhortations out of the Word of God: And therefore I am now the more glad (ſaid ſhe) to receive Comfort out of it in this my ſo great Extremity.

The Miniſter then endeavoured to ſet before her the Happineſs of Heaven, and what thoſe Joys are which the Faithful there poſſeſs in the Preſence of God: Which when the Scriptures intend to diſcover unto us, they only tell us that *The Eye hath not ſeen, nor hath the Ear heard, neither hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man, to conſider what thoſe Things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him.* To which Purpoſe he uſed this Similitude, As if a King, minding greatly to honour ſome noble Perſonage, ſhould bring him to his Court, and there ſhew him his State and Attendance, his Treaſures, with all his moſt precious Jewels: Even ſo, ſaid he, will the Lord one Day reveal to all his elect and faithful People, his Magnificence and Glory, with all the Treaſures of his Kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himſelf, decking and adorning them with Light, Incorruption, and Immortality.

This Happineſs therefore being ſo great, her Highneſs, he ſaid, ought to be the leſs careful about the leaving of this tranſitory Life, ſeeing that for an earthly Kingdom, which ſhe was now to forego, ſhe ſhould inherit an heavenly; and for temporal good Things, which vaniſh and come to nothing in the uſing, ſhe ſhould for ever enjoy thoſe that were eternal and everlaſting: For her Faith being now firmly ſettled upon our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſhe might be ſuffered to obtain eternal Salvation by him. On which Words he took Occaſion to direct his Speech more particularly unto her, ſaying:

Madam, do you verily believe that *Jeſus Chriſt* came into the World to ſave you? and do you expect the full Forgiveneſs of all your Sins, by the ſhedding of his Blood for you?

To which ſhe readily anſwered ſhe did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for Salvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly ſatisfied for the Sins of the whole World, and therefore was aſſured that God for his Sake, according to his gracious Promiſes in him, would have Mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the godly Speeches which paſſed from this religious Lady in the Beginning of her Sickneſs; all which was within the Space of three or four Days.

In the End, feeling her Strength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt Will and Teſtament made, wherein ſhe above all wiſhed, that her Children might have but the Grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them conſtantly to continue in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, in which they had been trained up from their Youth; ordaining eſpecially that her Daughter, the Princeſs, ſhould be educated and inſtructed therein, by the four Ladies which ſhe had appointed, and brought with her out of *Bearne* for that End and Purpoſe. And being come to Age, her Deſire was that ſhe might be joyned in Marriage to ſome Prince of the ſame Religion, by the Counſel and Advice of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and *Gaſpar* Count of *Colligny*, Admiral of *France*, whom ſhe made Executors and Overſeers of her ſaid Teſtament.

This good Queen departed this Life, to take Poſſeſſion of a far better, *June* 9. 1572, ſweetly yielding up her Spirit into the Hands of God, the ſixth Day after ſhe fell ſick, and in the 44th Year of her Age.

After the Death of the Queen, certain Princes were ſolicited by the King to give their Attendance at *Paris* for the ſolemnizing the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* (now made King by the Death of his Mother) according to the Ceremonies which were thereunto appertaining. Among the reſt, Letters were directed to the Admiral by the King himſelf, to come to this Marriage; wherein the King aſſured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the Fury of the *Pariſians*, nor of their Threats which they had formerly uttered againſt him: For he was not ignorant of the deadly Hatred they bare him, and therefore wrote unto the Mayor of the City, to look unto it at his Peril, that the Admiral had no Wrong offered him by the Citizens, either at his Entrance or Continuance in the City.

The Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* wrote unto the Mayor alſo, aud likewiſe to the reſt of the Magiſtrates to the ſame Effect, but eſpecially to their Servants, ſome whereof had a little Light given them, touching that Device. To be ſhort, they endeavoured to take all Rubs out of his Way, that he might with the leſs Miſtruſt fall into the ſame.

The Admiral, not caſting any Perils, reſolved to take his Journey to *Paris*. Albeit he lacked not ſundry Advertiſements from his own Followers, and others his Well-willers in the Kingdom, who honoured him much, deſiring him, that howſoever he had no ſiniſter Opinion of the King, of his Mother, or any of theirs, yet at the leaſt he was to take into his Conſideration the Place whither he went, and amongſt what Enemies he was now to venture himſelf. But he always leaning upon the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and being confident in God's Providence, not moved by theſe Advertiſements, took his Journey to *Paris* with very few Attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received of the King, and of his Brethren, and of the Queen-Mother, with others alſo.

The Marriage of the King of *Navarre* with the King's Siſter being ſolemnized on the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of *Auguſt* 1572, and all the Triumphs and Feaſtings accompanying the ſame being finiſhed, the Admiral determining to take his Leave at Court, and ſo return homewards, the Deputies of the reformed Churches brought him their Requeſts on a ſudden, to preſent the ſame to the King, in regard of many Wrongs the ſaid Churches had ſuſtained; and therefore they inſtantly beſought him, that he would not leave the Court till ſome Order might be taken for Redreſs thereof.

This, with other Impediments, were the Occaſions of detaining him ſtill there.

Mauravell coming to *Paris* whilſt theſe Feaſts laſted, having preſented his Service firſt to the King and his Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, with thoſe of the *Guiſe*; after ſome Speech had with the King and Queen-Mother, one named *Chaill* had a Command to direct him to the Houſe whence the Blow ſhould be given; who left him with a Woman in the Houſe, which Woman was forbidden not only to ask his Name, but alſo ſo much as to enquire for what Cauſe he was lodged there.

On *Friday*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, in the Morning, he trimm'd up his Harquebuſſe, watching ſecretly the Admiral's Coming.

The Admiral at his going forth out of the *Louvre* meeting the King coming out of a Chappel which is before the ſame, paſſing thence to play at Tennis, he ſcarcely had gone an hundred Paces from the Place, but as he returned to his Lodging on Foot to dine there, attended on by ſome twelve or fifteen Gentlemen, reading a Petition; out of the Window of a Lodging (where *Villemur* Tutor to the Duke of *Guiſe* uſually lay) he was ſhot with an Harquebuſſe charged with three braſs Bullets, one of which took off the Fore-finger on his Right-Hand, and he was hurt with another in his Left-Arm. Feeling himſelf thus wounded, he willed ſome of his Followers to enter that Houſe, and to enquire who it was that had done that, or who ſet him on Work to do it: And then to advertiſe the King thereof, giving him to underſtand how well his Commandment was obſerved.

Now whilſt they were buſy to force open the Door, the Murderer fled out by a back Way, eſcaping thence out of the Gate of St. *Anthony*; where one attended him, holding a *Spaniſh* Gennet brought out of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Stable; whereon he galloped away, yet not without ſome Difficulty; for flying thus in ſome Fear, he fell off his Horſe twice or thrice.

A Gentleman ſeeing the Admiral hurt, came to ſupport his Left Arm, binding up the Hurt thereon with his Handkerchief. And thus was he conducted to his Lodging, which was diſtant from thence about ſome twenty Paces. In his paſſing a Gentleman ſaid it was to be feared the Bullets were poiſoned: To which the Admiral replyed, All muſt be as it pleaſeth God.

The King hearing of the Admiral's Hurt, left his Game, where he was playing till then with the Duke

of *Guiſe*, and throwing away his Racket as it ſeemed in an Anger, with a ſad and heavy Countenance withdrew himſelf into his Chamber; the Duke of *Guiſe* following him within a little while after.

The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, with many others of the Religion, having Notice of the Admiral's Hurt, complained to the King of this untimely Accident; entreating they might have Leave to depart out of the City, ſeeing they could expect little Safety there. The King made his Moan to them of the Miſchance that happened, ſwearing and proteſting that he would execute ſuch impartial Juſtice upon the Offender, and on all the Complotters, as ſhould give the Admiral and all his Friends Content; only he willed them to ſtay, promiſing them ere long to provide for their Security.

The Surgeons and Phyſicians were preſently ſent for, among whom was *Ambroſe Pare* the King's Surgeon, a Man very expert. He began firſt with the Admiral's Finger, which put him to much Pain, in regard the Sciſſars were not ſharp enough to cut it off at once; beſides he was fain to ſtop and open the Wound thrice, then he came to the left Arm, making Inciſions in two Places into which the Bullet had pierced. The Admiral endured all this with undaunted Countenance, and wonderful Patience; whilſt thoſe which ſtood by and ſaw him ſo mangled could not refrain from Tears. Captain *Monins* held him with both his Arms about the Middle, and *Cornaton* held his Hands. He ſeeing them aſtoniſhed, My Friends, ſaid he, why weep you? I think myſelf happy to be thus handled in the Cauſe of God. And anon caſting his Eyes upon a Miniſter called *Merlin*, he ſaid, Here ye ſee, my Friends, God's Bleſſings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to paſs by the Will of my heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majeſty in that he is pleaſed to honour me ſo far, as to ſuffer any Thing for his holy Name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the Gift of Perſeverance.

Then looking upon the ſaid Miniſter who wept over him. O Maſter *Merlin*, ſaid he, what will you not comfort me? Yes, Sir, ſaid he; for wherein may you take greater Comfort, than in calling to Mind how greatly God hath always honoured you in eſteeming you worthy to ſuffer Reproach for his Name's Sake, and true Religion? The Admiral replied, Alas, if God ſhould deal with me according to my Deſerts, he might have put me to worſe Torments than theſe. But bleſſed be his holy Name, in that he is pleaſed to take Pity on me his poor and unworthy Servant. Be of good Chear then, Sir, ſaid another unto him; for ſeeing God hath ſpared your more noble Part whole, you have Cauſe therein to magnify his Goodneſs. In theſe Wounds you have received from God a Teſtimony of his Love, rather than of his Diſpleaſure, ſeeing he hath preſerved your Head and Underſtanding ſafe.

Then ſaid *Merlin*, Sir, you do well in turning your Thoughts away from him who hath committed this Outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his Hand that hath ſmitten you: Therefore for the preſent, ceaſe to think on the Malefactor. I aſſure you, ſaid the Admiral, I do freely forgive him from the Bottom of my Heart, and thoſe alſo that are his Abettors; being fully perſuaded that none of them all could have done me the leaſt Hurt, no, though with violent Hands they had put me to Death. For what is Death itſelf to God's Children, but an aſſured Paſſage to an eternal Reſt and Life?

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* having bitterly bewailed this Outrage committed upon the Admiral (as you heard before) about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King, accompanied with the Queen's Mother, his Brother, and other of the Lords, went to viſit the Admiral.

The King with Tears ſeemed to be exceeding ſorry for that which was come to paſs, promiſing him, with one blaſphemous Oath upon another, to revenge the Fact, no leſs than if it had been committed upon his own Perſon: Praying him to come and take up his Lodging with him, in the *Louvre*, for his greater Security and Safety. Whereupon, the Admiral, after ſome Diſcourſe made to the King in ſecret, gave him moſt humble Thanks for ſo great a Favour, as to viſit him in his own Perſon.

Upon the Motion made by the King, *Mazilles* his chief Phyſician was called, demanding of him, whether the Admiral might ſafely be removed thence into the *Louvre*, or no? His Anſwer to the King was, that it could not be done without Danger. Some of the Admiral's Friends thought it fitting to requeſt a Guard of Soldiers to be aſſigned by the King unto him for his better Security. The King anſwered, he liked well of that Advice, being fully determined to provide for the Admiral's Safety as his own, and would preſerve him no leſs than the Apple of his Eye. After the King called for the Bullet of Braſs wherewith the Admiral was hurt, that he might ſee it, asking whether he was not put to great Pain when his Finger was cut off, as likewiſe touching the dreſſing of his Arm? Now as *Cornaton* ſhewed the Bullet, having his Sleeve all bloody (becauſe he was appointed to hold the Admiral's Arm, while it was in dreſſing) the King asked if that were of the Admiral's Blood? and whether ſo much Blood iſſued out of his Wounds? adding (after *Cornaton*'s Anſwer) he never ſaw Man in his Life ſhew greater Conſtancy and Magnanimity of Spirit than the Admiral did.

Then was the Queen-mother deſirous to ſee the Bullet, ſaying, I am glad the Bullet is taken out; for I remember when the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed before *Orleans*, the Phyſician told me, that if the Bullet was gotten out, there was no Danger of Death, tho' it were poiſoned.

Then *Cornaton* anſwered, we have foreſeen that, Madam; for being careful to prevent that Danger, the Admiral had a Medicine given him to expel the Poiſon, if peradventure any ſuch Thing ſhould be.

The *Saturday* before the Admiral was ſlain, he began to be ſomewhat cheered, ſo as the Surgeons and Phyſicians gave out, they would warrant the Admiral's Life: Becauſe his Arm, having loſt but little of its Strength, would ſoon be healed. This News was brought to the King, who ſeemed to entertain the ſame joyfully. The new married Wife came alſo to viſit the Admiral. But all this was but a Lightning before Death. For that Night there was heard a great clattering of Armour in the City, and many Torches lighted every where, borne by many of the People. Some Gentlemen, whoſe Lodgings were nigh to the Admiral's, roſe, and went out, asking ſome of their Acquaintance the Reaſon why there were ſo many up in Arms at that Hour of the Night: They anſwered; that the King much deſired to ſee a Caſtle aſſayled and defended, deviſed only in ſport to give him Content. They paſſing yet further came to the *Louvre*, where they likewiſe ſaw many Torches lighted, and Troops of armed Men.

The Guard there could no longer contain themſelves, but began to pick a Quarrel with them; and as one of the ſaid Gentlemen was about to ſpeak, a *Gaſcoine* Soldier ſtruck him with a Partizan, and then they fell upon the reſt. The Noiſe hereof ſpreading, the Queen-mother ſaid, ſeeing it is not poſſible to retain the Fury of the Soldiers any longer from breaking out, Let the Bell of the Church of St. *German* be tolled, ſaid ſhe; which was the Signal to begin the Maſſacre.

The Admiral coming to the Knowledge of this Uproar (though he had but few of his Followers about him) was not much moved thereat; truſting (as

(as he often uſed to ſay) upon the King's Favour, whereof he had large Experience. Alſo he knew that when the *Pariſians* ſhould underſtand how much the King diſliked their Folly, though they had an Intention of doing him ſome Miſchief, yet would they be quieted as ſoon as they ſaw *Coſſeins* and his Guard.

This *Coſſeins* was appointed by the Duke of *Anjou* to defend the Admiral's Lodging, wherein the old Proverb was verified, *That the Wolf was ſet to keep the Sheep.*

About Break of Day, *Auguſt* the four and twentieth, 1572, being St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, they began to knock at the Door where the Admiral lay. *La Bonne*, who lay not far from him, having the Keys, perceiving that there were ſome who came on a Meſſage from the King to the Admiral, came down quickly and opened the Door; preſently *Coſſeins* fell upon him and ſtabbed him with his Dagger, ſo that he died. Then with his Harquebuſiers ruſhing into the Houſe, killing ſuch as they met, others fled. *Cornaton* awaking with the Noiſe that he heard at the Door (for he lay in the next Chamber by) ran thither, cauſing the *Switzers* and other Officers to fortify it. *Coſſeins* hearing that, cried to him to open it in the King's Name, and he ſo handled the Matter, that with the Help he had, he forced the Door open, and after gained the Stairs. The Admiral and thoſe that were with him, taking Notice how they ſhot off Piſtols and Guns, finding themſelves incloſed in their Enemies Hands, fell to Prayer, begging Pardon of God for their Sins.

The Admiral riſing out of his Bed, and putting on his Night-gown, commanded *Merlin* the Miniſter to make the Prayer. He alſo, calling earneſtly upon *Jeſus Chriſt* his God and Saviour, commended his Spirit into his Hands. He that teſtified theſe Things and made Report thereof, coming into the Chamber, and being asked by the Admiral what that Tumult meant; Sir, ſaith he, God is now ſummoning us to look to our End. The Admiral ſeeing what would be the Iſſue, anſwered, I have long ſince expected Death: Save yourſelves if it be poſſible, for you cannot ſecure me; I commend my Soul into the Hands of the merciful God. Thoſe who were preſent and eſcaped, have affirmed, that the Admiral was no more affrighted at Death, which he ſaw preſent before his Eyes, than if there had been no Likelihood thereof at all.

Forthwith every one in the Chamber getting up to the Top of the Houſe, and having found a Window near the Roof, ſaved themſelves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next Room to the Admiral were ſlain, others miraculouſly eſcaped. In the mean while *Coſſeins* having made his Way, cauſed certain *Switzers* of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Guard to enter into the Houſe.

Beſine, *Coſſeins*, and *Sarlabour*, with their Targets in one Hand, and their naked Swords in the other, broke open the Admiral's Chamber-door, and *Beſine* (who was afterwards ſlain himſelf by one *Bertoville* upon the Way, after he had eſcaped out of Priſon) coming towards the Admiral, holding the Point of his Sword to his Breaſt, ſaid thus, Art not thou the Admiral? I am the Man, ſaid he, with an undaunted Courage, as the Murderers afterwards confeſſed. Then beholding the naked Sword, Young Man, ſaid the Admiral, thou oughteſt ſomewhat to reſpect my Years, and my Infirmity of Body, but it is not thou that canſt ſhorten my Days. *Beſine* deſperately thruſt the Admiral into the Body with his Sword, and then ſmote him therewith on the Head, the reſt had every one a Blow at him; ſo as he preſently fell down wounded to Death.

Whilſt this Miſchief was in acting, the Duke of *Guiſe* being below in the baſe Court, with other *Romiſh* Catholick Lords, cried to the Murderer above, *Beſine*, haſt thou done? It is done, ſaith he. Then the Duke replied, Monſieur, our Knight (meaning King *Henry*'s Baſtard) will not believe it unleſs he ſee it with his Eyes; throw him down out of the Window.

Then *Beſine* and *Sarlabour*, lifting up the Body of the Admiral, caſt him down unto them, where he lay naked on the Ground, expoſed to all ſort of Scorn and Mocks of the Multitude, ſome trampling on him with their Feet. Now becauſe the Blow which *Beſine* had given the Admiral on his Head, had ſo covered his Face with Blood iſſuing thence, that his Viſage could not be diſcerned, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtooping down took his Handkerchief, and wiping his Face therewith, ſaid, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poor dead Body a Spurn on the Head with his Foot (whom all the Murderers in *France* feared whilſt he lived) he paſſed thence, encouraging his Soldiers, ſaying, We have made a good Beginning; now let us go on to the reſt, for the King hath ſo commanded, the King hath ſo commanded, repeating it over twice.

An *Italian* of the Duke of *Nevers* Guard cut off the Admiral's Head, and brought it to the King and Queen-mother; which being embalmed was ſent to *Rome* to the Pope, and to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being there at that Time. The common People on the next Day cut off his Hands and Privy Members, and then in this woful Plight being dragged up and down three Days in the Channels throughout the Streets, he was at the laſt carried out of the City to a Gibbet in Mount *Faucon*, where they hanged him by the Feet; from whence ſome that were well diſpoſed, going together in the Night to this Gibbet, took down the Body of the Admiral; which they interred ſo ſecretly, that do the Papiſts what they could, they could never find it out, but it lay buried ſtill, ſo as they were fain to make a Body of Straw, and hung that up inſtead of the Body itſelf, rather than none at all.

This following is the Sentence which the Court of Parliament in *Paris* denounced againſt *Gaſper Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, after he was maſſacred.

1. Firſt; That for his Conſpiracy againſt the King and State in the Year 1572, the ſaid Court hath condemned him for High-Treaſon.

2. That his Memory ſhall be utterly raſed out.

3. If his Body, or any Figure thereof, ſhall be taken, that the ſame ſhall be firſt drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place called *Le Grene*, and there hanged on a Gibbet.

4. After which a Gibbet ſhall be ſet upon *Mount-Faucon*, and he there to be hang'd in the moſt eminent Place.

5. His Arms and Armour to be drawn at a Horſe's Tail thro' the Streets of the ſaid City, and other Cities where they ſhould be found, and there to be broken in Pieces, as a Sign of his perpetual Ignominy.

6. All his Goods and Poſſeſſions to be forfeited to the King's Uſe.

7. All his Children to be pronounced ignoble; as alſo held unworthy of any Honour or Dignity whatſoever.

8. His Houſe and Caſtle of *Chaſtillon* upon the *Loin*, the baſe Court, and all Appurtenances thereunto appertaining, to be defaced and demoliſhed to the Ground.

9. Then in the ſaid Place this Sentence ſhall be ſet up engraven in Braſs.

10. Laſtly, That on the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1572, general Proceſſions be made thro' the City of *Paris*, by way of Thankſgiving to God for this Puniſhment inflicted upon the Conſpirator.

Pronounced and executed at *Paris*, the 27th and 29th of *October*, 1572.

Signed MALON.

At *Rome* ſolemn Maſſes were ſung, and Thanks rendred to God for the good Succeſs which the *Roman* Catholicks had obtained in maſſacring the Hugonots. At Night, in token of Joy and Gladneſs, were made many great Bonfires in ſundry Places: And, as the Report went, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* gave a thouſand Crowns to the Perſon that brought him this welcome News.

The ſame Day that the Admiral was hurt, the King adviſed the King of *Navarre*, his Brother-in-law, to lodge in his Chamber, with ten or twelve of his truſtieſt Servants, to protect him from the Deſigns of the Duke of *Guiſe*, whom he called an unhappy Boy.

The Admiral before his Death made his Will, in which he gave the King Counſel, that he ſhould not give his Brethren over-great Portions. The Queen-mother hearing this, and reading the ſame to the Duke of *Alenſon* the King's Brother; now you ſee, ſaith ſhe, the Heart of your Friend the Admiral, whom you ſo much loved and reſpected.

The Duke anſwered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the King.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador made almoſt the like Anſwer when the ſaid Queen told him, how the Admiral had adviſed the King not to truſt the *Engliſh* too far.

Indeed Madam, ſaith he, hereby it appeared that tho' he bare but little good Will to the *Engliſh*, yet he manifeſted himſelf a loyal Servant to the Crown of *France*.

The *Sieur de Brion*, Governor of the little Marqueſs *Conde*, Son to the late Prince *Conde*, hearing theſe Stirs, taking his little Maſter even in his Shirt, thinking to convey him ſomewhere out of the Way, met theſe Murderers, who plucking from him the young Prince, maſſacred the old Man in his Preſence, whilſt the Prince with Tears entreated them to ſpare his Governor. But they dyed his white Hairs in his own Blood, and then barbarouſly dragged him thro' the Mire.

It was credibly reported that the Number of the Slain that *Sunday* Morning and two other Days following, in the City of *Paris*, and in the Suburbs, did amount to above ten thouſand, counting Lords, Gentlemen, Preſidents, Counſellors, Advocates, Lawyers, Scholars, Phyſicians, Merchants, Tradeſmen, Women, Maids, and Children. The Streets were covered with dead Bodies, the River was dyed with Blood, the Gates and Entrance into the King's Palace painted with the ſame Colour: But the Blood-thirſty were not yet ſatisfied.

But going from Houſe to Houſe with their Aſſociates, where they thought to find any Hugonots, they brake open the Doors, then cruelly murdered whomſoever they met, ſparing neither Sex nor Age. Carts were laden with dead Bodies of young Maidens, Women, Men and Children, which were diſcharged into the River, covered in a Manner all over with the Slain, and dyed red with their Blood, which alſo ſtreamed down the Streets from ſundry Parts thereof, whereat the Courtezans laughed their Fill, ſaying, That the Wars were now ended, and that hereafter they ſhould live in Peace, *&c.*

An Account of Monſieur Pierre de la Place.

MOnſieur *Pierre de la Place* Preſident of the Court of Requeſts, whoſe Story we will relate ſomewhat at large, becauſe his ſingular Piety requires the ſame. On *Sunday* Morning about ſix of the Clock, one Captain *Michael*, Harquebuſier of the King came into his Lodging, into which he had the more eaſy Acceſs for divers private Reſpects.

This Captain being armed, preſenting himſelf before the ſaid *De la Place*, the firſt Words he ſpake were, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſlain the Admiral by the King's Appointment, with many Hugonots beſides: And becauſe the reſt of them of what Quality ſoever were deſtinated to Death, he was come to his Lodging to exempt him from the common Deſtruction: Only he deſired to have a Sight of that Gold and Silver which was in the Houſe. The Lord *De la Place* ſomewhat amazed at the audacious Malapertneſs of the Man, who, in the midſt of ten or twelve Perſons which were preſent in the Room, durſt preſume to utter ſuch Language, ask'd him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a King or no?

To this the Captain blaſpheming anſwered, That he willed him to go with him to know the King's Pleaſure. The Lord *de la Place* hearing this, fearing alſo ſome Danger towards himſelf by Sedition in the City, ſlipped forth at a Back-door behind his Lodging, purpoſing to get into a Neighbour's Houſe. In the mean while moſt of his Servants vaniſhed out of Sight, and this Captain having ſtored himſelf with a thouſand Crowns, was intreated by the Lady *Marets*, Daughter to the ſaid Lord, to convey her Father with the Lord *Marets* her Husband into the Houſe of ſome *Roman* Catholick, which he conſented to do, and alſo performed it.

After this, *de la Place*, being refuſed at three ſeveral Houſes, was conſtrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his Wife very penſive and grieved beyond Meaſure, fearing leſt this Captain in the End would caſt her Son-in-law and Daughter into the River, as alſo for the imminent Danger wherein her dear Husband and all his Family were.

But the Lord *de la Place*, being ſtrengthned by the Spirit of God, with incredible Conſtancy, ſharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildly demonſtrated unto her, that we muſt receive theſe and the like Afflictions from the Hand of God; and ſo having diſcourſed awhile upon the Promiſes of God, comforted her.

Then he commanded all his Servants that were in the Houſe to be called together; who being come into his Chamber, according to his Cuſtom on the Lord's Days, he made a Form of Exhortation to his Family: Then went to Prayer, and began to read a Chapter out of the Book of *Job*, with the Expoſition or Sermon of Mr. *John Calvin* upon it. So having ſpoken ſomewhat of God's Mercy and Juſtice, which as a good and wiſe Father uſeth to exerciſe his Elect with ſundry Chaſtiſements, leſt they ſhould be entangled here below with the Things of this World, he ſhewed how needful Afflictions were for Chriſtians, and that it was beyond the Power of *Satan* or Men to hurt or wrong them, unleſs the Lord of his good Pleaſure gave them Leave. What need have we then, ſaid he, to dread their Authority, which at the moſt can but prevail over our Bodies? Then he went to Prayer again, preparing himſelf and his whole Family rather to endure all Sorts of Torments, yea Death itſelf, than to ſpeak or do any Thing that might tend to the Diſhonour of God.

Having finiſhed his Prayer, Word was brought him, that *Seneca* the Provoſt-marſhal with many Archers were at the Door of his Lodging, commanding the ſame to be opened in the King's Name, ſaying that he came to ſecure the Perſon of the Lord *De la Place*, and to preſerve his Houſe from being pillaged by the common Rabble. The Lord *De la Place* having Intelligence of this Speech, commanded the Door to be opened to him, who entring in, declared the great Slaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the City by the King's Command; adding this withal in *Latin*, that he would not ſuffer one to live, *Qui mingat ad Parietem.* Yet have I expreſs Charge from his Majeſty, ſaith he, to ſee that you ſhall ſuſtain no Wrong, but only conduct you to the

Louvre, becauſe the King is deſirous to be informed touching many Things about the Affairs of thoſe of the Religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himſelf ready to go to his Majeſty. The Lord *de la Place* anſwered, that he always thought himſelf happy before he left this Life, to gain any Opportunity by which he might render an Account to his Majeſty of his Behaviour and Actions.

But in regard ſuch horrible Maſſacres were every where committed, it was impoſſible for him to paſs to the *Louvre*, without certain Danger of his Perſon; praying him to aſſure his Majeſty of his Willingneſs to come, the while leaving in his Lodgings as many Archers as he thought fitting, until the Fury of the People was ſomewhat pacified. The Provoſt agreed to his Requeſt, and left with him one of his Lieuteants called *Toute Voye*, with four of his Archers.

Not long after came into his Lodging Preſident *Charon*, then Provoſt of the Merchants, with whom conferring a little in ſecret, going his Way, he left with the four Archers which were there before, four more of the City Archers. The whole Night following was ſpent in ſtopping up, and fortifying of all Paſſages from entring the Houſe; with Logs and Flint-ſtones, ſtopping up the Windows, as it ſeemed by this ſo exact and diligent a Defence, the Archers were left in the Houſe, to free the ſaid *de la Place* and all the Family from the common Calamity; till *Seneca* returning, the next Day after two of the Clock in the Afternoon, declared that he had expreſs Charge from the King to bring him to his Majeſty without Delay. He reply'd as before, that it was dangerous as yet to paſs thro' the City, in regard that even the ſame Morning there was an Houſe pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary inſiſted, ſaying, it was the common Speech of theſe Hugonots to proteſt that they were the King's moſt loyal and obedient Subjects and Servants; but when they were to manifeſt their Obedience to his Commands, then they came off but ſlowly, ſeeming rather much to abhor and deteſt it. And whereas he pretended Danger, *Seneca* anſwered, that he ſhould have a Captain of *Paris* who was well known to the People, to accompany him. As *Seneca* continued his Speech, the Captain of *Paris*, ſirnamed *Pazon*, a principal Actor in this Sedition, entered the Chamber of the ſaid Lord of *Place*, offering his Service to conduct him through the City to the King; which *de la Place* would by no Means yield to, telling *Seneca* that he was one of the moſt cruel and bloody minded Men in all the City, and therefore ſeeing he muſt needs go to the King, he intreated that the ſaid *Seneca* would be his Guard. To whom *Seneca* anſwerſwered, that having now other Affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty Paces.

Then his Wife (tho' otherwiſe a very gracious and good Lady) out of that entire Love which ſhe bare to her Husband, proſtrated herſelf at the Feet of the ſaid *Seneca*, beſeeching and intreating him to accompany her Husband to the King, but the ſaid *de la Place*, who never ſhewed any Sign of a dejected Spirit, came to his Wife, took her up from the Ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it is not the Arm of Fleſh that we muſt ſtoop unto, but unto God only. Then turning himſelf about, he perceived in his Son's Hat a white Croſs, which through Infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to ſave himſelf, for which his Father ſharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that Mark of Sedition thence; telling him, that we muſt now ſubmit ourſelves to bear the true Croſs of Chriſt, namely, thoſe Afflictions and Tribulations which it ſhall pleaſe our good God to lay upon us, as ſure Pledges of that eternal Happineſs, which he hath treaſured up for all his elect Servants. Thus ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the ſaid *Seneca*, to go with him to the King, reſolving upon Death, which he ſaw he could not avoid, he took his Cloak, embracing his Wife, earneſtly wiſhing her above all Things to have the Fear of God and his Honour in precious Eſteem, and then boldly went on his Way. Coming into the Street where the Glaſshouſe is, certain Murderers, who attended for his coming, with their Daggers in Readineſs, killed him, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, as an innocent Lamb, in the midſt of ten or twelve of *Seneca*'s Archers, who led him into that Butchery: And then pillaged and embezzeled away what they found in his Lodging, for the Space of five or ſix Days together. His Body (whoſe Soul was now received into Heaven) being carried into a Stable, and covering his Face over with Dung, the next Day they threw him into the River.

Peter Ramus the King's Profeſſor in Logick, a Man renowned among the Learned, was not forgotten. He had many Enemies, particularly one *James Carpenter*, who ſent the Murderers to the College of Prieſts, where the ſaid *Ramus* was hidden. But being diſcovered, he offered a good Sum of Money to ſave his Life; yet he was maſſacred, and caſt down out of an high Chamber-window to the Ground, ſo that his Bowels iſſuing out on the Stones, were afterwards trailed through the Streets; the Carcaſs was whipped by certain Scholars, being ſet on by their Tutors, to the great Diſgrace of good Literature, of which *Ramus* was an eminent Profeſſor.

A young Man who preferred his Mother's Safety in theſe Broils before his own, about the Age of 32 Years, a ſincere Chriſtian of excellent Learning; going abroad early on this dreadful *Sunday* Morning upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion, and hearing the Rumour about the Death of the Admiral throughout the City of *Paris*, he out of his ſingular Affection to his Mother, haſtened home with all poſſible Speed, informing her what had happened, and without Delay, not regarding his own Safety, ſecured her in a Place fit for the Purpoſe. After which he went to Prayers in his Study, as his Cuſtom was, where being found, the furious Maſſacrers asked him, if he would obey the King; he anſwered, Yes, but I muſt alſo obey God. Then immediately they began with Battle-axes and Staves to load him with Blows on the Head, that he received his own Blood into his Hands; and then making an End of him, they threw him into the River.

Note, It could not be found that above two Miniſters were ſlain in this bloody Maſſacre.

Philip le Doux a great Jeweller, at his Return home from *Guybray* Fair, being gone to Bed, his Wife at that Time had the Midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: She hearing theſe Furies below bouncing at the Door, commanding it to be opened to them in the King's Name; as ill as ſhe was, ſhe adventured down, and opened the Door to theſe Tygers, who preſently ſtabbed her Husband in his Bed. The Midwife ſeeing them bent to murder the Woman alſo, now ready to be deliver'd, inſtantly intreated them to ſtay, at leaſt ſo long as the Infant (which would be the 20th Child that God had given her) was born. Having conteſted ſome Time with them, they took this poor Woman half dead with Fear, and thruſt her into the Fundament with a Dagger to the very Hilt. She finding herſelf mortally wounded, and yet deſirous to bring forth her Fruit, ran into a Corn-loft, whither they purſued her, giving her another Stab into the Belly with a Dagger, and then threw her out of a Window into the Street: Upon which Fall the Child came from her Head foremoſt, gaping and yawning, to the great Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion of the Papiſts, who were conſtrained often with Deteſtation to acknowledge and confeſs the Cruelties of their Butchers.

One of the Maſſacrers having ſnatched up a little Child in his Arms, the poor innocent Babe began to play

play with his Beard, and to ſmile upon him; but inſtead of being moved to Compaſſion therewith, this barbarous Wretch wounded it with his Dagger, and then threw it all in gore Blood into the River.

At the Maſſacre of *Meaux* in *Brie*, one *Quintin Croyer*, an Elder of the Reformed Church, ſeeing many of his Companions maſſacred before his Eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon theſe Murderers; at which Prayer they fell a Laughing, and not being able with their Daggers to pierce a Jerkin of double Buff which he wore, and which they were loth to ſpoil, (for it was a good Booty) they cut aſunder the Points, and then gave him five or ſix Stabs with a Dagger into his Body; and ſo this good Man wounded to Death, calling upon God, rendered up his Spirit into the Hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren (at the ſame Time) a Man zealouſly affected to Religion, who had been Sheriff of the City in the firſt Troubles, having by his Endeavours chaſed the Maſs out of *Meaux*, for a Time was mortally hated of theſe ſeditious Papiſts; and therefore they were not contented ſimply to kill him, but firſt cut off his Noſe, Ears, and ſecret Parts, then giving him many ſmall Thruſts into divers Parts of the Body, they conſtrained him too and fro among them, as if he had gone thorough the Pikes. But being weakned, and not able any longer to hold out, in regard of the Blood that iſſued from all the Parts of his Body, he fell with his Face to the Ground, and inſtantly calling upon the Name of the Lord, received infinite Gaſhes and Wounds after he was dead.

Perſecution of the Faithful at Troys *in* Champaign.

NEWS coming to *Troys* of the Maſſacre executed at *Paris*, the greater part of the Judges and Officers of the King were ſent to the Bailiff of *Troys*, with Commandment diligently to make Search for all thoſe of the Religion from Houſe to Houſe, and to impriſon as many as they could meet withal.

In this City there was a Merchant called *Peter Belin*, a Man of a turbulent Nature. This *Belin* was at the Maſſacre in *Paris* on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day; from whence he was ſent with Letters from the King, dated the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*, to the Mayor and Sheriffs of *Troys*, to cauſe all theſe Perſecutions to ceaſe, and the Priſoners to be ſet at Liberty. On the third of *September* he came to *Troys* with theſe two Letters (which had been firſt publiſhed in *Paris*) with Commandment to deliver them to the foreſaid Magiſtrates to be proclaimed there alſo.

But at the firſt Entrance into the City, he began to enquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the *Hugonots* there as they had done in *Paris*; which was his Language through the Streets till he came home. But even ſome of the Papiſts, who were not ſo cruelly minded, demanded of *Belin* the Contents of the King's Letters, whereof they had ſome Inkling before. But he, like a Bedlam ſwelling with Choler, ſware that whoſoever ſaid they contained any thing tending to Pacification, lyed. Haſtning therefore to the Bailiff's Houſe at *Troys*, after he had delivered him the Packet, and buzzed ſomewhat in his Ear, he put him on to ſee this Execution done. Now that the ſame might paſs the better for current, the Help of the Executioner of *Troys* was requeſted, whoſe Name was *Charles*.

Yet he ſhewing himſelf more juſt and humane than the reſt, peremptorily refuſed to have his Hand in an Act tending to ſo great Cruelty; anſwering, that it was contrary to his Office to execute any Man before Sentence of Death had been firſt pronounced by the Magiſtrates. If they had ſuch Sentence to ſhew againſt any of the Priſoners, he was ready to do Juſtice; otherwiſe he would not preſume, without a Warrant, to bereave any Man of his Life: And ſo with theſe Words he returned home to his Houſe.

Now albeit this Anſwer, proceeding from ſuch a kind of Perſon, whoſe Office and Cuſtom it was to ſhed Blood, might ſomewhat have aſſwaged and taken off the Edge of the moſt barbarous Tyger in the World; yet the Bailiff ſlighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he ſent for one of the Gaolers of the Priſon who kept thoſe of the Religion; but he being ſick of a Tertian Ague, *Martin de Bures* was ſent to know his Pleaſure.

The Bailiff telling him at large what *Belin* had ſignified to him in private; as alſo, that on a ſudden all the Priſoners of the Religion muſt be put to Death, that ſo the Place might be purged of them: This (he ſaid) you muſt not fail to do.

But this *de Bures* made no Haſte to perform his Charge, acquainting no Man with ought that had paſſed between the Bailiff and him; no, not *Perennet* the Keeper, who then lay ſick in his Bed.

The next Day the Bailiff came into the Priſon about Seven of the Clock, and calling for *Perennet*, asked of him with a Smile, *Perennet*, is it done? *Perennet*, knowing nothing more or leſs, asked of him What? Then ſaith the Bailiff, Why are not the Priſoners diſpatched? and thereupon was ready with his Dagger to have ſtabbed him. But coming a little better to himſelf, he told *Perennet* what his Purpoſe was, and how he was to behave himſelf concerning the Execution thereof. At which Words this *Perennet* ſtanding amazed, though otherwiſe he was a Fellow forward enough of himſelf to commit any Outrages againſt the Proteſtants, certified the Bailiff, that ſuch an inhuman Act could not be committed over to him, fearing leſt in Time to come, Juſtice might be followed againſt him by the Parents or Allies of the Priſoners. No, no, ſaid the Bailiff, fear not, I will ſtand between you and all Harms. Others of the Juſtices have conſented thereto beſides myſelf, and would you have better Security than that?

Within awhile after, the Gaoler coming into the Court of the Priſon, where the Priſoners were abroad recreating themſelves, cauſed every one to reſort to his Cabbin, becauſe, ſaid he, the Bailiff will come by and by, to ſee whether the Keepers have done as he commanded them; which they did. Then began theſe poor Sheep to fear they were deſtinated to the Slaughter, and therefore went preſently to Prayers. *Perennet* inſtantly called his Companions about him, reporting to them what the Bailiff had given him in Charge. Then they all took an Oath, to execute the ſame; but approaching nigh to the Priſoners, they were ſo ſurprized with Fear, and their Hearts ſo failed them, that they ſtood gazing one upon another, having no Courage to act ſuch a barbarous Cruelty, and ſo returned to the Gaoler's Lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But inſtead of laying this to Heart, as a Warning-piece ſent them from above; as if of ſet Purpoſe they meant to reſiſt againſt the Checks of their own Conſciences, they ſent to the Tavern for ſixteen Pints of the beſt Wine, and intoxicating their Brains they drew a Liſt of all the Priſoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in Order; and as they came they maſſacred them.

One *Meurs* was no ſooner in their Sight, but one of them let drive at him with the Point of his Halbert, redoubling the ſame oft to have killed him, yet could not. The poor Man took hold on the Point of the Halbert, and himſelf pointing him to the Seat of the Heart, cryed to the Murderer with ſtedfaſt Voice, Here, Soldier, here, right at the Heart, right at the Heart, and ſo finiſhed this Life.

The Maſſacre (ſaith my Author) being ended, the Murderers made a great Pit on the Back-ſide of the Chappel of the Priſon, whereinto they caſt the Bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing. So

as

as one called *Mauſere* lying in the midſt of them, was eſpied to raiſe up himſelf above his fellow Martyrs in this Pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing Earth (as was reported) ſtifled him, being but half dead. The Blood ran in ſuch Abundance out at the Priſon Door, and thence through a Channel into a River, that it was turned into the Colour of Blood.

The next Day after, this worſhipful Bailiff of *Troys*, that he might apply the Plaiſter when the Parties were dead, cauſes the King's Letters, which he had received before, to be publiſh'd in all the Corners of the City with Sound of Trumpet. The Bailiff was preſent in Perſon at the Publication, and as the Notary read the Contents thereof to him, he pronounced the ſame jeeringly and not with a full and audible Voice, as Matters of ſuch Conſequence ought to be read.

One *Dechampeaux* Lord of *Bonilli*, a worthy Counſellor in the City of *Orleans* was murder'd in the following Manner: One called *Texier* came with a ſmall Troop to his Houſe, bidding himſelf and his Company to Supper with him. *Dechampeaux* bid them all kindly welcome, making them good Cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at *Paris*. But Supper being ended, *Texier* bad him deliver his Purſe. *Dechampeaux* laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jeſt, this cruel and unthankful Gueſt with blaſphemous Oaths told him in few Words what had hapned in the City of *Paris*, and what Preparation there was among the *Roman* Catholicks of *Orleans*, to cut off and root out the Proteſtants there. *Dechampeaux* ſeeing there was no Time now to conteſt with him, gave Money to this Thief: who, to requite the Courteſy and good Entertainment he had had, embrued his Hands in the Blood of his honeſt Neighbour, a Man of as good and upright a Carriage as was in all the City, and afterwards himſelf with his Troop pillaged the whole Houſe.

The 26th Day of *Auguſt* following, the Maſſacrers began the Execution about the Ramparts in a violent Manner; in theſe Quarters there inhabited many of the Religion. All the Night long was heard nothing but ſhooting off of Guns and Piſtols, forcing open of Doors and Windows, fearful Outcries of the Maſſacred, both of Men, Women, and little Children, trampling of Horſes, and rumbling of Carts, hurrying of dead Bodies to and fro; the Street ſwarming with unwonted Exclamations of thoſe of the common Sort, with horrible Blaſphemies of the Murderers, laughing their Fill at their furious Exploits; ſome crying kill them all, and then take the Spoil; others, ſpoil not, but kill all.

On *Wedneſday* the Maſſacre began more fiercely, and ſo continued to the End of the Week, not ſparing to break theſe and the like Jeſts upon the poor Maſſacred: Where is now your God? What is become of all your Prayers and Pſalms now? Let your God, whom you have call'd upon, ſave you if he can. Yea ſome of them, who in Times paſt had been Profeſſors of the ſame Religion, whilſt they were maſſacring the poor Innocents, durſt ſing unto them in Scorn the Beginning of the three and fortieth Pſalm: Which runs, Judge me, O God, and plead my Cauſe. Others ſtriking them ſaid, ſing now, Have Mercy on me, O God; which Language they uſed to this poor People in *Paris*, and elſewhere. But theſe execrable Outrages no way daunted the Courage of the Faithful from dying ſtedfaſt in the Faith.

Touching the Multitude of the Slain, the Murderers did not ſtick to vaunt that in this City they cauſed 18,000 Men to periſh: Alſo an hundred and fifty Women, with a great Number of Children of nine Years old and upward. The Manner of their Death was, firſt to ſhoot them with Piſtols, then to ſtrip them of their Cloaths, and either drowning or elſe burying the dead Bodies in Pits.

On *Tueſday* at Night certain of this bloody Crew came and knocked at the Door of one that was a Doctor of the Civil Law, called *Taillebous*; who opening a Caſement, and underſtanding that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him, came down immediately, and opened the Door unto them. At the firſt greeting they told him he muſt die. Whereupon he fell to Prayer, and that with ſuch Conſtancy and Affection, that the Maſſacrers being aſtoniſhed, and by a ſecret celeſtial Power reſtrained, contented themſelves only with taking his Purſe, in which there were fifteen Crowns, and ſo left him, offering him no more Violence.

The Day following certain Scholars reſorting to his Lodging, requeſted of him that they might ſee his Library, into which having brought them, one asked this Book of him, and another another, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet ſatisfied, their Purpoſe being to kill him. He proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, and having ended his Prayer, willed them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own Houſe from one Place to another and at length knocked him down.

A rich Burgeſs of the City called *Nicholas Bougars Setur de Nove*, a Man of ſingular Worth, and highly eſteemed of all, was at that Time deadly ſick. Some of the Murderers came into his Chamber with a Purpoſe to kill him; but ſeeing him in that Caſe ſpared him: Yet finding there *Noel Chaperon*, Apothecary, who brought him Phyſick, they cut off one of his Arms, then drew him into the open Market-place, where they made an End of him.

The next Day there came one to the Lodging of him that was ſick, who was wont heretofore to viſit him. Now as he was entring in, he met the Mother of the ſick Party at the Door going unto Maſs, and coming up into the Chamber he ſtabbed the ſaid ſick Man with a Dagger in many Places, and ſo killed a dying Man. Then with all Silence, as if he had done no ſuch Act, wiping his Dagger, he went down the Stairs again, and meeting one at the Door who came to viſit him that was ſick, this Fellow ſaluting him paſſed along by him without any Change either in his Behaviour or Countenance.

Francis Stample a rich Merchant, was threatned to have his Throat cut preſently, if he gave not the Murderers Money: But having none about him, he wrote a Letter to his Wife, to ſend him his Ranſom: He had no ſooner ſealed the Letter, but the Murderers deprived him thereof and his Life together, laughing at that they had done. And though they got from his Widow a round Sum of Money, yet could ſhe not obtain at their Hands the Body of her dead Husband. And theſe are the Fruits of Popery.

Among thoſe that confeſſed the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Francis le Boſſu*, a Merchant, with his two Sons, well deſerve our Notice; for whilſt he trampled in the Blood of his Brethren, being beſmeared therewith, and ſpirting, as it were in his Face, he encouraged his Children to take their Death willingly and patiently, uſing this Speech: *Children, we are not to learn now that it hath always been the Portion of Believers, to be hated, cruelly uſed, and devoured by Unbelievers; as Chriſt's ſilly Sheep of ravening Wolves: If we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him. Let not theſe drawn Swords terrify us, they will be but as a Bridge whereby we ſhall paſs over out of a miſerable Life, into immortal Bleſſedneſs. We have breathed and lived long enough among the Wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great Company which is here gone before us, and let us make Way for them, that they ſhall follow after.*

When he ſaw the Murderers come, he claſped his Arms about his two Sons, and they likewiſe embraced their Father; as if the Father meant to be a Buckler to his Children, and the Children as if by the Bond of Nature (which binds them to defend his Life from

whence they received it) they meant to ward off the Blows which were coming towards their Father, tho' with the Loſs of their own Lives; who when the Maſſacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious Aſſault, theſe impudent Creatures went up and down the City, ſhewing their white Doublets all beſprinkled with Blood; boaſting, that ſome had killed an hundred, ſome more, ſome leſs.

As the Multitude were dragging the dead Bodies to the River, an Apothecary came and informed them, that Money might be made of the Greaſe that was taken out of their Bodies. Then were the moſt corpulent Bodies preſently ſought for, which when they had ripped up, a great Quantity of that Commodity being gotten thence, was ſold by theſe Merchants for three Shillings the Pound.

Thoſe of *Dauphine*, of *Languedoc*, and *Provence*, were amazed to ſee ſo many Bodies floating upon the Water, ſome diſmembred, others faſtned together with long Poles, others lying on the Shore, ſome having their Eyes put out, others their Noſes, Ears, and Hands cut off, ſtabbed in with Daggers in every Part of their Body, ſo as ſome among them had no human Shape remaining. Yea, ſo great a Number of theſe mangled Corpſes preſented themſelves on the Port of *Tournon*, that the Men and Women of the Place began to make an Outcry, as if the Enemies had been at their Gates.

Not many Months after, when all theſe bloody Tragedies were ended, the Pope ſent Cardinal *Urſin* as Legate to the King, who was received with great Solemnity at *Lyons*. Now having heard Maſs at St. *John*'s Church, and returning by the ſame Door which he went in at, the greateſt Number of the Maſſacrers attended his coming there, and all kneeled down for his Abſolution. But the Legate not knowing the Reaſon of it, one of the principal Agents told him, that they were thoſe who had been the Actors in the Maſſacre. When the Legate perceived that, he abſolved them all with making the Sign of the Croſs.

As ſoon as the Maſſacre was begun at *Paris*, a Gentleman of *Paris*, called *Monſoreau*, obtained a Paſport with Letters to maſſacre thoſe of the Religion at *Angiers*. Who, being diſappointed of his Prey in one Place, came to the Lodging of a reverend and learned Miniſter, called Mr. *John Maſon*, ſirnamed *de Launay*, Sieur of *Riviere*. Meeting his Wife at his Entrance into the Houſe, he ſaluted her and kiſs'd her, as it is the Manner in *France*, eſpecially among the Courtiers, and asked her where her Husband was? She anſwered him, that he was walking in his Garden; and then directed him the Way unto him.

Monſoreau having lovingly embraced *la Riviere*, ſaid unto him, Do you know wherefore I am come? The King hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me expreſs Charge to do it, as you ſhall ſee by his Letters. After which Words he ſhewed him a Piſtol ready charged. *Riviere* replyed, That he knew not wherein he had offended the King; but ſeeing, ſaith he, you ſeek my Life, give me a little Leave to cry to God for Mercy, and to recommend my Spirit into his Hands.

Having made a ſhort Prayer, he willingly preſented his Body to the Murderer, who ſhot him in with his Piſtol, and he immediately died.

And the Miniſter's Wife was ſoon after drowned with nine others.

Six thouſand were murder'd at *Roan* in much the ſame Manner.

Now touching the Prince of *Conde*, the King propounded to him three Things; either to go to Maſs, to die, or elſe perpetual Priſon; and therefore to bethink himſelf well which of the three he liked beſt. The Prince anſwered, as it is reported, that by God's Grace he would never chooſe the firſt; as for the two latter, he referred himſelf to the King's Pleaſure.

About three hundred were barbarouſly murdered at *Tholouſe*, and after taking all their Goods, they ſtripped them naked, and expos'd them to publick View for two Days, and then they threw them in Heaps into great Pits. There were certain Counſellors, who after they were maſſacred, were hung up in their long Gowns upon a great Elm which was in the Court of the Palace.

The Maſſacre at *Bourdeaux* was begun and carry'd on much in the ſame Manner of thoſe before-mention'd. But their Miniſters found Means to eſcape, hiding themſelves in the Rocks and Marſhes, till they had an Opportunity to take Shipping for *England*.

One Thing here may be noted, The Houſe of a Counſellor in Parliament, was forced open, pillaged and ſpoiled, and himſelf cruelly murdered. His Clerk ſeeing his Maſter about to be maſſacred, embraced him and comforted him: And being asked whether he were of the Religion, he anſwered Yea, and would die with his Maſter for the ſame. And they were ſlain in one another's Arms.

A Deacon of the reformed Church, named *Du Tour*, an old Man, who in the Days of his Ignorance had been a Prieſt in the Popiſh Church, being ſick in his Bed, was haled forth into the open Street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to Maſs, and thereby ſave his Life; he freely anſwered, no, eſpecially now drawing ſo near his End, both in regard of his Years and grievous Sickneſs: I hope (ſaith he) I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternal Salvation of my Soul, as for Fear of Death to prolong this Life for a few Days; for ſo I ſhould buy a ſhort Term of Life at too dear a Rate. They hearing him ſay ſo, murdered him inſtantly.

It was lamentable to ſee the poor Proteſtants wandring up and down, not knowing where to ſave their Lives: Some were rejected of their own Parents and Kinsfolks, who ſhut their Doors againſt them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by thoſe, to whoſe Truſt they had committed themſelves: Many were ſaved even by Prieſts and others, from whom a Man would have expected no ſuch Security. Some were ſaved by their very Enemies, whoſe Hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable Outrages.

All the City was full of Terrors and horrible Threats againſt thoſe of this Religion, ſaying, that the King's Commandment was, that he would not have ſo much as one of them left in his Kingdom. And if any refuſed to go to Maſs, that an Hole ſhould be digged for him in the Earth, in which he ſhould be buried without any more ado.

The Judgment of God fell not long after upon one of theſe Maſſacrers called *Vincent*, he fell dangerouſly ſick, but in the End recovering again, and as he thought being in good Health, told ſome of his Friends that he felt his Arms ſtrong enough to handle his Coutlax as well as ever he had done. But within awhile after he was overtaken by the Hand of God, with ſuch a Flux of bleeding at his Noſe, as could not be reſtrained nor diverted by any of the Remedies that were then uſed. It was an hideous Sight to ſee him ſtill bowing his Head over a Baſon full of Blood, which without ceaſing iſſued out of his Noſe and Mouth, even until his laſt Gaſp.

Another was taken with ſuch a Swelling in all the Parts of his Body, that there was ſcarcely to be diſcerned in him the Form of a Man, and ſo continued ſwelling till at length he burſt in ſunder.

Thus we have taken a View of the extream Afflictions of the reformed Churches in many Parts of *France*, wherein within a few Weeks nigh thirty thouſand were put to Death.

In the Year 1573, the Place whither the Faithful fled for Refuge, was aſſailed by open War; namely, *Sancerre*, the Hiſtory whereof you have here in a ſhort View.

Sancerre being compaſſed about with irreconcileable Enemies, from about the Beginning of *April*; the want of Victuals having cauſed them to gather together all the Aſſes and Mules they had in the City, they were eaten up in leſs than a Month.

Then they came to Horſes, Cats, Rats, Moles, Mice and Dogs. After theſe were ſpent, they fell to Ox and Cow Hides, Sheep-skins, Parchment, old Shoes, Bullocks and Horſe-hoofs, Horns, and Lanthorns, Ropes, and Horſe-harneſs, Leather Girdles, *&c.*

In the End of *June* the third Part of the Beſieged had not Bread to eat. Such as could get Hempſeed, ground it, or ſtamped it in Mortars, and made Bread of it, the like they did with all ſorts of Herbs, mingling the ſame with Bran if they had it. There they eat Meal of Chaff, Nut-ſhells, and of Slate, Execrements of Horſes, and Men, yea, the Offal which lay in the Streets was not ſpared.

The nine and twentieth of *July*, a poor Man and his Wife were executed for having eaten the Head, Brains, and Entrails of a young Child about three Years old which died of Hunger; having made ready the other Parts to eat at another Meal. An old Woman who lodged in their Houſe, eating a Part of this mournful Dyet, died in Priſon, within a few Hours after her Impriſonment.

They were found guilty of other Offences; but this aggravated the ſame the more. All Children under twelve Years of Age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful Voices uttered by poor Parents, for the Miſery wherein their Eyes beheld their languiſhing and dying Infants.

To which Purpoſe you may take Notice here of a memorable Accident. A Boy of ten Years old, being ready to yield up the Ghoſt, ſeeing his Father and Mother weeping over him (whoſe Arms and Legs when they handled, felt as if they had been dried Sticks) ſaid unto them, Wherefore weep ye thus, in ſeeing me famiſhed to Death? Mother, ſaith he, I ask you for no Bread, I know you have none: But ſeeing it is God's Will I muſt die this Death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy Man *Lazarus* die of Famine? Have I not read it in my Bible? In uttering theſe with the like Speeches he yielded up the Ghoſt the thirteenth Day of *July*.

That all the People died not of a Famine in the End of this Month, it was by reaſon of certain Horſes which were reſerved for Service if need ſhould be, and ſix Kine which were left to give Milk for the Suſtenance of young Infants. Theſe Beaſts were killed, and their Fleſh ſold for the Relief of ſuch as were living, with a little Corn, which by Stealth ſome brought into the City; ſo that a Pound of Wheat was ſold for half a Crown.

There died by Fight in *Sancerre* but eighty-four Perſons, but of the Famine more than five hundred. Many Soldiers getting forth as they could out of the City, flying from the Famine, choſe rather to die by the Sword of the Enemy; whereof ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and the reſt put to Death by the Executioner.

But when all Help of Man failed, the King having ſworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of Kings delivered them by his wonderful Providence. For at this Inſtant the Ambaſſadors from *Poland* came into *France* to accept the Duke of *Anjou* for their King, at whoſe Intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor *Sancerre*, more than half famiſhed, was now ſet at Liberty by raiſing the Siege, who otherwiſe were determined to leave their Bones there, rather than to yield themſelves into their Enemies Hands, in regard they had oft threatned them with a general Maſſacre. Whereas now by the King's Appointment they were permitted to paſs out of the City armed; if any would tarry, that they ſhould not be moleſted: Having Liberty granted them to diſpoſe of their Affairs, as they pleaſed, with Promiſe of conſerving the Honour and Chaſtities as well of Virgins, as Women, *&c.*

There alſo died in the Siege of *Rochel*, *October* 20, 1628, ſixteen thouſand Perſons, the reſt enduring a World of Miſeries; moſt of their Food being Hides, Leather, and old Gloves: Other Proviſions being very ſcarce were at an exceſſive Rate, *viz.*

A Buſhel of Wheat, twenty Pound; a Pound of Bread, twenty Shillings; a Quarter of Mutton, ſix Pounds odd Money; a Pound of Butter, thirty Shillings; an Egg, eight Shillings; an Ounce of Sugar, half a Crown; a dry'd Fiſh, twenty Shillings; a Pint of Wine, twenty Shillings; a Pound of Grapes, three Shillings; a Pint of Milk, thirty Shillings.

Alſo it is reported, that thro' the Famine, young Maids of fourteen or ſixteen Years of Age did look like Women of an hundred Years old. The Famine was ſuch, that the poor People would cut off the Buttocks of the Dead as they lay in the Church-yard unburied. All the *Engliſh* that came out looked like Anatomies. They lived two Months with nothing but Cow-hides and Goat-skins boiled; the Dogs, Cats, Mice and Frogs being all ſpent.

A brief Diſcourſe of the great Preparations of the Spaniards *in order to invade* England, *in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

THE Duke of *Parma* in *Flanders*, by Command of the *Spaniards*, built Ships, and a great Company of ſmall broad Veſſels, each one able to tranſport thirty Horſe, with Bridges fitted for them ſeverally; and hired Mariners from the Eaſt Part of *Germany*, and provided long Pieces of Wood, ſharpned at the End, and covered with Iron, with Hooks on the one Side, and twenty thouſand Veſſels, with an huge Number of Faggots, and placed an Army ready in *Flanders*, of 103 Companies of Foot, and four thouſand Horſemen. Among theſe ſeven hundred *Engliſh* Vagabonds, who were had of all others in moſt Contempt. Neither was *Stanly* reſpected or heard, who was ſet over the *Engliſh*, nor *Weſtmoreland*, nor any other who offer'd their Help: But for their Unfaithfulneſs to their own Country were ſhut out from all Conſultations, and as Men unanimouſly rejected with Deteſtation. And becauſe Pope *Sixtus* V. in ſuch a Caſe would not be wanting, he ſent Cardinal *Alan* into *Flanders*, and renewed the Bulls Declaratory of Pope *Pius* V. and *Gregory* XIII. He excommunicateth and depoſeth Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolveth her Subjects from all Allegiance, and, as if it had been againſt the *Turks* and Infidels, he ſet forth in Print a Conceit, wherein he beſtowed plenary Indulgences, out of the Treaſure of the Church, beſides a Million of Gold, or ten hundred thouſand Ducats, to be diſtributed (the one half in hand, the reſt when either *England*, or ſome famous Haven therein ſhould be won) upon all them that would join their Help againſt *England*. By which Means the Marquiſs of *Burgaw*, of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, *Armady* Duke of *Savoy*, *Veſpaſian*, *Gonzaga*, *John Medices*, and divers other Noblemen were drawn into theſe Wars.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might not be ſurprized unawares, prepared as great a Navy as ſhe could, and with ſingular Care and Providence made all Things ready neceſſary for War. And ſhe herſelf, who was ever moſt judicious in diſcerning of Mens Wits and Aptneſs, and moſt happy in making Choice, when ſhe made it out of her own Judgment, and not at the Di-

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rection of others, deſigned the beſt and moſt ſerviceable to each ſeveral Employment. Over the whole Navy ſhe appointed the Lord Admiral *Charles Howard*, in whom ſhe repoſed much Truſt; and ſent him to the Weſt part of *England*, where Captain *Drake*, whom ſhe made Vice-Admiral, joyned with him. She commanded *Henry Seymor*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, to watch upon the *Belgick* Shore with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, that the Duke of *Parma* might not come out with his Forces. Albeit ſome were of Opinion, that the Enemy was to be expected and ſet upon by Land Forces, according as it was upon Deliberation reſolved in the Time of *Henry* VIII. when the *French* brought a great Navy on the *Engliſh* Shore.

For the Land Fight, there were placed on the South Shores 20,000; and two Armies beſides were muſter'd of the choiceſt Men for War. The one of theſe which conſiſted of 1000 Horſe, 22,000 Foot, was the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſet over, and encamped at *Tilbury* on the ſide of the *Thames*: For the Enemy was reſolved firſt to ſet upon *London*. The other Army was govern'd by the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of 34,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, to guard the Queen.

The Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Men famouſly known for military Experience, were choſen to confer of the Land Fight. Theſe thought fit that all thoſe Places ſhould be fortified, with Men and Ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either out of *Spain*, or out of *Flanders*, as *Milford-Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the open Side of *Kent* called the *Downs*, the *Thames* Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. That trained Soldiers through all the maritime Provinces ſhould meet upon Warning given, to defend theſe Places, that they ſhould, by their beſt Means, hinder the Enemy from landing; and if they did happen to land, then they were to deſtroy the Fruits of the Country all about, and ſpoil every thing that might be of any Uſe to the Enemy, that ſo he might find no more Victuals than what he brought upon his Soldiers with him. And that by continual Alarums the Enemy ſhould find no Reſt Day or Night; but they ſhould not try any Battle, until divers Captains were met together with their Companies. That one Captain might be named in every Shire which might command.

Two Years before, the Duke of *Parma* conſidering how hard a Matter it was to end the *Belgick* War, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with Aid from the Queen, he moved for a Treaty of Peace, by the Means of Sir *James Croft*, one of the Privy Council, a Man deſirous of Peace, and *Andrew Loe* a *Dutchman*, and profeſſed that the *Spaniard* had delegated Authority to him for this Purpoſe. But the Queen fearing that the Friendſhip between her and the Confederate Princes might be diſſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawn to the *Spaniard*; ſhe deferred that Treaty for ſome Time. But now, that the Wars on both Sides prepared might be turned away, ſhe was content to treat of Peace; but ſo, as ſtill holding the Weapons in her Hand.

For this Purpoſe in *February* Delegates were ſent into *Flanders*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croft*, Doctor *Dale*, and Doctor *Rogers*. Theſe were received with all Humanity on the Duke's Behalf, and they preſently ſent Dr. *Dale* to him, that a Place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might ſee the Authority delegated to him by the *Spaniſh* King. He appointed the Place near to *Oſtend*, not in *Oſtend*, which then was holden of the *Engliſh* againſt the King. His Authority delegated he promiſed then to ſhew, when they were once met together. He wiſhed them to make good Speed in the Buſineſs, leſt ſomewhat might fall out in the mean Time which might trouble the Motions of Peace. *Richardotus* ſpake ſomewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this Interim ſhould be done againſt *England*.

Not long after, Dr. *Rogers* was ſent to the Prince, by an expreſs Commandment from the Queen, to know the Truth, whether the *Spaniard* had reſolved to invade *England*, which he and *Richardotus* ſeemed to ſignify. He affirmed, that he did not ſo much as think of the Invaſion of *England*, when he wiſhed that the Buſineſs might proceed with Speed: And was in a Manner offended with *Richardotus*, who denied that ſuch Words fell from him.

The 12th of *April* the Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardotus*, Dr. *Maeſius*, and *Garnier*, delegated from the Prince of *Parma*, met with the *Engliſh*, and yielded to them the Honour both in Walking and Sitting. And when they affirmed that the Duke had full Authority to treat of Peace, the *Engliſh* moved, that firſt a Truce might be made. Which they denied; alledging, that that Thing muſt needs be hurtful to the *Spaniard*, who had for ſix Months maintained a great Army, which might not be diſmiſſed upon a Truce, but upon an abſolute Peace. The *Engliſh* urged, that a Truce was promiſed before they came into *Flanders*. The *Spaniard* againſt that held, That ſix Months ſince a Truce was promiſed; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the Queen's Power to undertake a Truce for *Holland* and *Zealand*, who daily attempted Hoſtility. The *Engliſh* moved inſtantly, that the Truce might be general for all the Queen's Territories, and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*: But they would have it but for four *Dutch* Towns which were in the Queen's Hands, that is, *Oſtend*, *Fluſhing*, *Bergen ap Zoom*, and the *Briel*; and theſe only during the Treating, and twenty Days after; and that in the mean Time it might be lawful for the Queen to invade *Spain*, or for the *Spaniard* to invade *England*, either from *Spain* or *Flanders*. At laſt, when the *Engliſh* could not obtain an Abſtinence from Arms, and could by no Means ſee the Charter by which the Duke of *Parma* was authoriſed to treat of Peace; they propoſed theſe Things, that the antient Leagues between the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy* might be renewed and confirmed; that all the *Dutch* might fully enjoy their own Privileges; that with Freedom of Conſcience they might ſerve God; that the *Spaniſh* and foreign Soldiers might be put out of *Dutchland*, that neither the *Dutch* nor their neighbouring Nations might fear them. If theſe Things might be granted, the Queen would come to equal Conditions concerning the Towns which now ſhe held (that all might know, that ſhe took up Arms not for her own Gain, but for the neceſſary Defence both of herſelf and of the *Dutch*) ſo that the Money which is owing therefore be repay'd. To which they anſwered, That for renewing the old Leagues there ſhould be no Difficulty, when they might have a friendly Conference of that Thing. That concerning the Privileges of the *Dutch*, there was no Cauſe why foreign Princes ſhould take Care, which Privileges were moſt favourably granted not only to Provinces and Towns reconciled, but even to ſuch as by Force of Arms are brought into Subjection. That foreign Soldiers were held upon urgent Neceſſity, when as *Holland*, *England*, and *France* were all in Arms.

Touching thoſe Towns taken from the King of *Spain*, and the repaying of the Money, they anſwer'd, That the *Spaniard* might demand as many Myriads of Crowns to be from the Queen repaid him, as the *Belgick* War hath coſt him ſince the Time that ſhe hath favoured and protected the *Dutch* againſt him.

At this Time Dr. *Dale* by the Queen's Command, going to the Duke of *Parma*, gently expoſtulated with him touching a Book printed there, ſet out lately by Cardinal *Allen*, where he exhorts the Nobles and Peo-

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ple of *England* and *Ireland* to join themſelves to the King of *Spain*'s Forces, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, for the Execution of the Sentence of Pope *Sixtus* V. againſt the Queen, declared by his Bull; in which ſhe is declared an Heretick, illegitimate, cruel againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and her Subjects were commanded to help *Parma* againſt her: For at that Time a great Number of thoſe Bulls and Books were printed at *Antwerp* to be diſperſed thro' *England*. The Duke denied that he had ſeen ſuch a Bull or Book, neither would he do any thing by the Pope's Authority; as for his own King, him he muſt obey. Yet he ſaid, he ſo obſerved the Queen for her princely Virtues, that after the King of *Spain*, he offered all Service to her. That he had perſuaded the King of *Spain* to yield to this Treaty of Peace, which is more profitable for *Engliſh* than *Spaniſh*: For if they ſhould be overcome they would eaſily repair their Loſs, but if you be overcome, the Kingdom is loſt.

To whom *Dale* reply'd, That our Queen was ſufficiently furniſhed with Forces to defend the Kingdom. That a Kingdom will not eaſily be gotten by the Fortune of one Battle, ſeeing the King of *Spain*, in ſo long a War is not yet able to recover his ancient Patrimony in the *Netherlands*.

Well, quoth the Duke, be it ſo, theſe Things are in God's Hands.

After this the Delegates contended among themſelves by mutual Replications, weaving and unweaving the ſame Web. The *Engliſh* were earneſt in this, That Freedom of Religion might be granted at leaſt for two Years to the confederate Princes. They anſwered, That as the King of *Spain* had not intreated that for *Engliſh* Catholicks; ſo they hoped the Queen in her Wiſdom would not intreat any Thing of the King of *Spain* which might ſtand againſt his Honour, his Oath, and his Conſcience.

Then they demanded the Money due from the States of *Brabant*; it was anſwered, That the Money was lent without the King's Knowledge: But let the Account be taken, how much the Money was, and how much the King hath ſpent in theſe Wars, and then it may appear who ſhould look for Repayment.

Thus the *Engliſh* of ſet Purpoſe were from Time to Time driven off, until the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come near the *Engliſh* Shore, and the Noiſe of Guns were heard from the Sea. Then had they Leave to depart, and were by the Delegates honourably brought to the Borders near to *Calis*. The Duke of *Parma* had in the mean Time brought all his Forces to the Sea Shore.

Thus this Conference came to nothing; undertaken by the Queen, as the wiſer then thought, to avert the *Spaniſh* Fleet; continued by the *Spaniard* that he might oppreſs the Queen, being as he ſuppoſed unprovided, and not expecting the Danger. So both of them tried to uſe Time to their beſt Advantages.

In fine, the *Spaniſh* Fleet, well furniſhed with Men, Ammunition, Engines, and all warlike Preparation, the beſt indeed that was ever ſeen upon the Ocean, called by that arrogant Title, The Invincible Armada, conſiſting of 130 Ships, wherein there were in all 19,290: Mariners 8350; chained Rowers 11080; great Ordnance 11,630. The chief Commander was *Perezius Guſmannus*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; and under him *Joannes Martinus Ricaldus*, a Man of great Experience in Sea Affairs.

The 30th of *May* they looſed out of the River *Tagus*, and purpoſing to hold their Courſe to the *Groin*, in *Gallicia*, they were beaten and ſcattered by a Tempeſt: The Gallies by the Help of *David Gwin* an *Engliſh* Servant, and by the Perfidiouſneſs of *Turks* which rowed, were carried away into *France*. The Fleet with much ado after ſome Days came to the *Groin* and other Harbours near adjoining. The Report was, that the Fleet was ſo ſhaken with this Tempeſt, that the Queen was perſuaded, that ſhe was not to expect that Fleet this Year. And Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Secretary, wrote to the Lord Admiral, that he might ſend back four of the greateſt Ships, as if the War had been ended. But the Lord Admiral did not eaſily give Credit to that Report; yet with a gentle Anſwer entreated him to believe nothing haſtily in ſo important a Matter: As alſo that he might be permitted to keep thoſe Ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own Charges. And finding a favourable Wind, turned Sails towards *Spain*, to ſurpriſe the Enemies ſhaken Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Shore of *Spain*, the Wind turning, and he being charged to defend the *Engliſh* Shore, fearing that the Enemies unſeen might by the ſame Wind be driven to *England*, he returned unto *Plymouth*.

Now with the ſame Wind, the 12th of *July* the Duke of *Medina* with his Fleet departed from the *Groin*. And after a few Days he ſent *Rodericus Telius* into *Flanders*, to advertiſe the Duke of *Parma*, giving him Warning that the Fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himſelf ready. For *Medina* his Commiſſion was to join himſelf with the Ships and Soldiers of *Parma*; and under the Protection of his Fleet, to bring them into *England*, and to land his Land Forces upon the *Thames* Side.

The ſixteenth Day (ſaith the Relator) there was a great Calm, and a thick Cloud was upon the Sea till Noon: Then the North-Wind blowing roughly; and again the Weſt-Wind till Midnight, and after that the Eaſt; the *Spaniſh* Navy was ſcattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within the Sight of *England* the nineteenth Day of *July*. Upon which Day the Lord Admiral was certified by *Flemming* (who had been a Pyrate) that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was entred into the *Engliſh* Sea, which the Mariners call the Channel, and was deſcryed near to the *Lizard*. The Lord Admiral brought forth the *Engliſh* Fleet into the Sea, but not without great Difficulty, by the Skill, Labour, and Alacrity of the Soldiers and Mariners, every one labouring; yea the Lord Admiral himſelf put his Hand to this Work.

The next Day the *Engliſh* Fleet viewed the *Spaniſh* Fleet coming along with Towers like Caſtles in Height, her Front crooked like the Faſhion of the Moon, the Horns of the Front were extended one from the other about ſeven Miles, or as ſome ſay eight Miles aſunder, ſailing with the Labour of the Winds, the Ocean as it were groaning under it; their Sail was but ſlow, and yet at full Sail before the Wind. The *Engliſh* were willing to let them hold on their Courſe, and when they were paſſed by, got behind them, and ſo got the Help of the Wind.

Upon the one and twentieth of *July*, the Lord Admiral of *England* ſent a Pinnace before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the Battle by ſhooting off Pieces, And being himſelf in the *Arch-Royal* (the *Engliſh* Pretorian Ship or Admiral) he ſet upon a Ship which he took to be the *Spaniſh* Admiral, but it was the Ship of *Alfonſus Leva*. Upon that he beſtowed much Shot. Preſently *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher* came in upon the *Spaniſh* hindmoſt Ships, which *Ricaldus* governed. Upon theſe they thundred. *Ricaldus* laboured as much as lay in him to ſtay his Men, who fled away in their Navy, until his Ship beaten and much battered with many Shot hardly recovered the Fleet. Then the Duke *Medina* gathered together his diſſipated Fleet, and ſetting up more Sail, held on their Courſe. Indeed they could do no other, for the *Engliſh* had gotten the Advantage of the Wind, and their Ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible Celerity to come upon the Enemy with a full Courſe and then to turn and return, and be on every Side at their Pleaſure. After a long Fight, and that each of them had taken ſome Trial, as of their own Courage,

ſo of the *Spaniards* alſo, the Lord Admiral thought good not to continue the ſame any longer, in regard that forty Ships were then abſent, which at that Inſtant were ſcarce drawn out of *Plymouth* Haven.

The Night following, St. *Katherine*, a *Spaniſh* Ship, being ſadly torn in the Battle, was received into the midſt of the Navy to be mended. Here a great *Cantabrian* Ship of *Oquenda*, wherein was the Treaſurer of the Camp, by Force of Gunpowder took Fire, yet it was quenched in Time by the Ships that came to help her. Of theſe that came to help the fired Ship, one was a Galleon, in which was *Petrus Waldez*; the Foremaſt of the Galleon was caught in the Tackling of another Ship, and broken. This was taken by *Drake*, who ſent *Waldez* to *Dartmouth*, and a great Sum of Money, *viz.* fifty-five thouſand Ducats, which he diſtributed among the Soldiers. This *Waldez* coming into *Drake*'s Preſence, kiſſed his Hand, and told him, they had all reſolved to die, if they had not been ſo happy as to fall into his Hands, whom he knew to be noble. That Night he was appointed to ſet forth Light, but neglected it; and ſome *German* Merchant Ships coming by that Night, he thinking them to be Enemies, followed them ſo far, that the *Engliſh* Navy reſted all Night when they could ſee no Light ſet forth. Neither did he or the reſt of the Navy find the Admiral until the next Day at Even. The Admiral all Night proceeding with the *Bear* and the *Mary Roſe*, carefully followed the *Spaniards* with Watchfulneſs. The Duke was buſy in ordering his Navy. *Alfonſus Leva* was commanded to join the firſt and laſt Companies. Every Ship had his Station aſſigned, according to that preſcribed Form which was appointed in *Spain*; it was preſent Death to forſake his Station. This done, he ſent *Gliclius* an *Anceani* to *Parma*, which might declare to him in what Caſe they were, and left that *Cantabrian* Ship of *Oquenda* to the Wind and Sea, having taken out the Money and Mariners, and put them into other Ships. Yet it ſeemeth that he had not Care of all; for that Ship the ſame Day with fifty Mariners and Soldiers lamed, and half burnt, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and was carried to *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth of the ſame Month, the *Spaniards* having a favourable North Wind, turned Sails upon the *Engliſh*; the *Engliſh* being much readier in the Uſe of their Ships, ſet about a Compaſs for the Wind; having gotten Advantage of the Wind, they came to the Fight on both Side. They fought a while confuſedly with variable Succeſs; whilſt on the one Side the *Engliſh* with great Courage delivered the *London* Ships which were incloſed about by the *Spaniards*: On the other Side the *Spaniards* by Valour freed *Ricaldus* from the extreme Danger he was in: Great were the Effulminations which by beating of Ordnances were heard this Day. But the Loſs (by the good Providence of God) fell upon the *Spaniſh* Side, their Ships being ſo high that the Shot went over our *Engliſh* Ships; and the *Engliſh* having ſuch a fair Mark at their taller Ships, never ſhot in vain. Amidſt which Encounters, *Cock*, an *Engliſhman*, being caught indeed in the Midſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships, could not be recovered, but periſhed, howbeit with great Honour he revenged himſelf. Thus a long Time the *Engliſh* Ships with great Agility were ſometimes upon the *Spaniards*, giving them the one Side, and then the other, and preſently were off again, and ſtill took the Sea, to make themſelves ready to come in again. Whereas the *Spaniſh* Ships being of great Burden were troubled and hindred, and ſtood to be Marks for the *Engliſh* Bullets. For all that, the Admiral would not admit the *Engliſh* to come to board their Ships, becauſe they had a full Army in their Ships, which he had not; their Ships were many in Number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as ſome would have had it, the *Engliſh* being much lower than the *Spaniſh* Ships, muſt needs have had the worſt of them that fought from the higher Ships. And if the *Engliſh* had been overcome, the Loſs would have been greater than the Victory could have been; for ours being overcome, would have put the Kingdom in Hazard.

The 24th Day of *July* they gave over fighting on both Sides. The Admiral ſent ſome ſmall Barks to the *Engliſh* Shore, to ſupply the Proviſion; and divided all his Navy into four Squadrons; the firſt whereof was under his own Government; the next *Drake* governed; the third, *Hawkins*; the laſt, *Forbiſher*. And he appointed out of every Squadron certain little Ships, which on divers Sides might ſet upon the *Spaniards* in the Night, but a ſudden Calm took them, and ſo that Advice was without Effect.

The 25th Day, St. *Anne*, the Galleon of *Portugal*, not being able to hold Courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by ſome ſmall *Engliſh* Ships. To whoſe Aid came in *Leva*, and *Didacus Telles Enriques* with three Galeaſſes; which the Admiral and the Lord *Thomas Howard* eſpying, made in againſt the Galeaſſes (the Calm being ſo great that they were drawn in by Boats with Cords) and did ſo beat upon the Galeaſſes with great Shot, that with much ado, and with great Loſs, they hardly recovered the Galeon. The *Spaniards* reported that the Admiral of *Spain* was that Day in the hindmoſt Company, and being come nearer the *Engliſh* Ships than before, was ſore beaten with the *Engliſh* great Ordnance, many Men ſlain in her, and her great Maſt overthrown. And after that the Admiral of *Spain*, accompanied with *Ricaldus* and others, did ſet upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, who by the Benefit of the Wind ſuddenly turning, eſcaped. The *Spaniards* hold on their Courſe again, and ſend to the Duke of *Parma*, that with all Speed he ſhould join his Ships with the King's Fleet. Theſe Things the *Engliſh* knew not, who write that they had ſtricken the Lanthorn from one of the *Spaniſh* Ships, the Stem from another, and had ſore beaten the third, doing much Harm to her. That the *Non-Parigly*, and the *Mary-Roſe*, fought a while with the *Spaniards*; and the Triumph being in Danger, other Ships came in good Time to help her.

The next Day the Lord Admiral knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*, for their Valour well employed in the laſt Fight. After this they reſolved not to ſet upon the Enemy until they came into the Streight of *Calis*, where *Henry Seimor*, and *William Winter* ſtaid for their coming. Thus with the fair Gale the *Spaniſh* Fleet went forward, and the *Engliſh* followed. This great *Spaniſh Armada* was ſo far from being eſteemed invincible in the Opinion of the *Engliſh*, that many young Men and Gentlemen, in Hope to be Partakers of a famous Victory againſt the *Spaniards*, provided Ships of their own Charges, and joined themſelves to the *Engliſh* Fleet; among whom were the Earls of *Eſſex*, of *Northumberland*, of *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brooks*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and other Gentlemen of good Note and Quality.

The ſeven and twentieth Day at Even, the *Spaniards* caſt Anchor near to *Calis*, being admoniſhed by their ſkilful Seamen, that if they went any further, they might be endangered by Force of that Tide to be driven into the North Ocean. Near to them ſtood the *Engliſh* Admiral with his Fleet within a great Gun's Shot. To the Admiral, *Seimor* and *Winter* now join their Ships; ſo that now there were an hundred and forty Ships in the *Engliſh* Fleet, able and well furniſhed for Fight, for Sail, and to turn which Way was needful; and yet there were but fifteen of theſe which bore the Burden of Battle and repulſed the Enemy. The *Spaniard*, as often he had done before,

fore, ſo now with great Earneſtneſs ſent to the Duke of *Parma* to ſend forty Flie-boats, without which they could not fight with the *Engliſh*, becauſe of the Greatneſs and Slowneſs of their own Ships, and the Agility of the *Engliſh* Ships: And intreating him by all means now to come to Sea with his Army, which Army was now to be protected as it were under the Wings of the *Spaniſh* Armada until they took Land in *England*.

But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an Inſtant. The broad Ships with flat Bottoms being then full of Chinks muſt be mended. Victuals wanted and muſt be provided. The Mariners being long kept againſt their Wills, began to ſhrink away. The Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, by which he muſt bring his Army to the Sea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong Ships of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall Ammunition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unleſs he would come upon his own apparent Deſtruction, and caſt himſelf and his Men wilfully into a headlong Danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a Man eager and induſtrious, and inflamed with a Deſire of overcoming *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeth*'s Providence and Care prevented both the Diligence of this Man, and the credulous Hope of the *Spaniard*: For by her Command the next Day the Admiral took eight of their worſt Ships, charging the Ordnance therein up to the Mouth with ſmall Shot, Nails, and Stones, and dreſſed them with Wild-fire, Pitch and Roſin, and filled them full of Brimſtone and ſome other Matter fit for Fire, and theſe being ſet on Fire by the Management of *Young* and *Prowſe*, were ſecretly in the Night, by the Help of the Wind, ſet full upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which on *Sunday* the ſeventh of *Auguſt* they ſent in among them as they lay at Anchor.

When the *Spaniards* ſaw them come near, the Flame giving Light all over the Sea; they ſuppoſing thoſe Ships, beſides the Danger of Fire, to have been alſo furniſhed with deadly Engines, to make horrible Deſtruction among them; lifting up a moſt hideous Cry, ſome pull up Anchors, ſome for Haſte cut their Cables, they ſet up their Sails, they apply their Oars, and ſtricken with a pannick Terror, in great Haſte they fled moſt confuſedly. Among them the *Pretorian Galleaſs* floating upon the Seas, her Rudder being broken, in great Danger and Fear drew towards *Calis*, and ſticking in the Sand was taken by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*; *Hugh Moncada* the Governor was ſlain, the Soldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great Store of Gold, which fell to be the Prey of the *Engliſh*. The Ship and Ordnance went to the Governor of *Calis*.

The *Spaniards* report, that the Duke, when he ſaw the fiery Ships coming, commanded all the Fleet to pull up their Anchors, but ſo as the Danger being paſt, every Ship might return again to his Station: And he himſelf returned, giving a Sign to the reſt by ſhooting off a Gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off ſcattered, ſome into the open Ocean, ſome thro' Fear were driven upon the Shallows of the Coaſt of *Flanders*.

Over-againſt *Graveling* the *Spaniſh* Fleet began to gather themſelves together. But upon them came *Drake* and *Fenner*, and battered them with great Ordnance: To theſe *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and preſently after the Lord Admiral, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield* came in and all joined together. The Duke *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Ricaldus*, and others with much ado getting themſelves out of the Shallows ſuſtained the *Engliſh* Force as well as they might, until moſt of their Ships were pierced and torn; the Galleon St. *Matthew*, governed by *Diego Pimentellus*, coming to aid *Francis Toletan*, being in the St. *Philip*, was pierced and ſhaken with the reiterated Shots of *Seimor* and *Winter*, and driven to *Oſtend*, and was at laſt taken by the *Fluſhingers*. The St. *Philip* came to the like End; ſo did the Galleon of *Biſcay* and divers others.

The laſt Day of this Month, the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſtriving to recover the *Straights* again, were driven toward *Zealand*. The *Engliſh* left off purſuing them, as the *Spaniards* thought, becauſe they ſaw them in a manner caſt away; for they could not avoid the Shallows of *Zealand*. But the Wind turning, they got them out of the Shallows, and then began to conſult what were beſt for them to do. By common Conſent they reſolved to return into *Spain* by the northern Seas, for they wanted many Neceſſaries, eſpecially Shot, their Ships were torn, and they had no hope that the Duke of *Parma* could bring forth his Forces. And ſo they took to the Sea, and followed the Courſe toward the North. The *Engliſh* Navy followed, and ſometimes the *Spaniſh* turned upon the *Engliſh*, inſomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen *Elizabeth* cauſed an Army to encamp at *Tilbury*, a Place by the Sea-ſide upon the River of *Thames*. After the Army was come thither, her Majeſty, to ſhew her own Courage, and for the Comfort of her People, went in Perſon to viſit the Camp, which then lay between the City of *London* and the Sea, under the Charge of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, where placing herſelf between the Enemy and her City, ſhe viewed her Army, paſſing thro' it divers Times, and lodging in the Borders of it, returned again and dined in the Army. Firſt viewing from Place to Place the People as they were by their Countries lodged and quartered by their ſeveral Camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into Battle, prepared as it were for Fight, ſhe rode round about with a Leader's Staff in her Hand, only accompany'd with the General, and three or four others attending upon her: But yet to ſhew her State (I well marked it) ſhe had the Sword carry'd before her by the Earl of *Ormond*. There ſhe was generally ſaluted with Shouts, with all Tokens of Love, Obedience, and Readineſs to fight for her, as the like hath ſeldom been ſeen in an Army. All which tended to ſhew a marvellous Concord, and mutual Love between a Queen and her Subjects; which ſhe requited with very princely Thanks.

I could enlarge the Deſcription hereof with many more Particulars of mine own Obſervation (ſays the Author) for I wandered, as many others did, from Place to Place all the Day, and never heard a Word ſpoke of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately Perſon and princely Behaviour, in praying for her long Life, and earneſtly deſiring to venture their Lives for her Safety. In her Preſence they ſung Pſalms of Praiſe to Almighty God, for which ſhe greatly commended them, and devoutly praiſed God with them. This that I write you may be ſure I do not with any Comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt Arguments, that neither this Queen doth diſcontent her People, nor her People do ſhew any Diſcontent in any Thing they be commanded to do for her Service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This Account was related by a popiſh Spy, in a Letter written here in *England* to *Mendea*. The Copy of which Letter was found upon *Richard Leigh* a Seminary Prieſt, in *French* and *Engliſh*: Which Prieſt was executed for High-Treaſon whilſt the *Spaniſh Armada* was on the Sea.

The ſame Day wherein the laſt Fight was, the Duke of *Parma*, after his Vows offered to the Lady of *Halla*, came ſomewhat late to *Dunkirk*, and was received with opprobrious Words by the *Spaniards*, as if in Favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had ſlipped the faireſt Opportunity that could be to do the Service.

He, to make ſome Satisfaction, puniſhed the Purveyors that had not made Proviſion of Beer, Bread, *&c.* which was not yet ready nor imbarked, ſecretly ſmiling at the Inſolence of the *Spaniards*, when he heard them glorying, that what Way ſoever they came upon *England*, they would have an undoubted Victory; that the *Engliſh* were not able to endure the Sight of them. *Bernardinus Mendoza* did indeed by Books in *France* ſing a fooliſh and triumphant Song before the Victory. The *Engliſh* Admiral appointed *Seimor* and the *Hollanders* to watch upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould not come out; himſelf followed the *Spaniards* upon their Backs, until they were paſt *Edinborough Frith*.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing all Hopes fail, fled amain; and ſo this great Navy, being three Years preparing with great Coſt, was within a Month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chaſed away, was driven about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, *Orcades*, *Ireland*, toſſed and ſhaken with Tempeſts, and much leſſened, and went home without Glory. There were not an hundred Men of the *Engliſh* loſt, and but one Ship. Whereupon Money was coined with a Navy fleeing away at full Sail, and this Inſcription, *Venit*, *Vidit*, *Fugit*. Others were coined with the Ships fired, the Navy confounded, in honour of the Queen, inſcribed, *Dux Fœmina Facti*. As they fled, it is certain that many of their Ships were caſt away upon the Shores of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Above ſeven hundred Soldiers and Mariners were caſt up upon the *Scotiſh* Shore, who at the Duke of *Parma*'s Interceſſion with the *Scots* King, the Queen of *England* conſenting, were after a Year ſent into *Flanders*. But they that were caſt upon the *Iriſh* Shore came to more miſerable Fortunes; for ſome were killed by the wild *Iriſh*, and others were deſtroyed for Fear they ſhould join themſelves with the wild *Iriſh* (which Cruelty Queen *Elizabeth* much condemned) and the reſt being afraid, ſick, and hungry, with their torn Ships, committed themſelves to the Sea, and many were drowned.

The Queen came to publick Thankſgiving in St. *Paul*'s Church, accompany'd with a glorious Train of Nobility thro' the Sreets of *London*, which were hung with blue Cloth: The Companies ſtanding on both ſides in their Liveries, the Banners that were taken from the Enemies were ſpread; ſhe heard the Sermon, and publick Thanks was render'd unto God with great Joy. This publick Joy was augmented when Sir *Robert Sidney*, returning out of *Scotland*, brought from the King Aſſurance of his noble Mind and Affection to the Queen, and to Religion; which as in Sincerity he had eſtabliſhed, ſo he purpoſed to maintain with all his Power. Sir *Robert Sidney* was ſent to him when the *Spaniſh* Fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him Thanks for his propenſe Affection towards the Maintenance of the common Cauſe; and to declare how ready ſhe would be to help him if the *Spaniard* ſhould land in *Scotland*; and that he might recal to Memory with what ſtrange Ambition the *Spaniard* had gaped for all *Britain*, urging the Pope to excommunicate him, to the End that he might be thruſt from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and from the Succeſſion in *England*: And to give him Notice of the Threatning of *Mendoza*, and the Pope's Nuncio, who threatned his Ruin if they could work it; and therefore warned him to take ſpecial Heed to the *Scotiſh* Papiſts.

The King pleaſantly anſwered, That he looked for no other Benefit from the *Spaniard*, than that which *Polyphemus* promiſed to *Ulyſſes*, to devour him laſt, after his Fellows were devoured.

To cloſe up this whole Relation, hear what *Theodore Beza* ſays in his Gratulatory Verſes written in *Latin*, and ſent to her Majeſty: The Effect of which in *Engliſh* is this:

With Navy huge the Spaniard *proud*
The Engliſh *Seas had ſpread,*
And all to ſet the Engliſh *Crown*
Upon the Spaniſh *Head.*
And would you gladly underſtand
The Cauſe of all this Rout,
Ambition firſt did lay the Plot,
And Lucre brought them out.
How well this Pride thus puffed up,
A Puff did overthrow:
And ſwelling Wave ſuch ſwelling Wights,
How well did overflow.
How well that Warrior of Mankind,
That Spaniſh *cruel Wolf,*
Was toſt and tumbled up and down
Within the Ocean Gulph.
And you for whom both all the Winds
And all the Waters fight;
O noble Queen, of all the World
The only true Delight,
Go forward ſtill to rule for God;
Ambition lay aſide;
Go forward ſtill for Chriſt his Flock
In Bounty to provide.
That thou may'ſt England *govern long,*
Long England *thee enjoy,*
As well a Love unto the Good,
As to the Bad annoy.

From *Geneva*, beſieged by the Duke of *Savoy*, the 12th Day of *Auguſt*, 1589.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble Orator,

Theodore Beza.

A Relation of the Diſcovery of the Gunpowder-Treaſon, *in the Year* 1605, *in the Reign of King* James I.

WHilſt every Thing ſeemed to procure King *James* a quiet and peaceable Reign, the Devil envying the Happineſs of the *Engliſh*, inſpired ſome of his Agents with one of the moſt horrible Plots that ever was heard of. I mean the Gunpowder-Treaſon Plot, which has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and of which I ſhall relate the Particulars without any Aggravation.

The chief Perſons concerned in this helliſh Contrivance were, *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of *Northamptonſhire*; *Thomas Percy*, the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Couſin, *John Grant*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, *Guy Fawkes*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert* and *Thomas Winter*, *Thomas Bates*, and *Robert Keyes*: Some of theſe conſulting together how they might reſtore the Popiſh Religion in *England*, *Percy* one of the moſt zealous, propoſed to kill the King, and offered to perform it himſelf. To which *Catesby* anſwered, That if the King was taken off, there were ſtill two young Princes and the Princeſs, with the greateſt part of the Nobility and Gentry, devoted to the Proteſtant Religion; and unleſs theſe were involved in the ſame Fate with the King, they ſhould render their Condition rather worſe than better, by attempting his Majeſty's Life only: He propoſed therefore the blowing up the King, Queen, and Prince, with both the Houſes of Lords and Commons, at the next Aſſembly of the Parliament, when the King ſhould come to the Houſe, and make his Speech there, at the opening of it; which being approved by the reſt as a moſt glorious Undertaking, it was reſolved to put it in Execution; only ſome, ſcrupling the Lawfulneſs of committing ſo terrible a Slaughter on a religious Account, they agreed, before they

they proceeded in it, to demand the Opinion of their Confeſſors; whereupon *Henry Garnet*, the Superior, with *Oſwald Teſmond* and *John Gerard*, two other Prieſts of the *Jeſuits* Order, were conſulted; who did not only declare the Enterpriſe lawful, but applauded the Deſign as juſt, and even pious; ſince it was to be executed upon excommunicated Hereticks.

Then an Oath of Secrecy was taken by the Conſpirators; and Maſs being celebrated by *Gerard*, they alſo took the Sacrament to be true to each other, and promote the Plot with all their Powers: After which, *Percy* took a Houſe adjoining to the Houſe of Lords, from whence they propoſed to dig a Mine under it, which would contain a ſufficient Quantity of Gunpowder to blow up the whole Building; and they began to work on their Mine about *Chriſtmas* 1604. But the Parliament being prorogued firſt to *February*, then to *October*, and again to the 5th of *November* 1605, they had Time enough, or rather too much, to effect their Deſign, tho' they were obliged to dig through the Foundation of a very thick Wall. When the Conſpirators had almoſt conquer'd this Difficulty, they were ſurpriſed to hear a Noiſe and the talking of People near the Place where they were at work, and began to conclude they were diſcovered; but ſending out *Guy Fawkes* for Intelligence, he brought them Word, that the Voices he had heard were in an adjoining Cellar, where Coals were expoſed to Sale; that it was exactly under the Houſe of Lords, and now offered to be let: Whereupon *Percy* went immediately and hired it, putting 36 Barrels of Gunpowder into it, which he imported from *Holland*, and covered them with Coals and Faggots.

Having made this Proviſion for their grand Deſign, it was conſidered, that tho' the King and Prince might be taken off by this Means, yet the Duke of *York* and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* would be out of their Power; and conſequently the Succeſs of their Enterprize muſt ſtill be very doubtful: But *Percy*, being one of the Band of Penſioners, and well acquainted with the Palace, undertook to ſecure the Duke of *York*; and it was looked upon as no difficult Matter to ſurpriſe the Princeſs, who reſided at the Lord *Harrington*'s in *Warwickſhire*, under a Pretence of a Hunting-match. It was next conſider'd, what Money and Horſes they could raiſe towards effecting their Purpoſe: Whereupon *Digby* promiſed fifteen hundred Pounds, *Treſham* two hundred, *Percy* the Rents of *Northumberland*, which he was empower'd to receive, and computed they would amount to 4000 *l.* He alſo ingaged to provide ten Horſes from the ſame Quarter; and the reſt of the Conſpirators promiſed to raiſe what Money and Troops they could, that they might be able to make a Stand, and encourage their Friends to take Arms in Defence of their Religion, when the great Blow was given. It was debated alſo, whether they ſhould require the Aſſiſtance of any Princes of their Communion; but it was thought proper to defer this till after the Fact was committed, leſt the Plot ſhould be diſcovered by being communicated to too many. And it was reſolved to proclaim the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Queen, when they had aſſembled their Troops, a Proclamation being drawn up with this View, in which they made no Mention of the intended Alteration of Religion; this being agreed to be defer'd till their Forces ſhould be joined by ſome of the Catholick Powers. In the mean Time, they reſolved to charge the Puritans with the Deſtruction that was intended: And it is ſuppoſed, they deſigned to aſſaſſinate the Duke of *York*, by their promiſing to proclaim the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

Thus had the Conſpirators form'd their Scheme, and proceeded ſo far in the Execution of it, that there remained little more for them to do, than to ſet Fire to the Train they had laid for blowing up the King, the Queen, the Prince, the Nobility, and the Repreſentatives of a great and flouriſhing People. When, on a ſudden, an unaccountable Fit of Tenderneſs ſeiz'd one of theſe mercileſs Wretches, who, by his endeavouring to reſcue a Friend from this unparallel'd Deſtruction, diſcover'd the deep-laid Deſign, which *Lucifer* only could be the Contriver of. This Diſcovery was made by the following Letter, ſent to the Lord *Monteagle* by one of the Conſpirators, about ten Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, *viz.*

My Lord,

OUT of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have Regard to your Preſervation; therefore would adviſe you, as you tender your Life, to invent ſome Excuſe to ſhift off your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. Think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into the Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety, for tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This Counſel is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm, for the Danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter: And I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Uſe of it. To whoſe holy Protection I commit you.

This Lord carried the Letter, the ſame Evening he received it, to Secretary *Cecil*; who communicated it to ſome other Members of the Council: But they did not think it of that Conſequence, to make any Enquiries about the Matter, till the King ſhould return from *Royſton*, whither he was gone to hunt, and did not return till the laſt Day of *October*. The next Day this Letter was ſhewn to his Majeſty; who, upon peruſing it, ſaid, he did not think it was to be contemn'd: To which *Cecil* anſwer'd, he was of Opinion, that it was written either by a Fool or a Madman, by that Expreſſion in it, *The Danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter:* For he obſerved, the Warning given by it could be of no Uſe, if the burning the Letter would remove the Danger: But the King interpreted it, That the Danger would be over in as little Time as he could burn the Letter; having great Regard to that Paſſage, *They ſhould receive a terrible Blow this Parliament*, and yet *ſhould not ſee who hurt them.* Which ſudden Blow, he apprehended, would be the Effect of Gunpowder; and therefore order'd the Cellars, and all other Places near the Parliament-houſe, to be ſearched. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who was then Lord-chamberlain, and whoſe proper Buſineſs it was to ſee all Places prepared for the King's Reception, put off the Search till the Day before the Parliament was to meet; and then, taking the Lord *Monteagle* with him, view'd all the Rooms about the Parliament-houſe, and particularly the Cellar under the Houſe of Lords; which he found full of Wood and Coals; and having asked, who it belonged to? was anſwer'd, to Mr. *Percy*; who being a Servant of his Majeſty, and one who made ſome Figure at Court, the Earl returned, and acquainted the King in what State he found Things, without ſearching further. But the King's Suſpicion being rather increaſed than diminiſhed by this Report, he ordered all the Wood and Coals in the Cellar, already mentioned, to be removed forthwith; and Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Juſtice of Peace of *Weſtminſter*, and Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, was ordered to ſee it done, tho' it was then late at Night. This Gentleman was ſo fortunate, as to diſcover the ſix and thirty Barrels of Powder hidden under the Coals; he found alſo a Man ſtanding near the Place, booted and ſpurr'd, with his Cloak on, whom he ſearched, and found upon him a Dark-lanthorn and three Matches. This Perſon proved to be *Guy Fawkes*, one of the Conſpirators, who paſſed for *Percy*'s Man; who ſeeing their hopeful Plot diſappointed, ſwore, when he was apprehended, that

had he been found within the Cellar, he would have blown up himſelf and all of them. This Diſcovery being made, the Secretary and the Lord-Chamberlain immediately acquainted the King with it, who was then in Bed; and the Priſoner, being examined before the Council, was ſo far from being in any Conſternation, that he acknowledged the villainous Deſign, took it all upon himſelf, ſaid his Religion and Conſcience prompted him to it, and would name none of his Accomplices; only obſerv'd, That the Devil had betrayed a very good Deſign, and that there was no Crime in deſtroying an heretical King. However, being carried to the *Tower* the next Day, and threatned with the Rack, he confeſſed the Conſpiracy, and named his Accomplices; who having ſome Intimation of the Diſcovery, fled into *Warwickſhire*; where ſome of their Friends were preparing to riſe in Arms, and ſurpriſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, according to the Scheme they had laid; and they actually had broke open a Stable of one *Benock*, and ſeized ſeven or eight managed Horſes for their Purpoſe: But underſtanding by their Friends who fled from *London*, that the Enterprize was entirely defeated, they aſſembled about an hundred Horſe, and endeavoured to perſuade their Brethren the Papiſts, to take Arms in the Defence of their Religion: But no body joining them, they fled, and were purſued by Sir *Foulk Grevill*, Deputy-lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, and the Sheriffs of that and the neighbouring Counties, till the Rebels took Shelter at a Houſe called *Holbach*, in *Staffordſhire*. Here they endeavoured to defend themſelves, when a Spark of Fire falling into a Parcel of Gunpowder, which they were drying by the Fire, blew up part of the Houſe; whereupon they endeavoured to ſally out of the Gate, and make their Way with their Swords in their Hands, but were repulſed; *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, ſetting themſelves Back to Back, reſolved to die fighting: The two firſt had their Deſire, but *Winter* was wounded and taken; *Digby*, *Rockwood*, *Grant* and *Boter* ſurrender'd, and *Treſham*, *Robert Winter*, and *Littleton*, were apprehended at their Lodgings at *London*, and all of them committed to the *Tower*.

Thomas Winter, upon his Examination, confeſſed the whole Conſpiracy, and acknowledged their Crimes too great to be forgiven; while *Digby*, on the other hand, ſaid they were provoked to this deſperate Attempt by the ſevere Uſage they met with from the Government, after Hopes had been given them of a Toleration; and *Treſham*, in his Examination, accuſed *Garnet* the Jeſuit as privy to the Conſpiracy, tho' he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not ſeen *Garnet* in 16 Years.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Papiſts, who dreamed of no leſs than the Deſtruction of King and Kingdoms, promiſed to themſelves no lower Eſtate than the Government of great and ancient Monarchies, were miſerably defeated, and quite overthrown in an Inſtant; falling in the Pit which they had prepared for others, and ſo fulfilling that Sentence which his Majeſty did in a manner prophecy of them in his Oration to the Parliament; ſome immediately ſlain, others wounded, and ſtripped of their Cloaths, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo died rather by Cold than by their Wounds; and the reſt, that either were whole, or but ſlightly wounded, were taken and led by the Sheriff, the ordinary Miniſter of Juſtice, to the Goal, the ordinary Place even of the baſeſt Malefactors, where they remained till they were ſent up to *London*, being met by an huge Confluence of all Sorts of People, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of Monſters; Fools to laugh at them, Women and Children to wonder, all the common People to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfy their Curioſity in ſeeing the outward Caſes of ſo unparallel'd a Villany, and generally all Sorts of People to gratify their Eyes with the Sight of thoſe whom in their Hearts they deteſted: Serving ſo for a fearful and publick Spectacle of God's fierce Wrath and juſt Indignation.

The Troubles and Perſecution of Bartholomew Copin, *Martyr of Chriſt.*

IN the Year 1601, *Bartholomew Copin* of the Valley of *Lucerne* reſorted unto a Place called *Aſt* in *Piedmont*, with certain Merchandiſe, purpoſing to vend the ſame at a Fair there, which was to be kept the Day following. It ſo fell out, that ſitting at Supper in the Evening with ſundry other Merchants, one amongſt the reſt began to uſe ſome Speech about the Diverſities of Religions, and therewithal ſpake ſomething tending to the Diſgrace of thoſe of the Vallies of *Angrougne* and the neighbouring Villages.

Copin hearing ſuch Speeches caſt forth againſt his Brethren, as he little expected from Men of that ſort, and alſo againſt their Religion, all which tended to the Diſhonour of God; he feared leſt it ſhould be offenſively taken, if he ſhould not make ſome Reply unto thoſe Blaſphemies which he heard with his Ears, and ſo anſwer him who held ſuch a Diſcourſe againſt the Religion which himſelf profeſſed. He who reproved *Copin* asked, Are you one of *Vaudois*? He anſwered, Yes I am. And what, ſaid the other, believe you not that God is in the Hoſt? No, ſaid *Copin*. Oh, ſaid the other, ſee how falſe your Religion is? My Religion, ſaid *Copin*, is no leſs true than God is God, and as certain as I am ſure to die.

The next Day *Copin* was called before the Biſhop of *Aſt*, who told him that Report had been made to him of ſome offenſive Speeches which he had uſed the Night paſt in his Lodging: And therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his Fault, if he meant to obtain Pardon for the ſame, otherwiſe he muſt look to be chaſtiſed according to his Demerits.

Copin anſwered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was firſt provided to ſpeak; nor had he ſaid ought, but what he was reſolved to maintain to the Hazard of his Life. He affirmed, that God had beſtowed upon him ſome worldly Goods, as alſo a Wife and Children, but that he was not ſo glued in his Affection to any of them, but he could be content to forego them all rather than the Peace of a good Conſcience.

As touching his Carriage and Behaviour, if it pleaſed him, he ſaid, to make Enquiry thereof among the Merchants of *Aſt*, they could all reſolve him as touching his honeſt Dealing: Who alſo he knew would witneſs with him, that he had wronged none in all that Time he had converſed among them. And inaſmuch as he was a Merchant trafficking in and about his lawful Calling, he ought to be diſmiſſed and to be no further moleſted. For if it were lawful for *Jews* and *Turks* to trade in Fairs and Markets, and to uſe Commerce throughout *Piedmont*; that Favour ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a Chriſtian. And as touching the Matter of Religion, whereabout he was accuſed, he medled not at all therewith for his own Particular, but had Queſtions propounded to him concerning the ſame by others: In which Regard Leave was granted him to anſwer, and to yield a Reaſon of his Faith in any Place, to any whomſoever they were that ſhould ask what he thought of the ſame: Yea a Liberty was granted even by his Excellency to thoſe of the Valleys of *Vaudois*, to anſwer any Man to a Queſtion demanded; provided that he proceeded not to teach and inſtruct others.

The Biſhop regarded none of theſe Allegations, but commanded he ſhould be put into Priſon. The next Day the Biſhop's Secretary came to viſit *Copin*, teſtifying how much good Will he bore him; adviſing him

as a Friend, that if he acknowledged not his Fault, he was in great Danger of his Life.

Copin anſwer'd, That his Life was in the Hands of God, and that he would never ſeek to ſave it to the Prejudice of God's Glory: Alſo, that he had not above two or three Turns to fetch here in this World before he arrived in Heaven; and therefore pray'd God ſo to aſſiſt him by his Grace, that he might never leave the ſtrait Way which leadeth thereto.

A few Days after he was examin'd by a Monk, who was an Inquiſitor, in the Preſence of the Biſhop, who vexed him a long while with his ſugared Diſcourſe, and by fair Words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his Religion. But *Copin* reſiſted him ſtill by the holy Scriptures; ſhewing that if he ſhould now be aſhamed of Chriſt, and deny him, Chriſt might juſtly be aſhamed of him, and utterly deny him before his heavenly Father.

The Monk finiſhed his Diſpute with this dogged Farewel, *Away thou curſed Lutheran, thou ſhalt go to all the Devils in Hell; and when thou comeſt to be tormented among thoſe unclean Spirits, then wilt thou remember theſe holy Admonitions which we have tendered unto thee for the Saving of thy Soul, but thou hadſt rather go to Hell, than to reconcile thyſelf to thy holy Mother the Church.* To which *Copin* anſwered, It is not long ſince I was reconciled to the true Church.

After many violent Aſſaults they gave Leave for his Wife to come unto him, and with her one of his Sons, promiſing them to ſet him at Liberty to go home with them, if he would make Amends for his Fault, by acknowledging the ſame. His Wife and Son ſtaid to Supper with him in Priſon: During which Time he uſed many Exhortations tending to Patience; albeit the Wife ſhould depart to her Houſe without an Huſband, or the Child without his Father: For be you well aſſured, ſaid he, that God will be a better Husband and Father unto you than ever I was or can be. For his own Part, he ſaid, he was not bound to love Wife or Children more than Chriſt: Beſides, they had Cauſe to rejoice, and to think him happy, that God would honour him ſo far as to bear Witneſs to his Truth with the Loſs of his Life, and hoped, he ſaid, that God would be ſo favourable to him, as to ſupport him under any Torments he was to endure for his Glory's Sake.

In Concluſion, he committed his Son and Daughter to his Wife's Care, which God had given them in holy Wedlock, charging her again and again, to ſee them brought up virtuouſly and in the Fear of God. He charged his Son to obey his Mother, ſo ſhould he be made Partaker of the promiſed Bleſſing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortify him againſt all Temptations. And thus having bleſſed his Son, and taken Leave of his Wife, they were conducted out of the Priſon, and he ſhut up as he was before.

The Woman and her Son were diſſolved into Tears, ſighing and crying out, that it would have moved the ſtonieſt Heart to Compaſſion: But this holy Man not contenting himſelf with what he had ſaid to them by Word of Mouth, writ unto his Wife this following Letter:

To my well-beloved Wife, Suſanna Copin, *from the Tower of* Lucerna.

DEAR Yoke-fellow, I received much Conſolation by your coming to this Place, and by ſo much the more as it were beyond my Expectation; and I ſuppoſe you alſo were not a little comforted that you had ſuch an Opportunity offered you, as to ſup with me the laſt Night. I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you ſo to do. But God ordereth all theſe Things. But as far as I can gueſs, it ſhall be the laſt Time that we ſhall ever ſup together in this Life: And therefore pray to God that he will not ceaſe to be a Comfort unto you. Truſt you ſtill in him, for he hath promiſed never to leave nor forſake thoſe that put their Truſt in him.

Dear Wife, be not over-penſive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the End of my Race, and that I muſt render into the Hands of the Almighty my Soul, which ſo long Time he hath lent me; my Hope is, that of his holy and divine Mercy he will receive it into his Kingdom, for his own beloved Son's Sake *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, thro' whom I believe that my Sins are forgiven, for the only Merit of his holy Death and Paſſion. Alſo my Prayer is, that he will aſſiſt me by the Power of his holy Spirit unto my laſt Breath.

Be fervent in Prayer, and in all other Parts of God's Worſhip and Service, for this is the Way to true Bleſſedneſs. Take no Care about ſending any thing unto me for theſe three Weeks, and then I pray you ſend me ſome Money, if you think good, to give the Jaylor, and ſomewhat more for mine own Neceſſaries, if it pleaſe God I live ſo long. Alſo I pray you call to Mind what I have often told you, namely, how God prolonged King *Hezekiah*'s Life for fifteen Years. But he hath preſerved my Life much longer; for it is many Years ago ſince you ſaw me at the Point of Death, and thro' God's Goodneſs I am alive; and I hope, yea I am aſſured, that he will ſo long preſerve me as ſhall be for his Glory and my Good, thro' his eternal Goodneſs.

From the Priſon of Aſt, Sept. 16. 1601.

The Biſhop of *Aſt* was ſomewhat troubled about this his Priſoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed ſome Scandal, and many might thereby be emboldned to open their Mouths wide againſt the *Roman* Religion. Beſides, there was a Clauſe in the Contract made between his Excellency and the People of *Vaudois*, which exempted thoſe of the Religion from Offence, in theſe Words; and if it ſhall fall out that they be asked or queſtioned withal in *Piedmont*, about the Cauſe of Religion, by any of his Excellency's Subjects, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid Religion to anſwer without ſuffering any penal or perſonal Puniſhment for the ſame.

Now *Copin* had a Queſtion put to him, in which Reſpect he ought to have been cleared. But the Biſhop would by no Means hear that he had unjuſtly impriſoned him; and therefore that his Death ſhould not be laid to his Charge, nor yet that he ſhould be ſent away abſolved, he ſent the Cauſe of his Indictment to Pope *Clement* VIII. to know what ſhould be done with him. We cannot learn what Anſwer the Pope returned to the Biſhop; but not long after this good Man was found dead in Priſon, nor without ſome apparent Suſpicion of his being ſtrangled there.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having cauſed him to be brought out of Priſon, they read his Sentence openly, and the Body was caſt into the Fire.

The Death of Henry III. *King of* France.

A Friar of the Order of St. *Dominick* pretended he had Matters of great Conſequence to impart to the King: Who being admitted into his Preſence, upon his Knees preſented a Letter to him, which he drew out of one Sleeve; which whilſt the King attentively read, the Fryar pull'd forth a poiſon'd Knife out of his other Sleeve, wherewith he ſtabbed the King into the lower Part of his Belly. The King finding himſelf wounded, ſnatch'd out the Knife, and ſtruck it into the Friar's Eye, who haſtening to get away, the King cry'd out. His Lords and Gentlemen perceiving what the Friar had done, ſlew him immediately with Rapiers and Swords.

A

A Narration of a bloody Maſſacre in the Valtoline, *in the Year* 1620.

THE Beginning of the Murders were at *Tyrane*. The Ringleaders of this cruel Maſſacre gave Orders, that all the Paſſages ſhould be well guarded, that their bloody Deſigns might not be ſo readily diſcovered, and they leſs troubled in the Execution. Then about ſix of the Clock in the Night they entered the Country, like ſo many foaming wild Boars, and cauſed four Muskets to be diſcharged before the Palace of the Seignior *Podeſta* the principal Magiſtrate of the Place, and rung the great Bell of *Tyrane*; upon upon which Signal all the Inhabitants of that Vicinity took the Alarm, and made Head toward the ſaid Houſe. They gave Order to break the Bridges which lay towards *Bruce*, and on the Place they planted a ſtrong Guard, and this was done before Day. Upon the Dawning of the Day the Bells began to ring another Peal at *Matello*, and then theſe Traitors began to range themſelves together. The Proteſtants who without Fear or Suſpicion came out of their Houſes to ſee what the Matter was, were ſuddenly ſhot in the Place. Others by Force enter'd into the Houſes of Proteſtants, drew them out of their Beds, and without any Compaſſion, ſlew all they could meet with.

One poor Gentleman hid himſelf in a Garret, but the Villains finding him out, threw him out of the Window; and when they found him yet alive, they diſpatch'd him with a Piece of Timber.

Antonia de Salva, a Chancellor in that Valley being appointed Judge upon criminal Cauſes, a Man of the greateſt Authority in the Place, being deſirous to ſave himſelf, together with his Deputy, was drawn out of the Houſe, and ſhot.

Another Gentleman of great Worth, very ſingularly learned, and skilful in many Languages, being at that Time Governour of *Teglie*, being by Chance in this Hurly-Burly at *Tyrane*, was alſo with his Servant ſtrangled to Death in the Chamber where he was found.

The Reverend Paſtor of the Church of *Tyrane*, a Man of great Sanctity and Wiſdom, and a Lover of the Peace of the Country, hearing the Noiſe of theſe Uproars, he and the Paſtor of *Mello* withdrew themſelves into a Hall, where having commended their Souls to God, were there murdered.

The furious Wretches cut off *Baſſo*'s Head, and carried it into the Church, and fixed it upon a Pole in the Pulpit where he was wont to preach, ſcornfully ſaying, Come down, *Baſſo*, thou haſt preached long enough already.

In like Manner at the ſame Time the Palace of the Chequer of *Tyrane* was beſieged by thoſe Hell-hounds, wherein dwelt Seignior *John de Cappaul* being at that Time Governor. To which Place *Michael Lazarone*, Chancellor of that Office, had retired himſelf to ſave his Life. But becauſe he was extremely hated by the Papiſts, for his ſingular Piety and Sincerity, he was eſpecially purſued by them; inſomuch as thoſe Rebels followed him even to the Palace, threatning to ſet Fire to the ſame, if he were not delivered into their Hands. *Lazarone* ſeeing that, was forced that Evening to leave the Houſe, and hide himſelf about the Banks of the River *Adda*, wherein he covered himſelf, and lay cloſe three whole Hours naked, poor Gentleman, to ſave himſelf. But his Enemies followed him hotly, and at laſt found him, and dragged him out of the Water; and tho' with Tears in his Eyes he begged for his Life, in Conſideration of his dear ſmall Children; but they anſwer'd, That this was no Time for Pity and Favour: But if he would ſwear by the Pope's Bull, and abjure his Faith, they would grant him his Life. But he, with a couragious Reſolution, anſwered, God forbid that I for Love of this temporal Life ſhould deny my Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who with his precious Blood did at ſo dear a Rate redeem me, and after I have ſo long Time, thro' his Grace, freely and publickly confeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the Loſs of eternal Life; I ſay, God forbid. Upon this they immediately murdered him.

The very ſame Evening the Gate of the Palace was burnt to the Ground by thoſe Rebels, who the next Morning entered into the ſame, raging with Fury, and took the Governor Priſoner with his young Son; ſpoiling and ranſacking Wives and Maidens, and carrying away all they could lay Hands on. The Governor of the Place was carry'd away Priſoner, and after he had been a long Time tugged to and fro, he was ſhot.

John Antonio Mazano endeavouring to make Reſiſtance againſt thoſe Rebels, and his Wife defending him, was with herſelf and two young Children miſerably killed.

Another called *John Antonio Schloſſer*, a *Gardoneſe*, having made long Reſiſtance, and killed one of the Rebels, was at the laſt taken, and tied to a Tree, and ſo ſhot to Death.

To be ſhort, theſe Villains had no Regard of any Perſon, neither young, nor old, nor weak, nor ſtrong, but all of all Sorts were either ſhot unto Death, or cut in Pieces, or in one Manner or other deſtroyed.

The Ladies who were not ſlain were conſtrained to change their Religion, and go to Maſs; ſaving the Wife of the ſaid *Lazarone* and her Daughters, and her Niece, being the Wife of one *Egido*, who by the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God continued in Safety. And there alſo the 8th of *Auguſt*, the ſaid Ladies were releaſed, who retired themſelves into *Retia*, *viz.* the Wife of this *Lazarone*, and her two Daughters, leaving behind them in the *Valtoline* one Daughter and two young Sons, who could not obtain Leave to depart the Country.

At the Maſſacre of *Teglio* were murdered about ſixty Perſons. Theſe wicked Wretches, apparelled in red Caſſocks, and well mounted on Horſeback, marched in the Morning to *Tellat*, the Hour when the Sermon was, and ran like ravening Wolves to the *Volta* Church: The Proteſtants who were in the Church, obſerving the evil Intention of thoſe Villains, aroſe ſuddenly from their Seats, and endeavoured to ſhut the Church-door, and to barricado the Place with the Benches. They without laboured with all their Power to enter the Church: But not being able ſo ſpeedily to do it, ſome of them climbed up unto the Windows, and diſcharged their Muskets among the People without reſpect of any Perſon, and killed many of them. At laſt they forced the Door, entred, and ſlew all they found, ſaving a few who promiſed to go to Maſs. Some of the Men and Ladies with their Children fled into the Belfrey to ſave themſelves; but they ſet Fire to the Place, and burnt all that were within.

At the Maſſacre at *Sondres* in the Mountain of *Sondrium* and *Malenk*, were left dead above 140 Perſons. But the Chancellor *Giovan Andrea Migardino*, with his Brother *Gregory*, and others of the Church of *Sondres* withdrew themſelves to the Number of eighteen together, with certain Ladies and their young Children into their own Houſe, which joined to the Palace, and there they fortify'd themſelves with Reſolution to defend themſelves even to the Death, ſeeing that in the Street wherein they dwelt none durſt come out of the Doors, nor enter into the Church which ſtood over againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the Enemy reſolved to ſet upon the Houſe with a thou-

ſand armed Men, threatning alſo to kill the Magiſtrate, in caſe any of them ſhould take any Harm by thoſe who were in the Houſe. Whereupon the Magiſtrate commanded thoſe in the Houſe to depart; who being well armed, immediately took their Way by *Sondres* towards the Bridge, where for a Time they fortify'd themſelves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the Church of the Mountain of *Sondres*. In which Place being gathered together with the Paſtor, they made their Prayers to God, and afterwards to the Number of threeſcore and thirteen Perſons in all they paſſed the Valley of *Malenco*, which was beſet by the Enemy on two Sides: But thoſe that kept thoſe Places were by the Providence of God ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled away, and the Proteſtants, tho' they were purſued to the Tops of the Hills did miraculouſly eſcape with Safety.

Annaidi Lita, Wife of *Anthoni Grotti* of *Chio* in the Territory of *Vincentine*, of an honourable and ancient Houſe, was come out of *Italy* but few Years before for the Liberty of her Conſcience. She was firſt by them exhorted with fair Words to change her Religion; but ſhe conſtantly perſevering therein, was admoniſhed that ſhe would at leaſt have a Care of her young Infant which ſhe held in her Arms, being about two Months old; otherwiſe ſhe would make Reckoning, that in the twinkling of an Eye both ſhe and her Babe ſhould die: But ſhe with a bold and undaunted Courage, anſwered, That ſhe had not departed out of *Italy* her native Country, neither had ſhe forſaken all the Eſtate ſhe had, to renounce at laſt that Faith which had been inſpired unto her by the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*; yea, that ſhe would rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible a thouſand Deaths. And how, ſaid ſhe, ſhould I have Regard in this Cauſe of my Infant, ſince God our heavenly Father ſpared not his only Son, my Lord *Jeſus*, but delivered him up to Death for the Love of me and of all Sinners? Then giving them the Child, ſhe ſaid, Behold the Child; the Lord God, who hath Care of the Birds of the Air, will much more be able to ſave this poor Creature, although by you it were abandoned and left in thoſe wild Mountains. So unlacing her Gown, ſhe opened her Breaſt, and ſaid, Here is the Body which you have Power to kill; but my Soul, on which you have no Power to lay Hands, that I commend to my God, and immediately ſhe was cut in Pieces, being 35 Years old. The Infant, becauſe it was a lovely and a ſweet Babe to look on, was ſuffered to live, and was delivered to a Popiſh Woman to nurſe. The Husband of this Gentlewoman was murder'd for the Faith before.

Some Women were by Force taken up to the Top of high and craggy Mountains, and threatned to be thrown down headlong with their Children, unleſs they would go to Maſs. And although ſome being moved and terrify'd with the Horror of Death, had conſented to change their Religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any Pity at all.

The ſame befel a Gentleman of *Soglio* in the *Pregaglia*; for though his Life was promiſed him, he was brought into the Market-place pinioned with a Cord, and miſerably ſlain by two Musketiers, being 72 Years of Age, after he had been robbed of his Gold and Silver, where of great Store was found in his Houſe, according to the common and too much practiſed Rule of *Roman* Catholicks.

An aged Man of 67 Years, was ſet upon an Aſs, his Face turned to the Tail, which he held in his Hand inſtead of a Bridle, and in his other Hand a Book, whom in this Manner they carried through *Sondres*, with great Joy and Triumph. Then they cut off his Ears, Noſe, and Cheeks, boring Holes into divers parts of his Body, with a ſtrange and unparallel'd Barbarity, until they had quite killed him; but he for the Love of Chriſt his Saviour with great and incredible Courage endured all thoſe Varieties of Torments.

Anthony de Prati of the Hills was with many Words exhorted to abjure his Religion; but he conſtantly perſevered, and with a generous Courage replied in theſe Words, *My Soul ſhall be taken up into* Abraham's *Boſom, and after my Death my Enemies ſhall ſee the Angel of God hard by me*, &c. And accordingly an Angel appeared over his Body in a white Garment, being ſeen by thoſe who ſtood near him, who of their own Accord have publickly confeſſed the ſame.

An aged Man of 75 Years, being ſet upon by thoſe inhuman Wretches, leaped out of a Window and paſſed the River *Maleto*, and having got to his Houſe, and ſhifted his Cloaths, he was aſſailed again, taken Priſoner, and carried to the Palace, put often to the Strapado, and at laſt was ſo hewn and ſliced with a Sword that he had nothing left him but the Arms which were faſtened to the Cord.

Paulo Beretta of *Chio* in the County of *Vicence*, a Virgin of the Age of 75 Years, of an honourable, noble, and ancient Family, who came 27 Years before to *Sondres* to embrace the Goſpel, was by theſe Villains carry'd through *Sondres*, with all Diſgrace, Shame, and Scorn, having a Mitre of Paper put upon her Head, her Face beſmeared with Dirt, and many Buffets given in her Cheeks, and in many other Faſhions abuſed. Being required to call upon the holy Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, and to place her Truſt in them: She ſmiling, readily anſwer'd them, My Truſt and my Salvation is in my only Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and in him only will I reſt. And it is alſo true, That I acknowledge the Virgin *Mary* for the moſt holy Virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be; who was a Virgin before the Birth, a Virgin in the Birth, and after Birth, and ſo ſhall remain. Who tho' ſhe be favour'd and belov'd of God, above all Women in the World, to be made the Mother of my Lord *Jeſus* the Saviour of the World: Nevertheleſs, becauſe ſhe is not able to know our Neceſſities, as not being omnipotent (for otherwiſe ſhe would be God himſelf) and beſides hath had need of the Merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other than the eternal God, who knoweth all Tnings, and upon no Creature of any Quality whatſoever, *&c.* In this Manner ſhe endured the Scorns and Outrages with an incredible Conſtancy and Chearfulneſs, ſaying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh me to do, deſiring no better Uſage, ſince the very ſame hath been done to my Lord and Saviour *Jeſus*, and to his Apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy Martyrs. At laſt ſhe was carried away to be ſent to *Milan*. On the 18th of *July* an elderly Woman was found murder'd in the Highway in the Plain of St. *Gregory* in the *Valtoline*, which ſome conjectur'd to be the Body of this Gentlewoman, who 'twas thought was murder'd by the Aſſaſſines in that Place.

Many hid themſelves in Holes and Caves, and Woods, out of which they durſt not come but by Night only to get ſome Food, and that with great Fear and Terror of the watching Enemy; others for want of convenient Food to eat, and others that fed only upon Roots, Leaves, and Graſs, made an End of their Lives; and many were murdered in divers Places, who had no Burial at all; ſo as many Carcaſſes were to be ſeen in Groves and Woods, in the Mountains, and in Waters in many Places.

At the Maſſacre of *Berbenno*, were ſlain about eleven Perſons. And likewiſe

At *Caſpano* and *Trahorn* about the ſame Number; one of them was by his Trade a Taylor, who being diſcovered by his Countrymen and Kindred, was taken and carried to *Morbegnio*, and being ſollicited to forſake the true Religion, and to embrace the *Ro-*

man,

man, and ſtanding with great Manfulneſs thereto, was condemned to the Fire, and was placed between two Heaps of Wood, to make him recant; but all was in vain; for being asked if he were a Catholick, he anſwered, that he was. Then, if he were a *Roman* Catholick; he likewiſe affirmed he was ſo. But being demanded if he held the *Roman* Faith as it is at this Day, he anſwered, No. It is true, ſaid he, that I hold the ancient Catholick *Roman* Faith, which was preached by St. *Paul*, That a Man is ſaved by Grace by the Means of Faith, and not by Works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt. Being demanded, if he believed the Pope to be Head of the Church, he anſwered, No; becauſe Chriſt only is the Head of the Church, according to the Promiſe, *I will be with you unto the End of the World.* And tho' the Fire was kindled and put out again on purpoſe to draw him to a Recantation, nevertheleſs he perſevered and endured that cruel Death with admirable Conſtancy, the 15th of *Auguſt*, being 60 Years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of Stature, yet was he great and mighty in the Confeſſion of the Truth, inſomuch that for the Love of his Saviour he ſuffered Death with ſingular Chearfulneſs, being forty Years of Age. His Example was devoutly and conſtantly imitated by *Elizabeth* his Wife, who was killed in the 38th Year of her Age: And moreover theſe *Herodian* Murderers not therewith content, but joining one barbarous Inhumanity to another, obſerving a Daughter of hers, being an Infant of three Years old, to lie in the Cradle, although it was a Child of a ſweet Countenance, and theſe Wretches ſeeing that the Babe looked lovingly and pleaſantly upon them, which would have been enough to have moved any adamantine Heart to Compaſſion, yet notwithſtanding they took this pretty innocent Babe by the Feet, and daſhed her Brains againſt the Wall.

Upon the moſt ſerious Conſideration it every way appeareth, that the foreſaid Perſons underwent thoſe Sufferings for no other Cauſe, but only for the Truth of the Goſpel! even as by the eternal Decree of God the holy Prophets St. *John the Baptiſt*, the holy Apoſtles, yea even our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, and after him thoſe many Millions of the Martyrs in all Ages have done before, and eſpecially in theſe miſerable laſt Times, in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low-Countries*, *Bohemia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c.

Which Martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer Blame for the Name of *Jeſus*, remembring the Promiſe of our Lord, Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake, becauſe the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Bleſſed are you when others ſhall revile and perſecute you, and ſhall falſely ſpeak all Evil of you for my Sake: Rejoice and triumph, for your Reward is great in Heaven, for ſo have they perſecuted the Prophets who were before you. Read to this Purpoſe, 1 *Pet.* 4. Verſes 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. which Words, of all good Chriſtians are to be well pondered and weighed: For firſt by ſuch Trial we periſh not. Secondly, we are thereby made conformable to Chriſt our Head. Thirdly, ſuch Sufferings cauſe unto us greater Joy than Sorrow. Fourthly, they are infallible Marks that the Spirit of God reſts upon us. Fifthly, they manifeſt to all our unfeigned Love to Chriſt and his Goſpel. Sixthly, hereby we have good Proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a ſevere Judge, but as a moſt loving and tender hearted Father: To whom therefore with his bleſſed Son, and holy Spirit, be all Glory and Honour aſcribed in all the Churches of the Saints, World without End, *Amen.*

Signs and Prodigies, which happened before and after the Maſſacre in the Valtoline.

THE Proteſtants having appointed Guards in the Churches of the *Valtoline*, beſides others which were commanded to watch in certain Places to give the Sign by Fire, to the Intent that the whole Valley being warned partly by the Beacons, partly by the Sound of the Bells, might together be ready on a ſudden to take Arms for their Defence againſt the *Spaniard*, if he ſhould make any Incurſion upon the Valley: About the Month of *May* 1620, in *Sondres*, the foreſaid Sentinels reported, that in a Night as they watched, they heard in the Church of *Gervaſe* a Murmuring as it were of many Perſons, with great Earneſtneſs and Vehemency of arguing and conteſting among themſelves: And from the Church there ſhined upwards through the Steeple a great Brightneſs, inſomuch as the Sentinels lighted their Torches, and aſſembled themſelves to go down into the Church to ſee what the Matter might be. But as they were deſcending down the Stairs, their Lights were put out, and returning afreſh to light their Torches they were put out again with greater Strength, and with much Aſtoniſhment and Trembling; and the Brightneſs which filled the Church ſuddenly vaniſhed, the Weights alſo of the great Clock fell down, and they heard about ten Tolls of a Bell, in ſuch Manner as it uſeth to ring to give the Alarm, which was heard by very many.

Likewiſe in *Tyrane*, the great Bell was heard in like Manner; and the Magiſtrate commanded them ſuddenly to go and know the Cauſe, but he found that it was not done by the Act of Men, and inſtantly the Servants running from the Belfrey, and diligently attending to ſee this Buſineſs, they diſcerned a Thing like a Cat to deſcend down into the Place.

After the Maſſacre, in the *Valtoline*, the Evangelick Proteſtant Church, and principally from *Teglio* and *Tyrane* a Voice hath been heard to cry, Woe, Woe to you, the Vengeance of God is upon you for the Blood of the Innocent.

Alſo the Bell of the Evangelick Church of *Tyrane* uſed to ring even at the ſame time that the Sermon was wont to be: and in that Church a Voice was heard, like the Voice of Seinor *Anthonio Baſſo*, who ſometimes had been there a Miniſter, and was murdered in the ſaid Place, as if himſelf had been preaching in the ſame Place.

In *Sondres* there was ſeen to deſcend an Army from the Mountains every way furniſhed; which Sight was the Cauſe that many took their Flight, and departed out of *Sondres*; but ſuddenly this Apparition vaniſhed like a Cloud. Which ſtruck a great Terror into the Minds of the People, inſomuch as many departed out of the Valley, as fearing a dreadful Puniſhment from Heaven.

A LIST OF THE

Names of thoſe Perſons who ſuffer'd Perſecution and Death in the Reign of Queen *MARY* I.

A

James Abbes, burnt 252
Henry Adlington, burnt 498
Anne Albright, burnt 421
William Allen, burnt 270
Edmund Allin, burnt 551
Katherine Allin, burnt ibid.
Roſe Allin, burnt 590
Ralph Allerton, burnt 601
John Alcock, died in Priſon 614
George Ambroſe, burnt 475
William Andrew, died in Priſon 266
John Apprice, burnt 490
John Archer, ſtarv'd to Death 525
Walter Appleby, burnt 551
Petronil Appleby, burnt ibid.
John Ardeley, burnt 178
James Aſhley, burnt 615
Thomas Askin, burnt 512
Mrs. *Aſhdon*, burnt 585
Thomas Avington, burnt 496
James Auſtoo, burnt 601
Margery Auſtoo, burnt ibid.

B

William Bamford, burnt 201
Thomas Banion, burnt 617
Joan Beach, burnt 485
Roger Bernard, burnt 500
Thomas Benbridge, burnt 614
Alice Benden, burnt 554
Thomas Benold, burnt 590
John Bland, burnt 243
William Bongeor, burnt 590
Agnes Bongeor, burnt 602
Thomas Bowyer, burnt 498
Mr. *Bradford*, burnt 228
Matthew Bradbridge, burnt 539
Joan Bradbridge, burnt 551
—— *Bradbridge*, Widow, burnt 554
George Brodbridge, burnt 271
Thomas Brown, burnt 419
Chriſtopher Brown, burnt 618
Mr. *William Brown*, impriſon'd 629
Nicholas Burton, an *Engliſh* Merchant, burnt in *Spain* 620
Dennis Burgis 585
Cornelius Bungey, burnt 278
Anthony Burward, burnt 271

C

John Cardmaker, burnt 174
John Careleſs, died in Priſon 502
Thomas Carman, burnt 609
Dirick Carver, burnt 251
George Catmer, burnt 271
Joan Catmer, burnt 421
John Cavel, burnt 475
Thomas Cauſton, burnt 150
Lyon Cawch, burnt 498
Katherine Cawches, and her two Daughters, burnt at *Garnſey* 518
Nicholas Chamberlain, burnt 201
Dunſton Chittenden, ſtarved to Death 525
John Clark, ſtarved to Death ibid
Thomas Cob, burnt 275
William Coberley, burnt 469
Roger Coo, burnt 270
William Coker, burnt 256
Richard Collier, burnt ibid.
John Cooke, burnt 605
Elizabeth Cooper, burnt 586
John Cornford, burnt 618
Stephen Cotton, burnt 612
Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, burnt 462
Richard Craſhfield, burnt 594
Thomas Croker, burnt 493

D

John Dale, died in Priſon 614
William Dangerfield, his Wife, Child, and Mother, cruel Uſage to them 524
Richard Day, burnt 612
John Denley, burnt 255
John Denny, burnt 493
John Derifal, burnt 498
John Deveniſh, burnt 609
Thomas Dungate, 521
Mr. *Robert Drakes*, burnt 475
Alice Driver, burnt 617
Thomas Drowry, burnt 493
Thomas Dungate, burnt 520
Robert Dynes, burnt 612

E

George Eagles, hang'd and quarter'd 590
George Eagles Siſter, burnt 594
Rainold Eaſtland, burnt 611
Margaret Ellis, died in Priſon 492
Helene Ewring, burnt 590
Lady *Elizabeth* impriſon'd, but miraculouſly preſerv'd by the Death of Queen *Mary*. 655, &c.

F

Thomas Fairfax, cruelly ſcourged 623
Biſhop *Farrar*, burnt 154
John Fiſhcock, burnt 554
John Fetty's Child cruelly whipped 620
Nicholas Final, burnt 539
Barbara Final, burnt 554
John Flod, burnt 611
William Flower, burnt 171
Elizabeth Folks, burnt 590
John Foreman, burnt 520
Iſabel Fiſter, burnt 419
Adam Foſter, burnt 500
William Foſter, ſtarved to Death 525
Hugh Foxe, burnt 609
John Frankeſh, burnt 247
—— *Fryar*, burnt 594
Thomas Fuſt, burnt 265

G

Sir *John Gates*, beheaded 4
Agnes George, burnt 498
Chriſtian George, burnt 609
Richard Gibſon, burnt 606
Lord *Gilford*, beheaded 25
Robert Glover, burnt 278
Alexander Gouch, burnt 617
Lady *Jane Gray*, beheaded 25
Stephen Gratwicke, burnt 550
Bartlet Green, burnt 418
Thomas Green, whipped 626
Mrs. *Grove*, burnt 585
Mr. *Edward Grew*, impriſon'd till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* 629
John Gwin, burnt 512

H

William Hale, burnt 265
Thomas Hale, burnt 617
Nicholas Hall, burnt 248
John Hallingdale, burnt 606
William Hallywel, burnt 498
John Hammond, burnt 490
Thomas Harland, burnt 497
John Harpole, burnt 485
James Harris, cruelly whipped 626
John Hart, burnt 523
Stephen Harwood, burnt 265
Thomas Haukes, burnt 190
William Hay, burnt 539
John Herſt, burnt 618
Margaret Hide, burnt 546
Thomas Higbed, burnt 150
Thomas Hinſhaw, beaten with Rods, by Biſhop *Bonner* 612
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John Holiday, burnt 611
Roger Holland, burnt ibid.
John Horn, burnt 423

Joan

Joan Horns, burnt 492
Biſhop Hooper, burnt 124
William Hopper, burnt 256
Thomas Hudſon, burnt 609
Thomas Hudſon, burnt 539
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Katherine Hut, burnt 492
William Hunter, burnt 146
Edmund Hurſt, burnt 498

J

Ralph Jackſon, burnt 498
John Johnſon 590
Simon Joyne, burnt 490
Thomas Iveſon, burnt 252

K

George King, ſickned in Priſon and died 266
—— *King*, burnt 550
Stephen Kempe, burnt 539
Katherine Knight, burnt 618
Stephen Knight, burnt 152
John Kurde, burnt 602

L

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Mr. *Laurence*, burnt 152
John Launder, burnt 251
Henry Laurence, burnt 256
Hugh Laverock, burnt 490
Robert Lawſon, burnt 500
Elizabeth Lawſon, impriſoned 636
John Leaf, burnt 228
Joyce Lewes, burnt 596
Thomas Leyes, ſickned in Priſon and died 266
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Robert Miles, burnt 615
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Thomas Mills, burnt 496
Simon Miller, burnt 586
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Margery Moris, burnt 585
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William Munt, burnt 590
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N

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O

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William Pikes, burnt 612
Matthew Plaiſe, impriſon'd 555
Henry Pond, burnt 611
Edmund Poole, burnt 493
Agnis Potten, burnt 469
Margery Polley, burnt 248
Alice Potkins, ſtarv'd to Death 525
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John Simſon, burnt 178
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